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“A BETTER PLACE TO LIVE”: NATIONAL MYTHOLOGIES, CANADIAN
HISTORY TEXTBOOKS, AND THE REPRODUCTION OF WHITE SUPREMACY

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE AND POSTDOCTORAL STUDIES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
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KENNETH EDWARD MONTGOMERY

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For Rie Shannon and Shino Colleen

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines how high school Canadian history textbooks authorized for use in Ontario from 1945 to the present have represented knowledge about race, racism, and opposition to racism in relation to the nation and national identity. Through a Foucault-informed critical discourse analysis, the thesis documents how racism permeates the taken-for-granted structures of schooling, how the imagined community of Canada is reproduced, and how ideas about the nation, race, racism, and opposition to racism are put into cultural circulation as normalized regimes of truth.

My findings can be summarized briefly as follows: 1) Canadian history textbooks continue to circulate the 18th century idea that humanity is divided into sets of biological or naturally occurring races, in spite of it having been recognized for some time that races are social constructions, not facts of nature; 2) Racism has consistently been reduced to irrational, abnormal, extreme, and individualized problems of psychological or moral deficit and represented as either foreign to Canada, isolated incidents within Canada, or part of a distant past and with consequences solely for the racially subjugated; and 3) Opposition to racism has been represented in these textbooks as a state-driven enterprise stressing tolerance of the Other and privileging the idea that racism can be eradicated or stopped wherever it is seen to start. I argue, moreover, that the circulation of this knowledge about race, racism, and opposition to racism helps to prop up particular nationalist mythologies, most notably the myth of Canada as a uniquely tolerant and pluralistic nation-state which has effectively resolved the problem of racism. The effect is to depict Canada as a 'better place to live,' a model for other nations to emulate, and a place with a moral responsibility to uplift apparently inferior places in the world. I conclude by discussing how the institutionalized arrogance necessary to represent Canada as a space of vanquished racism or as a place of antiracist achievement perpetuates mythologies of white settler benevolence as it at once obscures the banal racisms upon which the modern nation-state is built and re-built.

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Michel Foucault *The Use of Pleasure: The History of Sexuality, Volume 2*, p.7

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Racial States and School History Textbooks

This thesis examines some of the ways in which Canadian history textbooks have represented race, racism, and antiracism (and their antecedents and cognates) in relation to the nation and national identity and discerns the (dis)continuities of such representations across textbooks authorized from 1945 to the present. By using the textbooks as a cultural site to comprehend the embeddedness of racism within them and, by implication, in the social order in which the textbooks exist(ed), I illustrate how racism has permeated and continues to permeate the banal structures and taken-for-granted experiences that organize life in a “racial state.”¹ To identify Canada as a racial state is to claim that, as a modern state, Canada has always been connected to race and racism insofar as it has occupied a structural position “in producing and reproducing, constituting and effecting racially shaped spaces and places, groups and events, life worlds and possibilities, accesses and restrictions, inclusions and exclusions, conceptions and modes of representation.”² A racial state such as Canada, moreover, is one historically “engaged in the constitution, maintenance, and management of whiteness” and one in which “white governance” prevails to the extent that “racelessness” (e.g., in the form of state multiculturalism) has the effect not of disrupting such white domination, but rather of making it appear invisible via representing it as given, normal, or commonsensical.³

¹ David Theo Goldberg, *The Racial State* (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers Inc., 2002), Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 1994), 77-91. On “banality” see, Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*, Revised ed. (New York: The Viking Press, 1964), Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1995).

² Goldberg, *The Racial State*, 104.

³ Ibid., 195.

This study takes a different analytical approach than those important studies which document the racist nature of representations contained within the pages of school history textbooks by, for example, illustrating how a particular racialized group is depicted or ignored.⁴ I consider how the ordering of knowledge about race, racism, and opposition to racism articulates with the representation of the nation-state. I employ Michael Billig's concept of "banal nationalism" in an effort to comprehend the ways in which ordinary and commonplace practices and ideological routines with respect to discourses of race, racism, and antiracism effectively "flag" the nation and reproduce nationhood.⁵ The nation that is flagged and reproduced through this banalized nationalism is an "imagined community" constituted by the representations of itself that identify who belongs to the community and who does not and which features and histories define the community and which do not.⁶ The analysis I present here makes cognisant the discursive links between racialized identity and nation and illustrates the extent to which they affect racisms that, while perhaps not obvious or blatant, are nonetheless white supremacist (i.e., insofar as they support the political supremacy of racialized whites). To the extent that the implicit goal is to document and disturb such white supremacist racism and its consequences, my inquiry aims to be both ethical and unapologetically political.

Throughout, this study considers the limitations and pedagogical implications of representational patterns that circulate couplings of race and nation as authoritative forms of knowledge. The study emerges out of the anti-racist premise that the state-sanctioned education

⁴ For a recent example see, Jennifer Tupper, "Silent Voices, Silent Stories: Japanese Canadians in Social Studies Textbooks", *The Alberta Journal of Educational Research* XLVIII, no. 4 (2002).

⁵ Billig, *Banal Nationalism*. C.f., Kosaku Yoshino, "Japan's Nationalism in a Marketplace Perspective," in *Understanding Nationalism*, ed. Montserrat Guibernau and John Hutchinson (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2001).

⁶ B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised ed. (London: Verso, 1991). See also, M. Wetherell and J. Potter, *Mapping the Language of Racism: Discourse and the Legitimation of Exploitation* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992).

system is implicated in the production and reproduction of racisms in society.⁷ The cultures of schooling, childhood, and adolescence are racialized in ways that provide children and adolescents with meaningful ways to both understand and act in daily life.⁸ This is not to suggest that racisms absolutely determine these understandings and actions, but rather that the “grammars” of racism steer children and youth toward particular hegemonic interpretations of difference and inequality.⁹ Textbooks, as an integral component of state education and the cultures of schooling, are imbued with the power to privilege cultural meaning and to structure perceptions of reality for those who read/use them. Unlike leisure cultural texts, school textbooks are produced with the express purpose of teaching. Leisure reading too is productive as a pedagogical site (and even produced with implicit aims to facilitate particular types of learning), but by virtue of the fact that textbooks are official knowledges sanctioned and disseminated by the state for use in classrooms, there is a uniquely pedagogical quality to them. Textbooks are, moreover, required reading. Certainly students may opt not to read them, but the textbooks still help to organize teachers and teaching. Furthermore, it is not only the thinking of a single author, or as has become the case in recent decades, multiple authors, that is displayed in school textbooks. It is rather a construction of consensus derived from the actions and input of multiple actors including educators, historians, sociologists, methodologists, editors, publishers, marketing specialists, community activists, and even student consultants.¹⁰ Textbook knowledge thus, now

⁷ George J. Sefa. Dei, *Anti-Racism Education: Theory and Practice* (Halifax, N.S.: Fernwood Publishing, 1996), 34, L. Roman and L. Eyre, *Dangerous Territories: Struggles for Difference and Equality in Education* (New York: Routledge, 1997). See also Cameron McCarthy and Warren Chrichlow, eds., *Race, Identity and Representation in Education* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

⁸ Richard Hatcher and Barry Troyna, "Racialization and Children," in *Race, Identity and Representation in Education*, ed. Cameron McCarthy and Warren Chrichlow (New York: Routledge, 1993), Barry Troyna and Richard Hatcher, *Racism in Children's Lives: A Study of Mainly-White Primary Schools* (London: Routledge, 1992).

⁹ Fazal Rizvi, "Children and the Grammar of Popular Racism," in *Race, Identity and Representation in Education*, ed. Cameron McCarthy and Warren Chrichlow (New York: Routledge, 1993).

¹⁰ Michael W. Apple and L.K. Christian-Smith, eds., *The Politics of the Textbook* (New York: Routledge, 1991).

more than ever, reflects multiple perspectives. Yet, since textbooks are formed in and through the social, they always and necessarily exclude multiple perspectives as well, those buried or disguised perspectives within which lie “subjugated knowledges” that have been disqualified as inferior or deemed otherwise insignificant, disruptive, or unworthy of inclusion.¹¹

Like all texts, school textbooks work selectively to organize social reality as knowledge, but they hold a particularly preeminent position in schools as a primary source of knowledge and as a tool for teaching. Teachers, and especially those newly hired to the profession or those teaching outside their field of expertise, continue to rely on the textbook as the principle source of knowledge. Conventional textbooks continue to dominate classroom instruction despite the prevalence of alternative forms of learning resources in the form of print media, audio-visual material, and the internet.¹² Nor is the reliance on textbooks waning. As recently as the spring of 1998, the Province of Ontario announced that it was funding a \$100 million purchase of school textbooks from Prentice Hall Canada Inc., McGraw Hill Ryerson Ltd. and Addison-Wesley Publishers Ltd.¹³ The salient place of textbooks in the education system can also be attested to by the sheer wealth of policies, legislation, formal evaluative procedures, and Ministry-designed or supported suggestions for authors and publishers all of which are designed to ensure that such learning resources are free from bias, prejudice, racism, sexism, and other discriminatory forms of representation.¹⁴ The many checks and balances in place now lead some to assume that racist

¹¹ Michel Foucault, "Truth and Power," in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980).

¹² Stuart J. Foster, "The Struggle for American Identity: Treatment of Ethnic Groups in United States History Textbooks", *History of Education* 28, no. 3 (1999): 252, David R. Olson, "On the Language and Authority of Textbooks", *Journal of Communication* 30, no. 1 (1980).

¹³ Art Chamberlain, "U.S. Firms Are Textbooks 'Winners': Ontario Boards Set to Begin \$100 Million Spree," *Toronto Star*, June 11 1998.

¹⁴ For examples, see, Curriculum Services Canada, *Quality Standards for Supplementary Learning Resources* (2004 [cited September 10 2004]); available from www.curriculum.org/csc/standards.shtml, Ministry of Education

representations have been eliminated, the emphasis on the Anglo-Canadian experience removed, or depictions of the “Other” put to an end.¹⁵ Of course the efforts to address curricular representations have made a difference. I am not suggesting that the representation of minoritized and marginalized groups in Canadian history textbooks has not changed for the better. I take issue, rather, with assumptions that the textbooks have become non- or even anti-racist in their essence or that a racism-free national history textbook is even possible. Nationalist narratives of the nation-state are always and already racist like the state they help to build and reproduce. That is to say, the modern state is about racial formation, power, and exclusion (i.e., racism) even if racist exclusion is not defined as the principle state project.¹⁶

This last point challenges the claim that supporting the tradition of instilling in the young a sense of unity, pride, and patriotism toward the nation (as school history textbooks explicitly aim to do) is not necessarily a racist act. The view that such patriotic nationalism is not racist only seems justified if racism is understood within a discrimination paradigm simply as that which evil, irrational, or ignorant people do (and it is commonly understood in this way), and not as a banal, every-day experience of racialized social oppression that is discursively mediated and tied to the material world through social and political institutions of exclusionary/inclusionary power and through the consequences resulting from the defence and reproduction of this power. By adopting the second position I will show that, in fact, the histories of Canada authorized for use in Ontario since 1945 have been and still are racist. That is, despite the certainty that anti-racisms have organized, shaped, been represented by, reproduced through, and to various degrees

Province of Ontario Race, Religion, and Culture in Ontario School Materials: Suggestions for Authors and Publishers (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1982).

¹⁵ For example, Robert Douglas Gidney, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 150-52.

¹⁶ Goldberg, *The Racial State*, Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*. See also, Michel Foucault, *"Society Must Be Defended": Lectures at the College De France, 1975-1976*, ed. Arnold I. Davidson, et al., trans. David Macey (New York: Picador, 2003).

even privileged within history textbooks (especially the most recent ones), such texts continue to reproduce representations of the nation and national belonging that structure taken-for-granted advantage and dominating power for people racialized as white. A term with the semantic virtue of clearly signaling reference to such institutionalized reproduction of power is “white supremacy.”¹⁷ Given the centrality of textbooks to the curriculum and the likelihood that school history textbooks, in particular, are “the only history books that most people will ever read,”¹⁸ it is clearly no trivial thing if they perpetuate racisms no matter what patriotic pride or sense of civic duty they might instill. Since school history has traditionally been regarded as the place to cultivate national identity and civic responsibility, it is no surprise that, perhaps more than any other school subject, history has been at the centre of some very heated and passionate debates. I am quite intentionally situating this study into one of those, namely the long-standing debate over the representation of Canadian history. I am also, but more implicitly, situating this into a debate, or perhaps a dialogue, about what gets to count or what should count as anti-racism in education.¹⁹ I will discuss in some detail the relevance of this study to a dialogue about conceptualizing anti-racism in my concluding chapter, but turn my attention now to situating my study in the debate that has raged over the presumed death of Canadian history.

¹⁷ Charles W. Mills, "Revisionist Ontologies: Theorizing White Supremacy," in *Blackness Visible: Essays on Philosophy and Race* (London: Cornell University Press, 1998).

¹⁸ Daniel Francis, *National Dreams: Myth, Memory, and Canadian History* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1997), 13-14.

¹⁹ Floya Anthias and Cathie Lloyd, *Rethinking Anti-Racism : From Theory to Practice* (London ; New York: Routledge, 2002), Alistair Bonnett, *Anti-Racism* (London: Routledge, 2000), Paul Gilroy, "The End of Antiracism," in *Race Critical Theories: Text and Context*, ed. Philomena Essed and David Theo Goldberg (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), Alana Lentin, "'Race', Racism and Ant-Racism: Challenging Contemporary Classifications", *Social Identities* 6, no. 1 (2000), Pierre-Andre Taguieff, "On Antiracism: Ideal Type, Ideological Corruption, Perverse Effects," in *The Force of Prejudice: On Racism and Its Doubles*, ed. Hassan Melehy (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2001).

The “Death” of Canadian History?

As far back as the late 1800s various crises have arisen over perceptions of inadequate public school representations of Canadian history. These real or supposed crises have in similar fashion criticized Canadian history as being dull, insufficiently national or patriotic, poorly understood by teachers and students alike, and under threat from one or more allegedly divisive pressures such as regionalism, Americanization or multiculturalism.²⁰ In the past decade or so, the debate regarding the supposed death of Canadian history has included two aspects of criticism directed at the institution of public schooling. One is that history as a unified discipline and subject of instruction has been fragmented and/or shifted to the periphery of the curricula. The second aspect, and the one with which I am specifically concerned, is the claim that what were once accurate and honourable representations of Canadian history have been virtually eradicated as the result of extensive changes made during the last half of the twentieth century. Among the conservative critics advancing this claim, Canadian history is viewed as having been fragmented by a nation-wide exodus from political, constitutional, economic, and military histories toward social and personal histories.²¹ The critics lament a number of purported changes to representations of Canadian history including: the disappearance of any nationalist “myth” that might unite Canadians’ consciousness of themselves as a people; the rupture of important connections to Britain and British history; the displacement of the perspectives of kings, politicians, businessmen, and soldiers; and the insertion of “trivial” and “unending” chronicles of oppression that are tied to an ostensibly current political agenda concerning racism, sexism,

²⁰ Hilda Neatby, *So Little for the Mind: An Indictment of Canadian Education* (Toronto: Clarke Irwin, 1953), Ken Osborne, “Our History Syllabus Has Us Gasping”: History in Canadian Schools - Past, Present, and Future”, *The Canadian Historical Review* 81, no. 3 (2000).

²¹ M. Bliss, “Privatizing the Mind: The Sundering of Canadian History, the Sundering of Canada”, *Journal of Canadian Studies* 26, no. 4 (1991), J.L. Granatstein, *Who Killed Canadian History?*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: HarperCollins, 1998), R. Gwyn, *Nationalism without Walls: The Unbearable Lightness of Being Canadian*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1996).

homophobia, and the rights of First Nation peoples and which depict Canadian history as one essentially of “brutal exploitation, genocidal behaviour and rampant racism.”²² Some shared ground of conservative national imagining binds these views about the demise of Canadian history: Canada is imagined as having a common history legitimately centered on a common (Eurocentric male) identity; the job of representing Canadian history is imagined to be imbued with an inherent obligation to forge a national spirit or sense of unity and; the putative changes to representations of Canadian history are imagined to be portentous and deplorable in part because they conflict with the aforementioned imaginings of Canada and Canadian history.²³

Such imaginings of the Canadian nation would seem to appeal to a great many people since the books published by Gwyn and Granatstein both became national best sellers. This fact, together with a profusion of post-W.W.II criticism about representations of Canadian history, seems to suggest a popular, consistent, and widespread belief that Canadian history has been “sick” for some time and, through radical change, has been finally “killed off.” Has it? Or, to paraphrase Foucault, speaking of the conservative functions of history in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, do these impassioned cries of murder bemoan not the disappearance of history, but the eclipse of that form of history which would labour to preserve and protect the nation-state and its privileged members?²⁴ It seems to me that the aroused and popular voices of conservative critics have shouted out in favour of a return to representations of history that clearly preserved racialized oppression and domination through narratives of Canadian nationalism, but based on my earlier research I have not been convinced that such narratives of domination have, in fact,

²² Bliss, “Privatizing the Mind: The Sundering of Canadian History, the Sundering of Canada”, Granatstein, *Who Killed Canadian History?*, 100, Gwyn, *Nationalism without Walls: The Unbearable Lightness of Being Canadian*, 283.

²³ Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*.

²⁴ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, trans. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 14.

been eclipsed.²⁵ One objective of this project, then, has been to determine if there is any substance upholding the allegations made about Canadian history by examining those nationalist narratives sanctioned by the state for use in schools. Although none of the conservative critics has been concerned exclusively with history in the schools, and not all have made the school curriculum an explicit focus of criticism in the manner that Granatstein has done,²⁶ Canadian history as it is represented in the schools is at minimum an implicit component of their broader critique. Of course, the conservative proclamations about the supposed sundering of Canadian history have themselves been subject to plenty of criticism by those, for example, who find in them narrow conceptions of patriotism,²⁷ an inadequate account of the role, purpose, and quality of academic historical scholarship,²⁸ a myopic vision of national identity,²⁹ and taken-for-granted nationalist assumptions that shape the field of historical inquiry in ways that enable racisms.³⁰

This study extends the aforementioned criticisms, and especially those regarding commonsensical assumptions about Canadian-ness, into the realm of school history textbooks. Given that the post-WWII period is the one in which conservative critiques such as Granatstein and Bliss claim the representation of Canadian history to have been ruined or suffered the most debilitating damage, it makes sense to determine if this is actually the case, and if it is, to ascertain whether change has come as a sudden rupture or a prolonged shift. Thus, I have elected

²⁵ K.E. Montgomery, "Flashback Canada: Racialized Representations in a High School Canadian History Textbook" (paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, Quebec City, May 25 2001), K.E. Montgomery, "The Imagined Canadian: Representations of Whiteness in Flashback Canada" (MA, University of Ottawa, 1999).

²⁶ Granatstein, *Who Killed Canadian History?*, chapter 2.

²⁷ Veronica Strong-Boag, "[Review of the Book *Who Killed Canadian History?*]", *Historical Studies in Education* 11, no. 2 (1999).

²⁸ A.B. McKillop, "Who Killed Canadian History? A View from the Trenches", *The Canadian Historical Review* 80, no. 2 (1999).

²⁹ P.A. Buckner, "'Limited Identities' Revisited: Regionalism and Nationalism in Canadian History", *Acadiensis* XXX, no. 1 (2000), Bryan D. Palmer, "Of Silences and Trenches: A Dissident View of Granatstein's Meaning", *The Canadian Historical Review* 80, no. 4 (1999).

³⁰ Timothy J. Stanley, "Why I Killed Canadian History: Towards an Anti-Racist History in Canada", *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 33, no. 65 (2001).

to situate my study both in the recent debate over the teaching of Canadian history and in the specific era of the latter half of the twentieth-century. This period has also been selected because the post-WWII decades have witnessed numerous politically progressive changes that have immediate relevance to issues of racism and antiracism (e.g., the development of an explicitly non-racist federal immigration policy; the extension of the federal franchise to minoritized groups previously disenfranchised; the passing of various provincial and federal rights legislation barring discrimination on the basis of race; and the official recognition of multiculturalism). These developments coincide with the post-war expansion of the notion of the Canadian “mosaic” and contribute in a substantial way to making popular the idea that Canada is (or, through progressive actions, has become) an essentially tolerant, just, and racist-free nation. Such utopian representations of national redemptive progress and continuous moral betterment are in need of interrogation.

The Nation, White Supremacy, and Interlocking Relations of Oppression

My previous work suggests to me that white supremacist notions likely persist in the shaping of these representations of the nation.³¹ Although I want to be careful not to dismiss the possibility that semiotic performances of antiracism, too, are sustained by the discursive forms of post-WWII textbooks or to trivialize the multiple ways in which readers take up the textbooks, some of which most certainly have antiracist potential or effects, neither of these important concerns are the focus of my study. My objective, rather, has been to describe the ways in which dominating knowledges are provided the very space from which subjugated knowledges are excluded. I will show ways in which the representation of race, racism, and antiracism create and

³¹ Montgomery, "The Imagined Canadian: Representations of Whiteness in Flashback Canada".

preserve space for dominant and dominating knowledges of the nation and national identity in a white settler nation-state.

The critical interrogations, political strategies, and epistemological standpoints employed by feminists have long informed understandings of the political, social, cultural, and economic processes that simultaneously empower and disempower particular racialized and gendered segments of societies. Feminist theory, and most notably that of Black and Third World (or non-white) feminists, has been particularly influential in articulating ways in which systems of domination such as white supremacy are sustained and reproduced through the interconnectedness of multiple oppressions and social differences.³² It has come to be widely recognized that systems of domination “mutually constitute one another” simultaneously and in a multiplicity of ways.³³ It is not simply a matter of analytically adding one model of oppression to another (e.g., racism plus sexism) nor a question of coming to know the experience and identity of specific marginalized or privileged groups, but rather a matter of coming to understand how subjectivities are constituted in and through “interlocking” systems of domination (e.g., white supremacy, patriarchy, capitalism, nationalism, or heteronormativity) in specific contexts.³⁴

In the context of current world events in which the policing of nationalities and national boundaries has become so forceful and pervasive, there would seem to be an imperative to understand more fully the multidimensional constructed-ness of these nations and their

³² M. Jacqui Alexander and Chandra Talpade Mohanty, eds., *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures* (New York: Routledge, 1997), Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis, *Racialized Boundaries: Race, Nation, Gender, Colour and Class and the Anti-Racist Struggle* (London: Routledge, 1992), H Bannerji, *The Dark Side of the Nation: Essays on Multiculturalism, Nationalism and Gender* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press Inc., 2000), Hazel Carby, "The Multicultural Wars," in *Black Popular Culture: A Project by Michelle Wallace*, ed. G. Dent (Seattle: Bay Press, 1992), Ruth Frankenberg, *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Race* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), bell hooks, "Representing Whiteness: Seeing Wings of Desire," in *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics* (Boston: South End Press, 1990), Aida Hurtado and Abigail J. Stewart, "Through the Looking Glass: Implications of Studying Whiteness for Feminist Methods," in *Off White: Readings on Race, Power, and Society*, ed. Michelle Fine, et al. (New York: Routledge, 1997).

³³ Sherene H. Razack, *Looking White People in the Eye* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 11.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 14.

boundaries and, as well, the oppressive consequences of such constructions. Indeed, the necessity to challenge and investigate the articulations between “nation” and other social constructions has been widely acknowledged by feminist theorists as a requirement of progressive politics directed toward goals of social justice.³⁵ Although the nation is often taken for granted as some neutral entity, it does, in fact, articulate complexly in its boundary making processes with constructs such as gender, race, sexuality, class, and colour to constitute subjectivities within interlocking systems of domination reproduced through such articulations.³⁶ Focusing on the connections between race, nation, and gender, for example, a number of scholars of feminist, antiracist, and postcolonial theory have documented how representations of the Canadian nation contribute to the marginalization of women and racialized groups by “painting” a normalized image of the nation that is predominantly white and male.³⁷

These and other scholars have taken a critical approach to analyzing the salience of whiteness (i.e., as skin colour, ideology, and racialized location) in operating structurally as a force of domination in global society and culture.³⁸ They have traced the economic and political

³⁵ A.M. Calliste and G.J.S. Dei, *Anti-Racist Feminism: Critical Race and Gender Studies* (Halifax, NS: Fernwood Publishing, 2000).

³⁶ Alexander and Mohanty, eds., *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures*, Anthias and Yuval-Davis, *Racialized Boundaries: Race, Nation, Gender, Colour and Class and the Anti-Racist Struggle*.

³⁷ Veronica Strong-Boag et al., eds., *Painting the Maple: Essays on Race, Gender, and the Construction of Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1998). See also, Bannerji, *The Dark Side of the Nation: Essays on Multiculturalism, Nationalism and Gender*, Enakshi Dua and Angela Robertson, eds., *Scratching the Surface: Canadian Anti-Racist Feminist Thought* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1999), Frances Henry and Carol Tator, *Discourses of Domination: Racial Bias in the Canadian English-Language Press* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), Eva Mackey, *The House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), Sherene H. Razack, ed., *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2002).

³⁸ Some examples here include, Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, eds., *Critical White Studies: Looking Behind the Mirror* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997), R. Dyer, "The Matter of Whiteness," in *White*, ed. R. Dyer (London: Routledge, 1997), Michelle Fine et al., eds., *Off White: Readings on Race, Power, and Society* (New York: Routledge, 1997), H.A. Giroux, "Rewriting the Discourse of Racial Identity: Towards a Pedagogy and Politics of Whiteness", *Harvard Educational Review* 67, no. 2 (1997), Ghassan Hage, *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society* (New York: Routledge, 2000), bell hooks, "Representations of Whiteness in the Black Imagination," in *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (Boston: South End Press, 1992), Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995), P. McLaren and R. Torres, "Racism and Multicultural

histories behind the invention of whiteness, explored the ways in which whiteness is perpetuated and variously signified, problematized the taken-for-granted privileges held by so-called "whites," documented the interlocking systems of domination (e.g., gender, ability, class, sexuality, nationalism) that function with racialized processes to produce and sustain white racisms, and analyzed the multiple cultural practices that create and perpetuate both the fiction of whiteness and the reality of white supremacist domination and its consequences. The goal of such critical work is not merely to make visible the histories and practices of white supremacy, but to politically and ethically undermine, disturb, or disrupt them.

The study of whiteness has become a bit of an academic industry within the past ten years or so, but the critical questions it asks and the politics it exposes have long been practiced by those historically marginalized and oppressed by white supremacist formations.³⁹ Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. Du Bois, Malcom X, and Frantz Fanon are but a few among many intellectuals of colour who critically and consistently examined whiteness as a problem well before the universities in North America and elsewhere began to establish courses of study and branches of academic scholarship centered on questions of whiteness, white privilege, and white domination.⁴⁰ My study aims to follow this long tradition of challenging white supremacy by interrogating the nationalist narratives of high school history textbooks. It examines how

Education: Rethinking 'Race' and 'Whiteness' in Late Capitalism," in *Critical Multiculturalism: Rethinking Multicultural and Antiracist Education*, ed. Stephen May (Philadelphia: Falmer Press, 1999), Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), Razack, *Looking White People in the Eye*, Razack, ed., *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society*, L. Roman, "White Is a Color! White Defensiveness, Postmodernism, and Anti-Racist Pedagogy," in *Race, Identity, and Representation in Education*, ed. Cameron McCarthy and Warren Crichlow (New York: Routledge, 1993), J. Snead, *White Screens Black Images: Hollywood from the Dark Side* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

³⁹ Bonnett, *Anti-Racism*, David R. Roediger, *Black on White: Black Writers on What It Means to Be White* (New York: Schocken Books, 1998), David R. Roediger, *Colored White: Transcending the Racial Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

⁴⁰ On this point see, Bonnett, *Anti-Racism*, 9-45, F. Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. C.L. Markmann (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1967), Roediger, *Black on White: Black Writers on What It Means to Be White*, Roediger, *Colored White: Transcending the Racial Past*. See also, Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, Iman Benjamin Karim, ed., *The End of White World Supremacy: Four Speeches by Malcom X* (Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1971).

racialized formations articulate with the construction of the Canadian nation and Canadian national identity and does this by situating the analysis around race/racism/nation representations.

This focus on representations of race and racism and their articulations with nation should not be taken to mean that racisms, racializations, or nationalisms are not being simultaneously enacted in gendered and other embodied ways in these history textbooks. My desire to foreground issues of race and racism as my central problematic is a political choice stemming from a recognition that when these issues are not foregrounded, they tend to disappear.⁴¹ Moreover, and as many critical anti-racist feminist scholars have shown, race can be used as an entry point to open up questions relating to multiple and interlocking systems of oppression (such as, but not limited to, sexuality, class, and ability).⁴²

Language and Representation

It is beyond the scope and objectives of this study to interrogate the claims of history textbook producers and/or the accuracy of the knowledge embedded in the representations they produce. This is a study of how representation works or functions to construct knowledge. By “representation” I do not mean some direct or unmediated reflection of reality. This now outdated account of representation has been largely displaced in the human sciences by one which sees representation as a form of signification giving shape to, or constructing, the very reality it implicates.⁴³ In such a conceptual account of representation, the meaning of the language is always relational. There is no single “true” interpretation of a sign (e.g., a written

⁴¹ C.f., Dei, *Anti-Racism Education: Theory and Practice*, 66-67, Frankenberg, *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Race*, 58.

⁴² Calliste and Dei, *Anti-Racist Feminism: Critical Race and Gender Studies*, Dua and Robertson, eds., *Scratching the Surface: Canadian Anti-Racist Feminist Thought*, Roxana Ng, Pat Staton, and Joyce Scane, eds., *Anti-Racism, Feminism, and Critical Approaches to Education* (Westport, Connecticut: Bergin and Garvey, 1995).

⁴³ Stuart Hall, “The Work of Representation,” in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed. Stuart Hall (London: Sage Publications, 1997), Ian Parker, ed., *Critical Textwork: An Introduction to Varieties of Discourse and Analysis* (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1999), 5.

text) since the process of signification is always mediated by an “interpretant.”⁴⁴ That is to say, since signs have no direct referents in an independent object world, meaning is generated differently and in a perpetually deferred way through an endlessly cascading process of signification.⁴⁵ Any link between the signifier (the mental image or sensory impressions of signs) and the signified (an abstract concept) is arbitrary; a signifier can always have more than one signified, and a signified may be linked to a number of signifiers.⁴⁶ However, language in use is to varying degrees stabilized and regulated, given that it is embedded in narratives that serve particular aims.⁴⁷ The narratives of school history textbooks, for example, aim to instill senses of civic duty, national identity, and patriotic pride in those who read them. Hence, it may be said that among the potentially infinite range of signifieds (i.e., the connotations), certain signifieds (i.e., the denotations) are privileged or positioned as the stabilized, regulated, or naturalized meaning of the sign.⁴⁸ Social hegemony is made possible through such over-determination, stabilization, or naturalization of meaning in articulatory practice. These privileged discursive points conceal ambiguities and sustain the identity of certain discourses (e.g., race, nation, whiteness, Otherness) by constructing through them objects and subjects in stabilized configurations. Of course, the hegemonic order established through these fixed meanings in chains of signification is never absolute or completely successful in imposing an order to things. Historically-specific dislocations in the chains of signification undermine hegemonic constructions, disrupt naturalized meanings, counter old hegemonic formations or

⁴⁴ Umberto Eco, “Introduction: Toward a Logic of Culture,” in *A Theory of Semiotics* (London: Indiana University Press, 1976), 15.

⁴⁵ Chris Barker and Dariusz Galasiski, *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis: A Dialogue on Language and Identity* (London: Sage Publications, 2001), 2.

⁴⁶ T. Thwaites, L. Davis, and W. Mules, *Tools for Cultural Studies: An Introduction* (South Melbourne: Macmillan Education Australia PTY Ltd., 1994), 31-67, Graeme Turner, “The Idea of Cultural Studies,” in *British Cultural Studies: An Introduction* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990).

⁴⁷ Barker and Galasiski, *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis: A Dialogue on Language and Identity*, 2.

⁴⁸ Thwaites, Davis, and Mules, *Tools for Cultural Studies: An Introduction*, 61.

create new ones. Thus, even under the constraints of power/knowledge relations that delimit meaning making and knowledge formation in racist ways, textbooks may open up space for the creative and productive power of reader-subjects to create or produce antiracist meaning and knowledge.⁴⁹ Recognizing then that language which enters into discursive formation is oppressive in the way it sustains normalized relations of power does not mean that it is always or only this; there is always potential to thwart as well as reinforce power.⁵⁰ So it may be said that language produces many different consequences that may be emancipatory, dominating, a more complexly ambiguous entanglement of both, or even consequences that can be considered neither especially liberatory nor oppressive.⁵¹ Keeping in mind this understanding that language may challenge, question, disrupt, or otherwise bring to attention in a critical way hegemonic and normalized significations that are themselves sustained through language, I have made central to this inquiry one particular kind of signifying system and one which has been particularly oppressive. I now turn to an explanation of “racialization.”

Race-thinking versus Racialization

Despite their apparent permanence, “races” are relatively recent inventions.⁵² The idea that the world’s population could be divided into discreet types classified according to inherited characteristics (such as skin colour and skull shape) developed in the early eighteenth century

⁴⁹ Michel Foucault, “Two Lectures,” in *Culture/Power/History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory*, ed. Nicholas B. Dirks, Geoff Eley, and Sherry B. Ortner (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994).

⁵⁰ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction, Volume One.*, trans. R. Hurley, 2nd ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 101. See also, Rizvi, “Children and the Grammar of Popular Racism.”

⁵¹ Mats Alvesson and Kaj Skoldberg, “Language/Gender/Power: Discourse Analysis, Feminism and Geneology,” in *Reflexive Methodology: New Vistas for Qualitative Research* (London: Sage, 2000), Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, 105, Richard Johnson, “What Is Cultural Studies Anyway?” (paper presented at the Department of English at Instituto Universitario Orientale, Naples, April 1983), 37.

⁵² In this subsection, I am using quotation marks to signify the social constructedness of “race” because that is the main argument of the section. In the remainder of the thesis, I try to be consistent in putting quotations around the word only when I am citing another source or when I want to place particular emphasis on its social constructedness. Regardless of whether I write race or “race”, it should always be assumed in this thesis that I mean race to be a social construction with devastatingly real and salient consequences.

during a period when science aimed to classify the entire order of Nature into a rational pattern hierarchically arranged to reflect the Great Chain of Being.⁵³ However, to claim that science had an integral role to play in the invention of race is not to suggest that the idea developed purely as, or through, scientific discourse. During the same era, race-thinking was developed and employed politically as well.⁵⁴ Race-thinking held that the world's population could be divided into "races," that everyone belonged to one "race" or another, and that one's "race" was indicative of specific temperaments or innate personalities. Physical attributes served as the outwardly markers of "race" while the blood running through the veins of individuals functioned as a powerful indicator of "racial" belonging. Blood was a signifier of "racial" inheritance and origin. This compartmentalization of humanity according to notions of consanguinity, moreover, helped to justify modern imperialism, colonialism, and nation-state formation which were predicated on assumptions that those with supposedly superior blood (i.e., "superior races") had a moral imperative to impose and maintain order and control over the supposed impure and ignoble blood of Others.⁵⁵ In this sense, race-thinking both predated and enabled modern racisms.⁵⁶ However, as Gilroy has observed, by penetrating deeply into general commonsense, even among those

⁵³ Michael Banton, *Racial Theories*, Second ed. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998), George M. Frederickson, *Racism: A Short History* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2002), 56-58, Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, Revised ed. (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1996), 390-412, Peter H. Wood, "'If Toads Could Speak': How the Myth of Race Took Hold and Flourished in the Minds of Europe's Renaissance Colonizers," in *Racism and Anti-Racism in World Perspective*, ed. Benjamin P. Bowser (London: Sage, 1995), 40.

⁵⁴ Foucault, *"Society Must Be Defended": Lectures at the College De France, 1975-1976*. See also Theodore W. Allen, *The Invention of the White Race, Volume One: Racial Oppression and Social Control* (New York: Verso Books, 1994), Theodore W. Allen, *The Invention of the White Race, Volume Two: The Origin of Racial Oppression in Anglo-America* (New York: Verso Books, 1997), Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Harper Perennial, 1984).

⁵⁵ Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1973), Ali Rattansi, "Racism, 'Postmodernism' and Reflexive Multiculturalism," in *Critical Multiculturalism: Rethinking Multiculturalist and Antiracist Education*, ed. Stephen May (Philadelphia: Falmer Press, 1999), Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (London: Duke University Press, 1995).

⁵⁶ Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 158-84, Hannah Arendt, "Race-Thinking before Racism", *The Review of Politics* 6, no. 1 (1944).

working as antiracists, race-thinking has persisted in the world as a normative and ideological process for representing humanity according to putatively natural divisions called “races.”⁵⁷

In contrast to the idea that “races” exist naturally and eternally in the world, is the now commonplace assertion that “races” are social constructions that exist only because of human ideas, beliefs, and practices.⁵⁸ To assert that “races” are social constructions should not be interpreted as a suggestion that they are therefore devoid of reality. “Race” is surely real for those whose bodies have been classified, devalued, and violated and no less real for those who have accrued power and privilege from such a social construction.⁵⁹ A way to navigate the complexities of an idea that is at once indubitably fictitious and undeniably real is to focus on the mechanisms by which the idea gets made and re-made. Racializations can account for the social construction of “race” and “races” by humans (as opposed to by Nature) by viewing such inventions as constituted by several inter-connected aspects of representation.⁶⁰ One of these, *division or separation*, is the partitioning of humanity into groups based on real or putative differences. Historically, differences such as skin colour, skull shape, and real or imagined cultural practices have been utilized to affect the fragmentation of humanity. Imperialism too, as John Willinsky argues, has been particularly effective in imparting lessons on dividing the world according to terms of difference that have been tied to notions of a civilized center and a

⁵⁷ Paul Gilroy, *Against Race: Imagining Political Culture Beyond the Color Line*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

⁵⁸ For example, Bernard Boxhill, "Introduction," in *Race and Racism*, ed. Bernard Boxhill (Oxford, UK: Oxford, 2001).

⁵⁹ C.f., Dei, *Anti-Racism Education: Theory and Practice*, 28, David Theo Goldberg, *Racist Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1993), 54.

⁶⁰ For this conceptualization of “racialization,” I am drawing primarily upon Goldberg, *Racist Culture*, Robert Miles, *Racism* (London: Routledge, 1989). See also, M. Loveman, "Comment and Reply: Is 'Race' Essential?" *American Sociological Review* 64, no. 6 (1999), McLaren and Torres, "Racism and Multicultural Education: Rethinking 'Race' and 'Whiteness' in Late Capitalism."

primitive periphery as part of the Western project of taking possession of the world.⁶¹ A second aspect of racialization is *naturalization*. It involves the representation of these separated groups as heritable and more or less inescapable facts of Nature. Each group, in other words, is represented as part of a chain of inheritance by which the group itself, and not just the bodies within it, is reproduced. As naturalized “facts”, these representations are obvious, taken-for-granted, and commonsensical and, thus, not in need of explanation. A third aspect, *essentialization*, entails a representative practice of redundant marking that reduces the people in these groups to a set of unchanging characteristics (usually physical, moral, intellectual, or psychological). The critical point is that human beings carry out these representative practices, applying real or putative difference to splinter the world’s population into groups that are deemed to be naturally and eternally endowed with packaged sets of innate traits. It is not that there are separate “races” of humans, but that humanity is *separated* into “races”. It is not that human “races” exist naturally and have essences, but that they are *naturalized* and *essentialized* – by humans in particular historical and social contexts. Thus, whereas to ascribe to race-thinking is to take for granted the reality of “race,” to think in terms of racialization is to recognize that the reality of “race” emerges only through the social processes that construct it and the consequences of such construction. On one hand, then, is an uncritical, even banal, acceptance of an ideological and normalizing process that partitions the world into “races” (i.e., race-thinking) and on the other hand, a critical approach to understanding the social signifying processes by which human beings invent and re-invent “race” (i.e., racializations). What I have set out to do with this inquiry is to document the ways in which the ideas of “race”, racism, and antiracism work to signify the nation or national identity in oppressive, limited, demeaning or exclusive ways, to see,

⁶¹ John Willinsky, *Learning to Divide the World: Education at Empire's End* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998).

in other words, how the nation, its citizens, and non-citizen Others are racialized by and through these ideas.

Overview of the Thesis

In chapter two, I review the literature on textbooks analysis and discuss the role of textbooks in contributing to the “imagined community” of the nation. I distinguish between extreme/blatant racisms and those of the banal variety which take the shape of normal, natural, and commonsensical “regimes of truth.” I speak of the textbooks as “knowledge apparatuses” that promote nationalism in the present, but also that put into circulation other concepts, in banal/redundant ways, and argue that these concepts too contribute significantly to an imagined Canada and Canadian identity. I describe my method as a discourse analysis that aims to comprehend the discursive practices and formations that give rise to knowledge about “Canadian-ness” and to do so by describing the (trans-)formation of concepts of “race”, “racism”, and “antiracism” and statements about them across the post-WWII decades. I also explain my reading strategies for dealing with each of these concepts in terms of how they articulate with representations of the nation and national identity and, finally, justify the choices of which textbooks to analyze.

In chapter three, I provide socio-political and curricular context to enable some understanding of how and why the textbooks in this study came to take the shape they have. I discuss the context of production for textbooks authorized after WWII, during the 1960s, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and after the year 2000. For each of these four periods, I take account of important educational policies and curricular transformations and examine the narrative features of the textbooks to show particular continuities in the ways in which the nation has been defined and represented.

In chapter four, I make the argument that the idea of race has been, and still is, circulated in Canadian history textbooks much the same way as it was articulated centuries ago (i.e., as a taken-for-granted fact of Nature tied to notions of human type, lineage, and heritage) and that this functions to represent Canada as a nation tied by blood to specific (white) ethnicities. I argue too that such representations of a consanguine link between race and nation run contrary to Canada's mythical image of itself as a civic, not ethnic, nation and, moreover, point to a paradox in which Canada is mythologized as raceless despite a dependency on race-thinking.⁶²

In chapter five, I argue that the most recently authorized Canadian history textbooks represent the concept of racism much as it was represented decades ago according to a prejudice/discrimination framework that reduces racism to irrational and individualized problems of thought, behaviour, and assumption. Moreover, through multiple techniques of containment, racism is imagined by these textbooks to exist within temporal and spatial locations, events, or incidents that are represented as either foreign to Canada, aberrations within Canada, or part of a far-off past.⁶³

In chapter six, I argue that even the most recent state-sanctioned textbooks continue to adhere to, and are dominated by, an out-dated and inadequate concept of opposing racism that focuses on celebrating and respecting certain differences, but only within a nationalist framework that subsumes difference into an assimilative and exclusionary/inclusionary category of "tolerant Canadian" and through egotistical depictions of Canada as a nation superior to all or most others (i.e., as a "better place to live"). I also argue that these textbooks shroud the ambiguous

⁶² An earlier version of this chapter was presented to the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association in Chicago, 2003. See also, K.E. Montgomery, "Banal Race-Thinking: Ties of Blood, Canadian History Textbooks, and Ethnic Nationalism", *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education* (In press, Summer 2005).

⁶³ An earlier version of this chapter was presented to the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Society for Studies in Education in Halifax, 2003. See also, K.E. Montgomery, "Imagining the Antiracist State: Representations of Racism in Canadian History Textbooks", *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* (In press, November 2005).

articulations between racism and antiracism and those between race and state formation with a cloak of vainglory, which in turn problematically reinforces the idea of “antiracism” as an end result and not as an ongoing commitment to social justice.⁶⁴

In the concluding chapter, I argue that the combined effect of the representations of race, racism, antiracism has been to depict the space of contemporary Canada as one largely antithetical to racism. I argue too that the very concepts of race, racism, and antiracism, through such representations, work to racialize the nation of Canada and Canadian national identity (sometimes in opposition to other nations and national identities) in ways that uphold white supremacist state formation. I point to the symbolic violence perpetuated by self-congratulatory representations of the nation-state that obscure global connections of complicity and question what this might mean for historical nationalist narrativization. I go on to discuss the pedagogical implications of such findings and propose frameworks that call for some reconfiguration of antiracism (education) studies by raising questions about what sort of antiracism is possible within the nation-state and how the ideological underpinnings of the “racial state” might be dismantled or disrupted.

⁶⁴ Earlier versions of this chapter were presented to the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association in San Diego, 2004 and to the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association in Winnipeg, 2004. See, K.E. Montgomery, "'A Better Place to Live': Representations of Antiracism in Canadian High School History Textbooks" (paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Diego, April 2004), K.E. Montgomery, "'A Better Place to Live': Representations of Racism and Its Oppositions in Canadian High School History Textbooks" (paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, Winnipeg, June 2004).

CHAPTER 2

BANAL RACISMS AND THE STUDY OF SCHOOL HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

School history textbooks have long been an object of analysis and focus for criticism in Canada and elsewhere.¹ Many of the earliest concerns about textbooks in Canada, and a primary motivating factor in setting up provincial controls over textbooks, had to do with worries over a perceived anti-British sentiment in the literature produced in the United States.² In Canada, concerns about race and racism did not get taken up in textbook analyses, however, until the mid-1960s, and even then it was human rights organizations, not educational ministries, that initiated the studies.³ The common thread running through such textbook analyses, even to this day, has been attention to the representation of particular social groups and the effects that negative or biased representations might have on the individuals within these social groups. In the Canadian context, many of the first studies of this type were focused on the portrayal of Aboriginal

¹ Canada and Newfoundland Education Association, "Report of the Committee for the Study of Canadian History Textbooks", *Canadian education* 1, no. 1 (1945), Neatby, *So Little for the Mind: An Indictment of Canadian Education*, Ken Osborne, "An Early Example of the Analysis of History Textbooks in Canada", *Canadian Social Studies* 29, no. 1 (1994). In the international context, a few examples include, John Ahier, *Industry, Children and the Nation: An Analysis of National Identity in School Textbooks* (London: The Falmer Press, 1988), Gilmer W. Blackburn, *Education in the Third Reich: A Study of Race and History in Nazi Textbooks* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985), R. Elson, *Guardians of Tradition: American Schoolbooks of the Nineteenth Century* (Lincoln, NE: 1964), Frances FitzGerald, *America Revised: History Textbooks in the Twentieth Century* (Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1979), Foster, "The Struggle for American Identity: Treatment of Ethnic Groups in United States History Textbooks", Kikuko Kambayashi, *The Expansion of Treatments of Japan in High School Textbooks in American History, 1951-1972* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, School of Education, 1975), J.W. Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me* (1995).

² Robert J. Graham, "The Irish Readers Revisited: The Power of the Text(Book)", *Canadian Journal of Education* 14, no. 414-426 (1989), Viola E. Parvin, *Authorization of Textbooks for the Schools of Ontario, 1846-1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), G.S. Tomkins, *A Common Countenance: Stability and Change in the Canadian Curriculum* (Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., 1986).

³ Tomkins, *A Common Countenance: Stability and Change in the Canadian Curriculum*, 402. Various human rights organizations also examined sexism in textbooks. For example, Leela Mattu and Daniel Villeneuve, *Eliminating Group Prejudice in Social Studies Textbooks* (Vancouver: The Human Rights Commission of British Columbia, 1979), Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission, *Sexism in School Textbooks* (Halifax: Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission, 1974).

peoples,⁴ but over the years numerous studies have been undertaken to comprehend the depiction of various minoritized or ethnicized groups and most have concluded that such groups have been unfairly or inaccurately represented.⁵ That these studies have considerable merit is beyond question. They have documented the marginalization of indigenous voices, the degrading portrayal of various groups, the misrepresentation of historical experiences of racism, and the pervasiveness of Eurocentric views of the nation. However, many of these studies have also permitted racialized concepts to march along, “as unproblematic categories of difference rather than as ‘markers’ that act to racialize bodies.”⁶ Most analyses have consisted of identifying how one or more “races” are treated, and not the quite different matter of query into the textbooks’ conceptual treatment of “race.”⁷ Rather than asking how one or more racialized groups are represented, the analytical objectives of this study are to draw upon the concept of racialization to interrogate how Canadian high school history textbooks represent not only knowledge about “race,” but also knowledge of “racism”, “antiracism” and their respective antecedents in the stories and narratives of Canadian history textbooks, to discern how representations of “Canada”

⁴ Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, *The Shocking Truth About Indians in Textbooks*. (Winnipeg: Textbook Evaluation and Revision Committee of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, 1974), Norma Sluman, "Survey of Canadian History Textbooks Now in Use in Manitoba Schools" (Winnipeg: The Curriculum Revision Committee Department of Education, 1964).

⁵ M.R. Lupul, "The Portrayal of Canada's 'Other' Peoples in Senior High School History and Social Studies Textbooks in Alberta, 1905 to the Present." *The Alberta Journal of Educational Research* 22, no. 1 (1976), Mattu and Villeneuve, *Eliminating Group Prejudice in Social Studies Textbooks*, G. McDiarmid and D. Pratt, *Teaching Prejudice: A Content Analysis of Social Studies Textbooks Authorized for Use in Ontario* (Toronto: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1971), G. Patrick O'Neill, "Prejudice Towards Indians in History Textbooks: A 1984 Profile", *The history and social science teacher* 20, no. 1 (1984), Kenneth W. Osborne, "Hard-Working, Temperate and Peaceable" - *the Portrayal of Workers in Canadian History Textbooks*, ed. Alexander Gregor and Keith Wilson, *Monographs in Education* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1980), Réal Samson and Andrew S. Hughes, *The Treatment of Acadians in the Public School Textbooks of Nova Scotia* (Halifax: Atlantic Institute of Education and Université Sainte-Anne, 1982), Tupper, "Silent Voices, Silent Stories: Japanese Canadians in Social Studies Textbooks".

⁶ Isabel Dyck, "Methodology on the Line: Constructing Meanings About 'Cultural Difference' in Health Care Research," in *Painting the Maple: Essays on Race, Gender, and the Construction of Canada*, ed. Veronica Strong-Boag, et al. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1998), 24.

⁷ For an exception to this pattern that examines textbooks from the turn of the nineteenth century, see, Timothy J. Stanley, "White Supremacy and the Rhetoric of Educational Indoctrination: A Canadian Case Study," in *Children, Teachers, and Schools in the History of British Columbia*, ed. J. Barman (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1995).

are positioned with respect to these knowledges, and to determine whether such representations have changed over time across multiple generations of Canadian history textbooks. Such an approach enables me to ask whether and how history textbooks inculcate racist understandings of the nation or whether and how they reproduce racist conditions of the state in banal, but hardly benign, ways.

School textbook histories of the nation may not set out to teach about race nor to overtly perpetuate state racisms, nevertheless, their nationalist narratives contribute to racisms by representing the nation-state, its citizens, and its internal or external Others in essentialized or narrowly-imagined terms, by excluding the perspectives and histories of certain people and groups, by ignoring the reality of historical racisms and the multiple forms of opposition to them, and by depicting racisms “as eternal and unchanging, [or] as the product of recently arrived diasporic populations or as belonging to a long distant and dead past.”⁸ What may make such aspects of curricular racism difficult to see, especially for the privileged among those accountable for educational quality, is not so much that these things are hidden, for they are not – they are plainly in view, but rather that this very plainness acts as an obstacle toward comprehending them as problematic. White-robed racisms are rather easy to pick out, if not to end, but the racisms banally reproduced in student learning resources are less easy to perceive when they take the shape of unquestionably valid topics of study and constitute themselves as “regimes of truth.”⁹ Precisely forty years ago, in her report on the trial of Adolph Eichmann, Hannah Arendt concluded that the man deemed to have played a significant role in the WWII genocide carried

⁸ Timothy J. Stanley, "The Struggle for History: Historical Narratives and Anti-Racist Pedagogy", *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 19, no. 1 (1998): 42, Stanley, "Why I Killed Canadian History: Towards an Anti-Racist History in Canada".

⁹ Foucault, "Truth and Power." See also Marci Green and Ian Grosvenor, "Making Subjects: History-Writing, Education and Race Categories", *Paedagogica Historica* XXXIII, no. 3 (1997): 884.

out under Nazi totalitarian rule was clearly not a “monster,” but rather “terribly and terrifyingly normal.”¹⁰ In the way that Arendt made obvious this “terrifyingly normal” or “banal” quality of evil and distinguished it from its more explicit and obvious counterpart of Nazism, I have aimed to draw attention to banal racism, and not the “hot” or radical varieties of racism (e.g., those enacted by white-supremacists or neo-Nazis).¹¹ This precisely parallels Michael Billig’s argument, in his text entitled *Banal Nationalism*, about the ways in which commonplace representations of the nation seemingly go unnoticed despite the powerful effect they have in helping to sustain systems of domination, including racism.¹² As both Arendt and Billig assert, banality is not benign. Radical evil and oppression, because it is isolated to particular minds, bodies, spaces, places, or times, is clearly observable and unquestionable harmful, repugnant, and immoral. Many people in Canada, especially those who are privileged by racism, see as obvious the racism in radical white supremacists (e.g., neo-Nazis) and this, in turn, allows these many people to deny their own implication in racisms. For “hot” forms of evil, it is particularly easy to understand the need to intervene, but it is also rather easy for people to dismiss their complicity in them or to comprehend the relevance of such forms of evil to their lives. Banal racism, on the other hand, exists both in everyday disconnections and micro-interactions with others, in the taken-for-granted, the common, the normalized, and the ordinary. It runs in and all through people’s lives and not just in supposedly radically different others. It is powerful precisely because of its unremarkable, seemingly unobservable, pervasiveness. Far from being benign, banal racism exerts subjugating effects insidiously as it reproduces itself continuously and almost invisibly (particularly to those who benefit from it). It is, therefore, arguably even more

¹⁰ Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*, 276.

¹¹ C.f., Billig, *Banal Nationalism*.

¹² Ibid.

oppressive than radical racism.¹³ Since that which is “normal” or “taken-for-granted” is “normally” outside the critical gaze, it tends to march onward without contestation or, as musician Bruce Cockburn puts it, “The trouble with normal is that it always gets worse.” The point is that there is a political and ethical imperative to fracture the patterns of reproduction of taken-for-granted oppression by attending not only to the extreme and the blatant, but also, and especially, to the banal. Thus, this analysis asks whether certain premises and propositions related to discourses of race, racism, antiracism and their respective antecedents are inscribed in the narratives of twentieth century Canadian history as sets of unquestioned assumptions.

Textbooks as Knowledge Apparatuses for State and Racism

History textbooks adopted for use by school boards with the state’s blessing are material manifestations of official discourses on the nation-state. They are inscribed with an authority that derives from their techniques of production and authorization, the distinctive modes of their discourse, their material quality, and the institutional practices which circumscribe them.¹⁴ Yet, state-sanctioned national history textbooks are not mere repositories of knowledge or truth about what happened in the past. The choices made by authors, publishers, consultants and others involved in the production of school textbooks involve selectively gathering, sorting, and interpreting evidence, highlighting particular events, issues, and concepts while de-emphasizing or omitting others, and creatively developing plots that inevitably include and exclude the perspectives and histories of certain peoples and groups - all within a framework consciously

¹³ I am certainly not, however, claiming radical racisms to be anything less than powerfully oppressive and evil in their own right.

¹⁴ Carmen Luke, Suzanne De Castnell, and Allan Luke, “Beyond Criticism: The Authority of the School Text”, *Curriculum Inquiry* 13, no. 2 (1983).

intended to promote nationalism in the present.¹⁵ In this sense, such textbooks function as “knowledge apparatuses” that are “formed, organized, and put into circulation” to constitute legitimate knowledge of the nation, but also to legitimize the existence and rule of the state as normal, natural, and unproblematic.¹⁶ That is, the textbooks help to constitute the imagined community of the nation by, first, positioning the nation as a subject with a narrative to be told and as an organizational device for the study of the past, and second, by representing the nation, its citizens, and its internal and external Others in essentialized or narrowly-understood terms within this grand narrative.¹⁷ Canadian history textbooks have, for example, privileged white supremacist understandings of both the nation and those deemed at home within it by grouping historical figures of the past according to racialized notions of character.¹⁸

“The nation” is the organizing device for the interpretation of the past in these state-sanctioned textbooks, but through this device these knowledge apparatuses also put into circulation numerous other discourses such as those pertaining to citizenship, capitalism, sexuality, gender, justice, and culture. Beginning with the understanding that school curricula are salient locations for the production, reproduction, preservation, promotion, and transformation of racialized knowledge of the nation, my efforts here have been directed primarily toward illustrating that curricular texts are not innocent, objective, or unbiased, but rather devices for organizing what the state considers to be (or what it desires to present as) truthful, factual, or real.

¹⁵ Francis, *National Dreams: Myth, Memory, and Canadian History*, Stanley, “The Struggle for History: Historical Narratives and Anti-Racist Pedagogy”. Of course, all history textbooks are necessarily selective, including those not sanctioned for use by the state, but even most of these use the nation-state as an organizational device.

¹⁶ Foucault, “*Society Must Be Defended*”: *Lectures at the College De France, 1975-1976*, 33, Foucault, “Truth and Power.”

¹⁷ Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Stanley, “The Struggle for History: Historical Narratives and Anti-Racist Pedagogy”, Stanley, “Why I Killed Canadian History: Towards an Anti-Racist History in Canada”.

¹⁸ Montgomery, “*Flashback Canada*: Racialized Representations in a High School Canadian History Textbook”, Stanley, “White Supremacy and the Rhetoric of Educational Indoctrination: A Canadian Case Study.”

Social institutions such as schools are also comprised by and through the disciplinary and disciplining effects of discourses that enable and delimit fields of knowledge and consequently govern not only the truth about a field, but also what can be said, thought, and done within any field. To the extent that discourses succeed in producing such effects, they can be said to privilege certain subject positions about who constitutes a “race”, a “racist”, an “antiracist”, or a “good citizen of the nation” and what might be involved in coming to see one’s self or another in such terms. Individual student readers of the text are therefore positioned to be recruited or “interpellated” as subjects within this discursive structure that is unified through articulations of nationalization and racialization.¹⁹ The hegemonic dominance of such discourses notwithstanding, student readers are always invested with agency and the potential to dislocate discursive structures of dominance in the shaping of their own subjectivities.²⁰ Thus, while readers are subjected to or by the normalizing and managerial aspects of discursive formations that dominate specific historical contexts and that shape and put restrictions or limitations upon knowledge and truth in those contexts, there are always “techniques of the self” by which these readers form and transform themselves through and against the structures of discourse.²¹ This “discourse analysis,”²² which focuses on the discursive practices of naming, patterning, combining, sequencing, disconnecting, and ordering knowledge about race, racism, antiracism and their respective antecedents,²³ attends also to the potential for discursive patterns of

¹⁹ Louis Althusser, *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes toward an Investigation)*, *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971), 170.

²⁰ C.f., Rizvi, “Children and the Grammar of Popular Racism.”

²¹ Foucault’s earlier writings illustrate the managerial forces that subject one to dominating discourses. His later works illustrate ways in which subjectivities are created and formed in ways that resist or counter the normalizing constraints and disciplinary effects of discourse.

²² Michel Foucault, “Truth and Juridical Forms,” in *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984, Volume 3*, ed. James D. Faubion (New York: The New Press, 2000).

²³ C.f., Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, 38, Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, 2nd ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 311.

narrativization and representation to affect or privilege understandings of personhood and nationhood in its exploration of the ways in which Canada and Canadian identity are formed as the subjects of historical nationalist narratives.

Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis has its origins in linguistics and semiotics at a time when it involved primarily the examination of sounds, words, and decontextualized sentences. More recently it has come to refer to the study of larger linguistic units used in social contexts and has increasingly come to prominence in diverse academic disciplines that include literary theory, anthropology, history, education, sociology, social psychology, communication, public policy analysis, political science, post-colonial studies, and philosophy.²⁴ Within this ever widening scope of deployment there is such a bewildering variety of methodological approaches to the study of texts, that it has become clear that there is no one thing under the term “discourse analysis,” but rather a multitude of approaches such as pragmatics, communication studies, critical discourse analysis, critical linguistics, text linguistics, conversation analysis, ethnopoetics, ethnomethodology, linguistic anthropology, discursive psychology, stylistics, genre studies, sociolinguistics, rhetorical analysis, discourse theory, and argumentation theory.²⁵ There are those discourse analyses that focus on context and interaction in talk, others which study principles and practices underlying language usage, understanding, and appropriateness, and those which emphasize the relations between language and power as part of a social and cultural critique.²⁶ For example, Henry and Tator utilized critical discourse analysis to document the

²⁴ David Howarth, *Discourse* (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2000), 1, Linda A. Wood and Rolf O. Kroger, *Doing Discourse Analysis: Methods for Studying Action in Talk and Text* (London: Sage Publications Inc., 2000), 18.

²⁵ Parker, ed., *Critical Textwork: An Introduction to Varieties of Discourse and Analysis*, 3.

²⁶ Howarth, *Discourse*, ix, Wood and Kroger, *Doing Discourse Analysis: Methods for Studying Action in Talk and Text*, 18-33 and 195-211.

reproduction and maintenance of racist ideology through various moral panics and incidents pertaining to minoritized groups and represented in the English-language press in Canada.²⁷

Henry and Tator view discourse as language, thought, and practices through which both meaning and power circulate in the organization and formation of the social; however, the concept of discourse is used quite differently within and across the various approaches to discourse analysis mentioned above.²⁸

Given such multiple and competing varieties of discourse analysis and conceptions of discourse, there is an obvious imperative for me to make explicit what I mean when I say that I am “doing discourse analysis.” With this study of discourse I have begun from the post-structuralist premise that both the social (e.g., organizations, institutions, categories, concepts, and identities) and the material (e.g., a history textbook) are constituted as objects only in and through discourse. This is no denial of the existence of the material world nor is it a denial of the materiality of oppression. It is rather an insistence that such notions as “the material,” “truth,” and “reality”, including the reality of social oppressions and power differentials, are made meaningful only through historical and socially-mediated human inquiry and, therefore, are unavoidably tied to human language and fallibility.²⁹ To the extent that discourse “forms the very objects of which it speaks,³⁰ the discursive is “coterminous with the being of objects.”³¹ The task of discourse analysis is then to examine the ways in which a discourse turns something

²⁷ Henry and Tator, *Discourses of Domination: Racial Bias in the Canadian English-Language Press*.

²⁸ Ibid., 244. Howarth, *Discourse*, ix.

²⁹ Satya P. Mohanty, *Literary Theory and the Claims of History: Postmodernism, Objectivity, Multicultural Politics* (London: Cornell University Press, 1997), Paula M.L. Moya, "Postmodernism, 'Realism,' and the Politics of Identity: Cherrie Moraga and Chicana Feminism," in *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures*, ed. M. Jacqui Alexander and Chandra Talpade Mohanty (London: Routledge, 1997). See also L. Harris, ed., *Racism* (Amherst, NY: Humanity Books, 1999), H. Longino, "Feminist Epistemology," in *The Blackwell Guide to Epistemology*, ed. J. Greco and E. Sosa (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Limited, 1999).

³⁰ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, 49.

³¹ Laclau and Mouffe 1987 (p.84) as cited in, Howarth, *Discourse*, 2.

into an object that can be classified, explained, acted upon, institutionalized, or judged. This is precisely the sort of thing that Foucault does in his earlier work by, for example, illustrating the rituals of power and knowledge formation and the rules of organization and regulation that made it possible for humans to turn themselves into objects of knowledge through such figures as “the psychiatrist,” “the patient,” the so-called “the hysterical woman,” “the doctor,” “the guard,” “the criminal,” or “the scientist.”³²

To analyze discourse means to be attentive to the ways in which delimitations and specifications are organized and made to operate. A discourse on racism (i.e., a discourse that makes an object of racism), specifies what the object is about and what makes it different from other objects, say capitalism or sexism. Such delimitation and specification may be observed through attention to the conceptual architecture of a discourse. This involves identifying the specific terminology of a discourse (e.g., race, racial, racism, prejudice, discrimination), but also requires observing how various concepts are combined, juxtaposed, networked, or otherwise made to be related, how concepts are transformed when imported or exported across discursive formations, and how some concepts are attributed more or less central roles in constituting a particular discourse.³³ The conceptual architecture of a discourse exists within rules of formation through which groups of concepts and statements achieve a basic unity or theme. The goal with this analysis has been to comprehend the discursive practices and formations that give rise to knowledge about the particular theme of Canadian identity and to do so by describing the (trans-)formation of concepts of “race”, “racism”, and “antiracism” and statements about them,

³² Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan, 2nd ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction, Volume One*, Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (London: Tavistock, 1967), Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*.

³³ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, Jan Ifversen, “Text, Discourse, Concept: Approaches to Textual Analysis”, *Kontur*, no. 7 (2003): 65.

the conditions of their existence, the regularity of their use, and by observing what statements are recognized as valid or questionable, and what statements survive or disappear across time.³⁴

An analysis of discourse that fits within a post-positivistic tradition of inquiry, as this study aims to be, cannot be understood to involve “a set of methodological techniques that only carefully trained experts understand and are able to use, and that can be taken out of the cupboard and applied to each and every text.”³⁵ Depending upon such things as political motivation, the desires, investments, and background of the researcher, or the specificity of the site of analysis, a variety of techniques and approaches might be used. By way of illustration, my interest in conducting this study arose in part from the incongruity of conservative assertions about the nation’s history (as one sundered with an overemphasis upon racisms and de-unifying multicultural representations³⁶) with conclusions I reached pertaining to a single Canadian history textbook approved for use in Ontario (in which I found that white supremacist understandings of Canada and Canadian-ness predominated in a problematically unifying way).³⁷ One of the most common criticisms I received, in subsequently presenting these findings at a conference and in making several attempts to have the findings published in refereed journals, was that a single textbook seemed inadequate for generating a theory about the representation of white supremacy.³⁸ Thus, while I would certainly have been justified in choosing to analyze other concepts (e.g., gender, sexuality, citizenship, marriage) or conducting an analysis within a different site (children’s literature, oral histories, in-class interaction), I have aimed to address

³⁴ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*.

³⁵ Ann Levett et al., *Culture Power and Difference: Discourse Analysis in South Africa* (London: Zed Books Ltd., 1997), 14.

³⁶ Bliss, “Privatizing the Mind: The Sundering of Canadian History, the Sundering of Canada”, Granatstein, *Who Killed Canadian History?*

³⁷ Montgomery, “Flashback Canada: Racialized Representations in a High School Canadian History Textbook”, Montgomery, “The Imagined Canadian: Representations of Whiteness in *Flashback Canada*”.

³⁸ These were the primary criticisms from *The Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, *The Journal of Curriculum Studies*, and the *Canadian Historical Review*, each of which politely rejected my submission.

this concern by specifying my recent work to be an examination of the concepts of race, racism, and antiracism carried out within a specific cultural context: the nationalist narratives intended for school-age children and adolescents in multiple textbooks. Additionally, mine is explicitly an antiracist study and the politics of antiracism demand that matters of race be made central even in the knowledge that race exists and interlocks with multiple dimensions of oppression.³⁹ These are the specific parameters (both political and analytical) of the study and they require that certain inquiries be made of the texts in question. I will next turn to the general strategies that I have employed in carrying out these inquiries.

Reading and Analytical Strategies

In practice, the strategies of analysis that I will present here under separate headings were employed in a simultaneous and reflexive way that moved backward and forward through the texts drawing attention to rhetorical devices (e.g., tropes and strategies of separation), semantic patterns and discontinuities (e.g., redundant marking), and the ways in which discursive formations of knowledge about race, racism, and its oppositions were produced and re-produced in relation to representations of Canada and Canadians.⁴⁰ Additionally, while I have examined textbooks chosen specifically from different post-WWII eras, this analysis should be viewed less as a comparison between eras of textbooks and more as an attempt to comprehend the textual usage of concepts of race, racism, and antiracism and their antecedents across different times. I did not approach this, then, by identifying necessary and sufficient conditions for race, racism, and antiracism, determining whether or not such conditions were represented, and then

³⁹ George J. Sefa Dei, "Towards an Anti-Racism Discursive Framework," in *Power, Knowledge and Anti-Racism Education: A Critical Reader*, ed. A.M. Calliste and G.J.S. Dei (Halifax, NS: Fernwood Publishing, 2000), 30, Razack, *Looking White People in the Eye*.

⁴⁰ Levett et al., *Culture Power and Difference: Discourse Analysis in South Africa*, 199. On separation strategies and patterns of redundant marking see, Montgomery, "The Imagined Canadian: Representations of Whiteness in *Flashback Canada*", Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*, Snead, *White Screens Black Images: Hollywood from the Dark Side*.

comparing them. Rather I asked what race, racism, antiracism and their antecedents signified in each time period and how they articulated conceptions of national “self” and “other”.⁴¹ That is to say, I asked how a racialized logic of meaning about Canada and “Canadian-ness” was produced, constituted, and supported via the representation of knowledge about race and racism. Foucault suggests that key to a discursive investigation that aims to discern patterns, orderings, and limitations of knowledge is an examination of narrative sequences that invoke moments of reflection about the knowledge in question (in this case, about race, racism, antiracism and their respective antecedents).⁴² I have followed this strategy in my reading of the textbooks by asking how race, racism, and oppositions to racism were explicitly presented, discussed, made problematic, or morally reflected upon in the narrative sequences. The aim was to discern ways in which these concepts were presented as objects to be comprehended and explained, but also to understand the fears, anxieties, desires, and hopes mobilized as part of these explanations. In other words I asked about the nature of any moral problematization of race, racism, or opposition to racism and the explicit or implicit reasons given for the elaboration of these anxieties. Also involved in such a line of questioning was comprehending ways in which any such moral reflections and problematizations might privilege subject-positions that were tied to the good order of the nation or linked to proper techniques of self-conduct (e.g., adhering to norms of civility, justice, or tolerance).

1. On the representation of “race”

I will comment first on reading strategies pertaining to the representation of race. I was concerned here with identifying the usages of the term “race”, but aware both that the term itself

⁴¹ David Theo Goldberg, “The Semantics of Race,” in *Racism*, ed. Martin Bulmer and John Solomos (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 363.

⁴² C.f., Michel Foucault, *The Care of the Self: The History of Sexuality, Volume Three*, trans. Robert Hurley, 2nd ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1988), Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction, Volume One*.

has been used in ambiguous and contradictory ways (and was so in the textbooks) and that the term was not (and is not) a necessary condition to denote a racialized group. Thus, while I asked if the textbooks recognised the salience of the category “race” in constituting Canadian history and attempted to discern the boundaries of legitimate discourse about race, and while I made note of actual usage of the word “race”, I was also tuned to the racializations enacted by the textbooks and whether or not race-thinking was apparent in the stories of Canada’s past. My objectives here, then, were to see if the textbooks ascribed to race-thinking by taking for granted the reality of “race,” or by uncritically, even banally, accepting ideological and normalizing organizations that partitioned the world’s population into groups deemed to be naturally and eternally endowed with packaged sets of innate traits. The concept of racialization was of paramount importance in this part of the study. Racializations can account for the social construction of “race” and “races” by viewing such inventions as constituted by several inter-connected aspects of representation which work to separate, naturalize, and essentialize humans as “races”.⁴³ I was concerned with how the textbooks racialized the figures and subjects of Canadian history in ways congruent with race-thinking, but also with the possibility that textbooks adopted a social constructionist viewpoint of races. To put it a bit differently, I read these textbooks not only for evidence of “old” notions of race as a natural category of and in the human world, but also for “new” understandings of race as a social construction (i.e., existing only because of human ideas, beliefs, and practices even though it produces real and significant consequences for those variously valued, devalued, oppressed, and empowered on the basis of such a construction.)

⁴³ This I have discussed in detail in the introduction to this thesis.

2. On the representation of “racism”

With this part of the analysis, I was looking to see if the role of racism was made manifest in the historical narratives of these textbooks. Obviously, I looked for the word “racism” (and did not find it until I came to textbooks authorized for use in the 1970s). This is not because the word did not exist, however. “Racism,” according to Alistair Bonnett, had been in use since 1932 and the word “racist” since 1936 as a form of criticism by those who opposed race-related oppression.⁴⁴ Still, these words did not become commonly used until the 1960s. I also looked for any antecedents or derivatives (e.g., “racial discrimination”, “race prejudice”, “racialism”) and for other statements that were linked to or constituted within the conceptual discourse of racism (e.g., intolerance, inequality, oppression). I asked if and how the textbooks engaged with the historical roles of different forms of racism, explicitly discussed racisms, or illuminated past or present racisms as constitutive of the stories narrated. To the extent that part of what becomes meaning can be found “in” the textbooks, I wanted to understand what the textbooks meant when they referred to “racism” or any of its antecedents. Where this was not made explicit (in a formal definition, a narrative explanation, or as a glossary term), I aimed to interpret the implicit assumptions within and around the deployment of statements relevant to a discourse on “racism.” Here it was important to discern if the textbooks adopted a singular conception of racism or if they represented multiple racisms differing in terms of intentionality, origin, mode of production, historical structure, object of negative evaluation, rationality, or severity.⁴⁵ I also aimed to determine whether any racisms that were made manifest were deemed to exert real and material consequences detrimental to the experiences, consciousness, or lives of those subjugated to the force of racist oppression, or real and significant consequences beneficial to those upon whom

⁴⁴ Bonnett, *Anti-Racism*, 10.

⁴⁵ Dei, *Anti-Racism Education: Theory and Practice*, 253, Goldberg, *Racist Culture*, 209, Miles, *Racism*, 84.

such force necessarily would have bestowed unfair advantage, power, privilege, and dividends.⁴⁶ Important too were those statements that functioned to resolve narrative tensions about racialized historical episodes by positioning Canada as a nation practically free of racisms, as a moral exemplar, or an innocent bystander (especially in relation to other nations and places) and, as well, any narrative statements that acknowledged racisms within and beyond the borders of Canada or that condemned Canada (and others) for past or present racisms.

3. *On the representation of "opposition to racism"*

I also aimed to document understandings about how, according to the textbooks, racism has been and continues to be challenged, opposed, and resisted. In other words, what I was looking for here was how the textbooks conceived of the idea of being against racism (or *for* antiracism). I entered into the analysis with two important caveats in mind. The first was that racism and antiracism should not be understood as existing as clearly differentiated binaries, but rather as contradictory and overlapping formations.⁴⁷ One example of this ambiguity is the invocation of racialized categories in the formation of political solidarities intent on overcoming the effects of historically-specific and long-enduring racisms.⁴⁸ The second caveat followed from the first. Any circulation of antiracist discourses or the opening up of antiracist subject positions could not be viewed as necessarily precluding the possible production and circulation of racist meanings and formations of knowledge. Such an entangled relation is evident, for example, in the frequently ambivalent and defensive responses of teachers to antiracist education

⁴⁶ A. Memmi, *Racism*, trans. S. Martinot (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).

⁴⁷ A. Rattansi and S. Westwood, eds., *Racism, Modernity and Identity on the Western Front* (Cambridge, MA: Polity Press, 1994).

⁴⁸ George J. Sefa. Dei, "The Denial of Difference: Reframing Anti-Racist Praxis", *Race ethnicity and education* 2, no. 1 (1999), A.S.A. Guimaraes, "Racism and Anti-Racism in Brazil: A Postmodern Perspective," in *Racism*, ed. L. Harris (Amherst, NY: Humanity Books, 1999).

programmes.⁴⁹ This sort of subsumption of antiracist discourse may result from the ubiquitous quality of racism as a regime of power at least partially constitutive of subjects, subjectivities, and resistance and working within nationalist narratives in such a way as to sustain the order, rules, and norms of racist discourse.⁵⁰

A particular problem which became apparent as the analysis progressed was that the word “antiracism” was seldom used, even in the most recent of textbooks. Thus, in addition to considering the few explicit references to “antiracism,” I read for implicit assumptions about antiracism gauged through explanations and examples of racism within the pages of the textbooks. I read, in other words, for the ways in which racisms were described as having been challenged (if even unsuccessfully), overcome, resisted, or otherwise countered. My use of the term “antiracism” should be seen therefore not as a reference to a specific approach to counter racism, but rather as a methodological catch-all term to categorize the conception(s) implicit in the textbooks about how to stop, eradicate, or otherwise deal with racism. I asked if the textbooks viewed racism as an oppression that warranted opposition and why or why not. I also asked if the textbooks conceived of racism as something “stoppable” and if so, what conditions were represented as being necessary or sufficient in order for it to be stopped. Other key questions which guided this inquiry into understanding how the textbooks conceived of ideas and practices of being against racism included: Who (or what), according to the textbooks, opposes

⁴⁹ Sandra Finney and Jeff Orr, "'I've Really Learned a Lot, But . . .': Cross-Cultural Understanding and Teacher Education in a Racist Society", *Journal of Teacher Education* 46, no. 327 (1995), McCarthy and Chrichlow, eds., *Race, Identity and Representation in Education*, K. Moodley, "Antiracist Education through Political Literacy: The Case of Canada," in *Critical Multiculturalism: Rethinking Multicultural and Antiracist Education*, ed. Stephen May (Philadelphia: Falmer Press, 1999), Donatille Mujawamariya and Gada Mahrouse, "Apprehension and Antagonism: Multicultural and Antiracist Pedagogic Approaches in the Training of Teachers in Canada" (paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago, April 25 2003), Donatille Mujawamariya and Gada Mahrouse, "Multicultural Education in Canadian Pre-Service Programs: Teacher Candidates' Perspectives", *Alberta Journal of Educational Research* (forthcoming).

⁵⁰ Alexander and Mohanty, eds., *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures*, Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction, Volume One*, Stanley, "The Struggle for History: Historical Narratives and Anti-Racist Pedagogy".

racism (e.g., the State, men, women, whites, people of colour, Canadians)? For whom (or what) are any such oppositions done? To put it a bit differently, I asked if the textbooks (in putting forth knowledge about opposition to racism) represented figures of (or relevant to) Canadian history according to patterns of race, gender, or class? How was the responsibility for oppositions to racism addressed, what goals were implicitly set for opposing racism, and what was involved in achieving such goals? What, according to these textbooks, has counted as opposition to, or the stopping of, racism? How have the textbooks reflected upon or privileged particular strategies against racism?

The next step involved asking how these ideas about opposing racism, or depictions of practices against racism, articulated with representations of the nation and national identity. I aimed to see if there appeared to be an implicit function to combine the good order of the nation-state with the proper conduct of its citizens when statements about opposing racism entered into the narratives.⁵¹ I asked if the textbooks reflected upon the possibilities of an antiracist future for the nation-state or how Canada might fit into a project toward a hopeful global antiracism. The comparative component of the inquiry involved asking these questions concerning the representation of the nation and any oppositions to racism across textbooks from different eras and discerning both the changes and continuities. Finally, the representative effects of the conceptions of antiracism in each era were reflected upon.

4. On the representation of "the nation" and "national identity"

The other integral part of the analysis was to understand the organization of subject positions with respect to race and nation. I was concerned here with the construction, production, and definition of knowledge about Canada in relation to race, racism, and antiracism in ways that

⁵¹ Michel Foucault, *The Use of Pleasure: The History of Sexuality, Volume Two*, trans. Robert Hurley, 2nd ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 151.

made the taking up of certain subject positions plausible based on their intelligibility, coherence, normalization, or commonsensical appeal within functions of discourse. By asking what narrative subjects were represented as ideal or exemplary Canadians, as flawed but compatible Canadians, as non-desirable Others, or even as hidden norms or normal absences, I could discern who was made to personify knowledge about race and nation organized and ordered through these knowledge apparatuses. Of course, the nation is also imagined in such terms as gender, sexuality, class, and ability.⁵² While these multiple social positions and the simultaneity of oppressions enacted through them have not been central to my analysis, I have tried to ask how figures in the textbooks, marked as standing for or separate from the nation, are represented as contributing to or fighting against racism and how, therefore, the articulations of racism and antiracism with the nation get gendered or embodied by other relations of social oppression.

Other key questions guiding this aspect of the inquiry included: How do the discursive representations of race, racism, and antiracism articulate with and privilege certain understandings of what it means to be Canadian? How is the subject of these history textbooks, Canada, made known or constructed in “truthful” ways through the discursive formations of race, racism and its oppositions? What discursive strategies of separation mark Canada as a particular kind of nation notably distinct from others in the world of nations (e.g., multiculturalism) and in what ways is Canada marked with a certain resemblance to or solidarity with other nations (e.g., as freedom-loving, democratic, tolerant).⁵³ By analyzing the narratives for the actions Canada did or did not do, the power and authority Canada exhibited, opposed, or submitted to, and the

⁵² Strong-Boag et al., eds., *Painting the Maple: Essays on Race, Gender, and the Construction of Canada*.

⁵³ On strategies of separation and redundant marking see, Montgomery, “The Imagined Canadian: Representations of Whiteness in *Flashback Canada*”, Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*, Snead, *White Screens Black Images: Hollywood from the Dark Side*.

role Canada played in problem-solving or problem-causing, I could also contribute to an understanding of how this subject of Canadian history (i.e., "Canada") was racialized.

The subjects of a nation-state's population are produced, policed, and regulated by bureaucratic regimes and modes of discipline that order and form the subject positions required to reproduce the social order of the nation-state. This part of the analysis also involved reflecting upon how the textbooks privileged particular subject positions for students to make sense of their world and to shape their imaginations about home and identity in terms of race and nation. I was looking in particular for those statements that advised and directed student readers to focus on themselves explicitly as Canadians. Of course, the readers of these textbooks have constituted and empowered themselves politically, ethically, spiritually and so forth by constructing subjectivities both in and through, but also against and counter to, the subject-positions privileged, stabilized, or normalized by the textbooks. To account for this sort of agency would involve analyzing the reception of the textbooks by those students who actually read them, and such is not something that I attempted with this study.⁵⁴ I have attempted, rather, to interpret the potential for patterns of narrativization and representation, or salient breaks from these patterns, to affect racist or antiracist understandings of nationhood. This I have done by attending particularly to the ways in which the nation-state was positioned as inclusive (to those recognized as being "at home" within the nation-state and legitimately possessed of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship) and exclusive (through, for example, the invocation of fantasies

⁵⁴ Much work pertaining to the reception of texts has been carried out in Cultural Studies through, for example, the analysis of audience. See, for example, David Morley, "Changing Paradigms in Audience Studies," in *Remote Control: Television, Audiences, and Cultural Power*, ed. Ellen Seiter, et al. (London: Routledge, 1989), Judith P. Robertson, "Fantasy's Confines: Popular Culture and the Education of the Female Primary School Teacher", *Canadian Journal of Education* 22, no. 2 (1997), Ellen Seiter, "'Don't Treat Us Like We're So Stupid and Naive: Toward an Ethnography of Soap Opera Viewers,'" in *Remote Control: Television, Audiences, and Cultural Power*, ed. Ellen Seiter, et al. (London: Routledge, 1989).

about cultural or biological identity in the fortification of boundaries between citizens and non-citizen others.)

The Role of Narrative

It should already be apparent that in my readings of these history textbooks I also attended to the commensurability between discourse analysis and certain core postulates of narrative theory. These textbooks of Canadian history tell a story (i.e., the story of how white Europeans colonized a land and, with great determination against multiple obstacles, built it into a “multicultural” paradise of freedom, justice, and tolerance) and each textbook constitutes a text in and of itself insofar as each tells a slightly different version of the same story (e.g., the later textbooks put great emphasis on the “multicultural”). Whatever fictive processes go into the writing of these narratives, the historians who participate in the writing of them can be considered to have done so by adopting realist strategies to account for a history that did, in fact, happen even if it can be neither known nor represented with anything akin to absolute truth.⁵⁵ I did not set out to challenge or quibble with the authenticity of claims made in the historical narratives constituting the textbooks.⁵⁶ Neither have I set out to assess the representation of race, racism, and opposition to racism in relation to the state of historical knowledge in each era. I have asked how the textbooks function as apparatuses that bring knowledge into normalized being, not if the knowledge represented is an accurate account of the past. For most student readers, these history textbooks represent the truth about the past no matter their historical correctness. Besides, my central argument has much less to do with the accuracy of events depicted than it does with the

⁵⁵ Mohanty, *Literary Theory and the Claims of History: Postmodernism, Objectivity, Multicultural Politics*, Moya, “Postmodernism, “Realism,” and the Politics of Identity: Cherrie Moraga and Chicana Feminism.”, Stanley, “Why I Killed Canadian History: Towards an Anti-Racist History in Canada”: 82.

⁵⁶ Others involved in the analysis of history textbooks have explicitly set out to do this. See, for example, Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, *The Shocking Truth About Indians in Textbooks*. Of course, by arguing that the textbooks sustain white supremacist mythologies of the nation, I do end up challenging the claims of these historical narratives.

ways in which events are depicted. That is, my study takes account of the *actors* or *agents* who perform, cause, or experience within the series of logically related events that make up the *story* of Canadian history told in the particular medium of high school history textbooks (i.e., the *narrative texts*).⁵⁷ These actors need not be people. I have paid close attention to those human figures (individuals and groups) who are put into these narratives as actors (or spectators as the case may be), but in fact, I was particularly interested in how Canada itself was positioned as an actor within these stories (and how other nations acted or existed in the events that tied together the story of Canada's past). My primary interest in attending to narrativization was to document the ways in which narratives of the nation worked to imagine "Canada as a moral community" in which racisms and colonialisms were depicted as aberrations of the past or absences in the present.⁵⁸ I was looking to understand the ways in which narratives redeemed Canada or Canadians as having progressed from an immoral past to morally perfected present free from racisms, colonialisms, or other related oppressions. Another possibility was that the narratives might extend the fantasy of a perfected tolerant and multicultural present back through time such that the mythology of white settler innocence came to constitute the logic pinning the events of the story together.⁵⁹ I was interested too in whether or not Canada or Canadians redeemed other places and spaces (e.g., the US) by acting as a sanctuary from the immorality "over there" and, especially, if Canada acted as "benevolent white redeemer" in coming to know the Other or some universal human condition (such as peace) in ways that eclipsed, obscured, or erased racisms

⁵⁷ Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 5.

⁵⁸ L.G. Roman and Timothy J. Stanley, "Empires, Emigres, and Aliens: Young People's Negotiations of Official and Popular Racism in Canada," in *Dangerous Territories: Struggles for Equality and Difference in Education*, ed. L.G. Roman and J. Eyre (New York: Routledge, 1997), 215.

⁵⁹ C.f., Hage, *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society*, Mackey, *The House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada*.

and/or their consequences.⁶⁰ I took these narrative texts as spatial practices that operated (and operate) in the social order to privilege certain kinds of meaning and knowledge about race and nation in stories that were (are) racialized and regulated such that they made and remade (make and remake) Canada as a white nation.⁶¹

Interpreting the Findings

Just as the analysis of the textbooks involved a continual process of reading, interpreting, re-reading, and re-interpreting, the writing up of my findings also involved going back and forth between the keys of my notebook computer and the pages of both the textbooks analyzed and my notes of analysis. Data in the form of observational notes on the narrative and discursive aspects of the textbooks, extracts from the textbooks, and various comments and interpretations was collected in such a way as to generate hypotheses about the representation of race, racism, and antiracism as these articulated with depictions of Canada and Canadian identity.⁶² My “methodology”, in this sense unfolded as the study progressed and coincided with the actual writing of the “results.” In a certain sense, therefore, it is a running commentary on the textbooks. I am in agreement with those who feel that a good running commentary is exactly what is needed so long that it is rich in descriptive detail and provides enough context to give the description significance.⁶³ This captures what I have tried to do in the three chapters that discuss the representation of race, racism, and opposition to racism respectively. Moreover, I have in the

⁶⁰ Leslie Roman, "Denying (White) Racial Privilege: Redemption Discourses and the Uses of Fantasy.," in *Off White: Readings on Race, Power, and Society*, ed. Michelle Fine, et al. (London: Routledge, 1997), 275. See also, Carol Schick, "Keeping the Ivory Tower White: Discourses of Racial Domination," in *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society*, ed. Sherene H. Razack (Toronto: Between the Lines Press, 2002), 104.

⁶¹ Razack, ed., *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society*.

⁶² C.f., D.L. Altheide, "Ethnographic Content Analysis", *Qualitative Sociology* 10, no. 1 (1987), T.S. Lincoln and E.G. Guba, *Naturalistic Inquiry* (London: Sage Publications, 1985).

⁶³ D. Cameron, "Gender, Language, and Discourse: A Review Essay", *Signs: Journal of women in culture and society* 23, no. 4 (1998): 969-70.

chapter preceding those three tried to provide a contextual description of the periods in which the textbooks were produced and authorized and an “inter-textual” account of some other ways in which articulations of race and nation were put into broader circulation.⁶⁴ I have included a brief overview of the significant cultural, political, and ideological concerns evident in the eras as a way to understand the continuities and discontinuities between these concerns and the narrative and representational figurations within the textbooks. I have focused particularly on descriptions of relevant Ontario curricular guidelines and other related government documents that underscore the role of the state apparatus in shaping the narratives and representations contained in the textbooks.

In writing the results of my analysis (i.e., my interpretation of my readings), I have also followed the tradition of those who work as critical discourse analysts by attempting to produce something of a politically-motivated counternarrative.⁶⁵ That is to say, in the writing of my findings concerning the representation of race, racism, and opposition to racism in Canadian history textbooks, I have explicitly aimed to trouble the hegemonic forms of white supremacist domination observed in these books and to write narratives that disrupt, deconstruct, or otherwise make obviously problematic such banal racism. Of course, critically interrogating these unjust knowledge apparatuses does not mean that I have thereby changed them, only that I have met one of the conditions for change by illustrating that what counts as “knowledge”, “truth”, or “reality” with respect to racialized articulations of the nation in textbooks intended for children is constructed, contingent, and riddled with configurations of power.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ T. Bennett and J. Woollacott, *Bond and Beyond: The Political Career of a Popular Hero* (New York: Methuen, Inc., 1987).

⁶⁵ Henry and Tator, *Discourses of Domination: Racial Bias in the Canadian English-Language Press*, Michael Peters and Colin Lankshear, “Postmodern Counternarratives,” in *Counternarratives: Cultural Studies and Critical Pedagogies in Postmodern Spaces*, ed. Henry Giroux, et al. (New York: Routledge, 1996).

⁶⁶ Cameron, “Gender, Language, and Discourse: A Review Essay”: 966.

On the Selection of Textbooks

The textbooks selected for analysis as part of this study have all been sanctioned by the Ontario Ministry of Education for use with grade 10 students of Canadian history.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, each textbook selected for analysis has received some sort of state approval with other provincial ministries of education, and, in fact, most of the textbooks have been authorized, recommended, or approved in multiple provinces. That which I have come to know about the authorization of each textbook across different provinces I have included in footnotes as a way to illustrate the national redundancy of the representational patterns evident in these curricular texts. I will leave to others, however, the arduous task of situating an analysis of such textbooks in a national or multi-provincial context. This is explicitly a study of textbooks sanctioned by the province of Ontario.⁶⁸

I have limited this study of textbooks to the post-WWII eras. This has enabled me to assess the validity of the claim by those conservative critics who assert that the “content” of Canadian history represented in schools is now substantially different than it was at mid-century.⁶⁹ Limiting the study regionally to Ontario and temporally to the last half of the twentieth century does little, however, to reduce the number of textbooks that might then qualify for examination as part of the study. Between the years 1945 and 2004 literally hundreds of textbooks and numerous other learning resources have been approved for use for the study of Canadian history in Ontario schools. Needless to say, I have considerably limited the number of textbooks that constitute this analysis and have done so in multiple ways. First, I have chosen to

⁶⁷ Province of Ontario: Ministry of Education Circular 14 (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1889-1997), Province of Ontario: Ontario Ministry of Education, *The Trillium List* (2003 [cited July 22 2003]); available from [www.curriculum.org/occ/trillium/resources/Social\)Studies_History_and_Geography_elementary.shtml](http://www.curriculum.org/occ/trillium/resources/Social)Studies_History_and_Geography_elementary.shtml).

⁶⁸ Canada has no national ministry of education or any other national governing body that regulates public school education, including curricular development and the production and sanctioning of learning resources.

⁶⁹ This I have discussed in chapter one, noting particularly, Bliss, "Privatizing the Mind: The Sundering of Canadian History, the Sundering of Canada". and Granatstein, *Who Killed Canadian History?*

focus on high school history and specifically that of grade 10. Prior to WWII, few students entered grade 10, but this changed considerably after the war. Not only did large percentages of students begin to enter and complete grade 10, they were required, in this grade, to study twentieth century Canadian history. This was an important consideration since the problematization of race-thinking and racism has become commonplace only since the beginning of the twentieth century. My narrowing of the analysis to twentieth century Canadian history at the grade 10 level is a bit complicated, however, by the fact that in the earlier years, grade 10 history included the history of Canada prior to the twentieth century and even prior to the nineteenth. Moreover, even those textbooks explicitly focused on the twentieth century include some representations of earlier centuries. I have further chosen to focus on survey textbooks, not pamphlets or specialty books that were approved for use as textbooks or other learning resources. So, a book like Alexander Hewitt's *Separatism* for example, which was authorized as a student resource throughout the 1970s and 1980s, was not included here.⁷⁰ Additionally, I have focused on student resources, not teacher resources. Thus, while I might make mention of particular teacher resources such as Godfrey's *Teacher's Resource: Spotlight Canada, 4th Edition* (2000)⁷¹ or to teacher guidelines such as *History Intermediate Division 3, Curriculum Ideas for Teachers, Canada's Multicultural Heritage* (1977)⁷² in the context of my discussion, neither of these kinds of documents can be said to comprise the data sample proper.

In determining what specific post-WWII textbooks to select for analysis, I first turned to the official lists of history textbooks authorized, approved, or recommended by the province of

⁷⁰ Alexander Hewitt, *Separatism* (Toronto: McLean-Hunter Learning Materials, 1971).

⁷¹ Jeanne Godfrey, *Teacher's Resource: Spotlight Canada (4th Edition)* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2000).

⁷² Province of Ontario: Ministry of Education History Intermediate Division, 3, *Curriculum Ideas for Teachers, Canada's Multicultural Heritage* (Toronto: The Queen's Printer, 1977).

Ontario.⁷³ Central control of textbooks was an idea introduced by Egerton Ryerson, Upper Canada first Superintendent of Education, in the late 1800s with the aims of combating the dominance of US publishers, providing uniformity of learning resources in the schools, and controlling the price of textbooks.⁷⁴ The School Act of 1846 achieved these goals by establishing mandated use of textbooks in the province. Initially, Ryerson produced a list of authorized textbooks annually in his report to the provincial legislature. Upon his retirement in 1876 the department issued annual circulars pertaining to the schools and beginning in 1889 the regulation regarding textbooks was known as *Circular 14*.⁷⁵ These lists were continually published in Ontario, at first annually and later with two or three supplements, up to the year 1997. While a new curriculum was being developed under the Harris government in the late 1990s, newly authorized textbooks and learning resources came under a list called Authorized Learning Materials. For several years, textbooks from both of these lists were considered officially sanctioned learning resources. In 2002, these lists were replaced by one entitled, *The Trillium List*. Taken together, these official lists document several key moments when significant changes could be observed in the kinds of textbooks sanctioned by the Ontario government. Most particularly, such changes can be seen in the first years of the 1960s, the mid-1970s, and after 1999. These changes to the inclusions contained in the authorization documents map fairly well onto major history curriculum revisions that took place over the past 60 years thus permitting me

⁷³ Prior to 1950-51, textbooks listed in *Circular 14* were identified as "authorized and recommended". From 1953-54 until 1997 they were "approved or recommended". Penney Clark notes a similar change in language with respect to state-sanctioned history textbooks in British Columbia. See, P.I. Clark, "'Take It Away Youth!' Visions of Canadian Identity in British Columbia Social Studies Textbooks, 1925-1989" (PhD, University of British Columbia, 1995). On the significance of such a change see, Timothy J. Stanley, "Understanding the Structure of Anti-Chinese Racism: Collective Memory and the High School History Textbooks of British Columbia, 1950-1999" (paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, Winnipeg, Manitoba, June 3 2004)..

⁷⁴ J. Fraser, "The Circular 14 Story: Approved Textbooks in Ontario," *Orbit* 1979, Marian Press and Susan Adams, eds., *The Ontario Textbook Collection* (Toronto: R.W.B. Jackson Library, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1984).

⁷⁵ Fraser, "The Circular 14 Story: Approved Textbooks in Ontario.", Press and Adams, eds., *The Ontario Textbook Collection*.

to organize my textbook sample according to four periods. The four periods are: 1)1945-1959, 2)1960-1969, 3) 1975-1980, and 4) 2000-2004.⁷⁶

The first set of textbooks are those authorized during the period from the Second World War up to 1959. During this time, the history curriculum was reproduced year after year without any revisions.⁷⁷ *Circular 14* too consistently authorized the same textbooks from one year to the next. Several editions of Brown's *Building the Canadian Nation* were authorized from 1945 until 1959.⁷⁸ *Canada – A Nation and How it Came to Be* (Chafe and Lower, 1949), *Canada in the World To-day* (Rogers et al, 1952), and *Our Canada* (Dorland, 1949) were each added to *Circular 14* in 1952 and remained there until 1959.⁷⁹ *Canada and the World* (Brown & Careless, 1954) received its first authorization in 1954 and would remain on *Circular 14* until 1973.⁸⁰ No other textbook was officially authorized for students of Canadian history during this period from 1945 to 1959. However, Bingay's *History of Canada*, McArthur's *History of Canada*, and A.L. Burt's *Romance of Canada* (1937) were "recommended" as "supplementary books for the

⁷⁶ Province of Ontario: Department of Education Courses of Study, Grades IX and X Social Studies. History, August 1942 (Toronto: The King's Printer, 1942), Province of Ontario: Department of Education Curriculum I:7 & I:9 40m, 1962, Geography, History and Government: Social Studies Intermediate Division Grades 7, 8, 9, and 10 (Toronto: The Queen's Printer, 1962), Province of Ontario: Department of Education Curriculum I:7 & I:9. Geography, History and Government Social Studies. Intermediate Division Grades 7, 8, 9, and 10. 1959 (Toronto: The Queen's Printer, 1959), Province of Ontario: Ministry of Education Curriculum Guideline, History and Contemporary Studies, Part B: Intermediate Division (Toronto: The Queen's Printer, 1986), Province of Ontario: Ministry of Education History, Intermediate Division, 1973 (Toronto: The Queen's Printer, 1973), Province of Ontario: Ministry of Education The Ontario Curriculum Grades 9 and 10: Canadian and World Studies (Toronto: Queen's Printer for Ontario, 1999).

⁷⁷ See my discussion of this in the next chapter.

⁷⁸ George Brown, W., *Building the Canadian Nation* (Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 1946), George Brown, W., *Building the Canadian Nation*, Revised ed. (Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 1958), George Brown, W., *Building the Canadian Nation* (Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 1942).

⁷⁹ J.W. Chafe and A.R.M. Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be* (Toronto: Longmans, Green & Company, 1948), Arthur C. Dorland, *Our Canada* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1949), L.B. Rogers et al., *Canada in the World to-Day*, Revised ed. (Toronto: Irwin & Co. Ltd., 1952).

⁸⁰ George Brown, W. and J.M.S. Careless, *Canada and the World* (Toronto and Vancouver: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1954).

classroom” for Ontario grades 9 and 10 from 1938 to 1952 and so I have supplemented my analysis with occasional references to them.⁸¹

Significant revisions were made to *Circular 14* in 1960 and 1961. These changes, which identified Canadian history for the first time, coincided with changes made to the history curriculum in the years 1959 and 1962.⁸² In the 1961 edition of *Circular 14*, “Grade 10 history” appeared for the first time as a category under intermediate division “Social Studies or History and Geography.” Five history textbooks were listed under this category: *Decisive Decades: A History of the Twentieth Century for Canadians* (Hodgetts, 1960), *The Twentieth Century* (Lambert, 1960), *The Winds of Change: A History of Canada and Canadians in the Twentieth Century* (Peart & Schaffter, 1961), *The Modern Era* (Ricker, Saywell & Rose, 1960), and one holdover from the earlier era of textbooks, *Canada and the World* (Brown & Careless, 1954). In 1963, *Three Nations: Canada - Great Britain - The United States of America in the Twentieth Century* (Nicholson et al, 1962) was added to this set of grade 10 history textbooks. The new history curriculum of 1962 did suggest supplementary and reference material, but these were largely either focused on twentieth century Britain or the United States (e.g., *Modern Britain, 1885-1955* and *America in the Twentieth Century*) or highlighted very specific moments, usually

⁸¹ Bingay, *History of Canada* (Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1935), Alfred Leroy Burt, *Romance of Canada* (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1937), Duncan McArthur, *History of Canada for High Schools* (Toronto: W.J. Gage and Co., Ltd., 1935), Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular H.S. 8. Courses of Study, Grades IX and X Social Studies. History. August, 1952 (Toronto: The King's Printer, 1952), 25, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Courses of Study, Grades IX and X Social Studies. History, August 1938 (Toronto: The King's Printer, 1938), 25. Burt's textbook was also authorized for use in British Columbia. See pp.3-4 of “Prescribed Textbooks”, Province of British Columbia (1950-51)

⁸² Province of Ontario: Department of Education Curriculum I:7 & I:9 40m, 1962, Geography, History and Government: Social Studies Intermediate Division Grades 7, 8, 9, and 10, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Curriculum I:7 & I:9. Geography, History and Government Social Studies. Intermediate Division Grades 7, 8, 9, and 10. 1959.

military, with respect to Canadian history in the twentieth century.⁸³ *The Rise and Fall of Mackenzie King, 1911-1919* and *The Official History of the Canadian Army in World War II* are two such recommendations for the study of Canadian history.⁸⁴ None of these supplementary references were included in my analysis. I did, however, supplement my analysis by referring to one text that was identified as suitable for “the general reader” and which was entitled *Ordeal By Fire, Canada 1910-1945* (Allen, 1961).⁸⁵

The third set of textbooks were chosen from a Circular 14 that had undergone substantial revisions in the early 1970s in response to a new curriculum. According to this new curriculum, which was published in interim form in 1973 and as an official curriculum guideline in 1977, courses for Grades 9 and 10 were to be developed from “Contemporary Canadian and World Concerns” and “Canada’s Multicultural Heritage.”⁸⁶ The style and format of *Circular 14* did not change significantly from 1971 to 1997. During this time, some 300 books dealing with Canadian history were authorized for use. Of those which might be considered survey textbooks (as opposed to specialty monographs dealing with particular individuals, issues, or events) and which dealt primarily with twentieth century Canadian history, about 45 were authorized over this time period. I limited the selection of textbooks to those published between 1975 and 1980 (with the assumption that they were likely to reflect the changes made to the curriculum

⁸³ Frank Burt Freidel, *America in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Knopf, 1960), Henry Pelling, *Modern Britain, 1885-1955* (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1962), Province of Ontario: Department of Education Curriculum I:7 & I:9 40m, 1962, Geography, History and Government: Social Studies Intermediate Division Grades 7, 8, 9, and 10, 111.

⁸⁴ Province of Ontario: Department of Education Curriculum I:7 & I:9 40m, 1962, Geography, History and Government: Social Studies Intermediate Division Grades 7, 8, 9, and 10, 116-20, C.P. Stacey and Gerald W.L. Nicholson, *The Official History of the Canadian Army* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1957).

⁸⁵ Ralph Allen, *Ordeal by Fire: Canada, 1910-1945* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 1961), Province of Ontario: Department of Education Curriculum I:7 & I:9 40m, 1962, Geography, History and Government: Social Studies Intermediate Division Grades 7, 8, 9, and 10, 120. This textbook was authorized for use under schedule B and later schedule 3 of Circular 14 from 1972 to 1989. It was also authorized for use as a supplementary Social Studies 11 textbook in British Columbia from 1971 to 1989.

⁸⁶ Province of Ontario: Ministry of Education History, Intermediate Division, 1973, Province of Ontario: Ontario Ministry of Education Curriculum Guideline for the Intermediate Division, History, 1977 (Toronto: The Queen's Printer, 1977).

beginning in 1973) and authorized for a minimum of 10 years. This left me with a more manageable set of textbooks that, in addition to reflecting changes brought about by the new curriculum, captured changes brought about by the institutionalization of official multiculturalism in 1971, and preceded the development of the next wave of curricular changes. Two kinds of textbooks were evident here, each kind of which corresponded to one or the other courses of study. Those that were aligned with “Contemporary Canadian and World Concerns” included: *In Search of Canada* (Kirbyson, 1977); *Canada’s Century* (Evans and Martinello, 1978); *Canada Towards Tomorrow* (Evans & Diachun, 1976); *Forging a Destiny* (Mitchener et al, 1976), and *Canada Since Confederation* (Howard, Riddoch, and Watson, 1976). Those corresponding to the course “Canada’s Multicultural Heritage” included: *Many Cultures, Many Heritages* (Sheffe, 1975), *Call Us Canadians* (Martinello, 1976), *Canada: Discovering Our Heritage* (Smith, 1977), *Our Cultural Heritage* (Riddoch and Watson, 1979), *Origins: Canada’s Multicultural Heritage* (Saint and Reid, 1979).

In 1999 a new curriculum for the course “Canadian History in the Twentieth Century” was published by the Ministry of Education.⁸⁷ Soon thereafter it was announced that *Circular 14* was to be replaced with new provincial guidelines for the approval of learning materials.⁸⁸ I selected as my fourth and final era of textbooks those published no earlier than 2000 and authorized under the new document listing approved learning resources, which is entitled *The Trillium List*.⁸⁹ Seven textbooks are listed and all have been made part of my study. The curriculum guideline offered no suggestions for supplementary student resources. Consequently,

⁸⁷ Province of Ontario: Ministry of Education The Ontario Curriculum Grades 9 and 10: Canadian and World Studies.

⁸⁸ Province of Ontario: Ontario Ministry of Education, *The Trillium List* ([cited], Hilary M. Weston Speech from the Throne: 21 Steps into the 21st Century (The Second Session of the Thirty-Seventh Parliament of the Province of Ontario: 2001).

⁸⁹ Curriculum Services Canada, *A History of Curriculum Services Canada* (2002 [cited July 17 2003]); available from http://www.curriculum.org/csc/csc_history.pdf.

the set of textbooks analyzed as part of this recent era, 2000-2004, include the following:

Canada: A Nation Unfolding (Newman et al., 2000); *Canadian History: 1900-2000* (Hundey et al., 2000); *Canada: Our Century, Our Story* (Fielding & Evans, 2000); *Spotlight Canada* (Cruxton & Wilson, 2000); *Canada: Face of a Nation* (Bolotta, 2000); *Canada: Continuity and Change* (Bogle et al., 2000); and *Making History: The Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century* (Bain et al., 2000)⁹⁰

Thus, while I have supplemented my analysis with occasional references to other textbooks and learning/teaching devices and curriculum materials, and perused many more, the following textbooks comprise the main texts analyzed as part of this study:

1) 1945-1959

Building the Canadian Nation (Brown, 1946, 1958)
Canada – A Nation and How it Came to Be (Chafe & Lower, 1949)
Canada in the World To-day (Rogers et al., 1952)
Our Canada (Dorland, 1949)
Canada and the World (Brown and Careless, 1954)

2) 1960s

Decisive Decades: A History of the Twentieth Century for Canadians (Hodgetts, 1960)
The Twentieth Century (Lambert, 1960)
The Winds of Change: A History of Canada and Canadians in the Twentieth Century (Peart & Schaffter, 1961)
The Modern Era (Ricker, Saywell & Rose, 1960)
Three Nations: Canada – Great Britain – The United States (Nicholson et al., 1962)

3) 1975-1980

In Search of Canada (Kirbyson, 1977)
Canada's Century (Evans & Martinello, 1978)
Canada Towards Tomorrow (Evans & Diachun, 1976)
Forging a Destiny: Canada Since 1945 (Mitchener et al., 1976)
Canada Since Confederation (Howard, Riddoch, & Watson, 1976)
Many Cultures, Many Heritages (Sheffe, 1975)
Call Us Canadians (Martinello, 1976)

⁹⁰ Colin Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century* (Toronto: Pearson Education Canada, 2000), Don Bogle, Eugene D'Orazio, and Don Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change* (Markham, Ontario: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 2000), Angelo Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation* (Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing Company, 2000), J. Bradley Cruxton and W. Douglas Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 4th ed. (Toronto: Oxford, 2000), John Fielding and Rosemary Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story* (Scarborough, Ontario: Nelson Thomas Learning, 2000), Ian Hundey, M.L. Magarrey, and Norma Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000* (Toronto: Irwin Publishing, 2000), Garfield Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 2000).

Canada: Discovering Our Heritage (Smith, 1977)
Our Cultural Heritage (Riddoch & Watson, 1979)
Origins: Canada's Multicultural Heritage (Saint & Reid, 1979)

4) 2000-2004

Canada: A Nation Unfolding (Newman et al., 2000)
Canadian History: 1900-2000 (Hundey, Magarrey, & Pettit, 2000)
Canada: Our Century, Our Story (Fielding & Evans, 2000)
Spotlight Canada (Cruxton & Wilson, 2000)
Canada: Face of a Nation (Bolotta et al., 2000)
Canada: Continuity and Change (Bogle, D'Orazio, & Quinlan, 2000)
Making History: The Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century (Bain et al., 2000)

Limitations of the Data Sample

Clearly, the sheer quantity of textbooks analyzed is a limitation. I have counted 27 textbooks as constituting the primary data sample and, as indicated, have read many more as part of this analysis. With most textbooks averaging between 300 to 500 pages, I have read as many as 10000 pages of text. The size of the sample did not permit me to conduct a minute analysis of each text and its constitutive components (e.g., in the tradition of semiology, linguistics, or literary criticism). Other studies, including one of my own, have employed precise analytical methods to document ways in which a single text (e.g., a film or a textbook) promotes or sustains oppressive formations of white supremacy.⁹¹ I have been vigilant to ensure that the patterns and continuities which shaped the argument are supported by the textbooks and have read them carefully for important fractures, contradictory evidence, and discontinuities. What this analytic strategy may have lost in terms of specificity, I believe it has gained in terms of comprehension about important patterns and continuities across different texts and different historical periods.

⁹¹ Hazel Carby, "Encoding White Resentment: *Grand Canyon* - a Narrative for Our Times," in *Race, Identity, and Representation in Education*, ed. Cameron McCarthy and Warren Chrichlow (New York: Routledge, 1993), Montgomery, "The Imagined Canadian: Representations of Whiteness in *Flashback Canada*". As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, this study is, in part, a response to critics who claimed my earlier analysis of a single Canadian history textbook to be insignificant precisely because generalizations could not be made beyond that one textbook.

The point is not that a textbook or several textbooks contain racist representations that need to be “fixed” or excised, but rather that such textbooks constitute an important cultural site within which to examine the rigidity of white hegemonic formations that permeate the social ordering of the racial state (i.e., the textbooks are themselves evidence of a structuring of meaning through a larger discursive formation). The “texts”, in other words, are also part of a larger “circuit” of production, circulation, and consumption and, as such, are not mere objects of the study, but rather the means to further understanding about the subjectivities they realize and make available.⁹²

By limiting my analysis to grade 10, I have omitted textbooks specific to the earlier grades and that deal with the founding of the nation (a topic rich with racialized representations) and those from the later grades that address Canada’s role globally in a much more mature and sophisticated way certain to yield relevancy to questions of race, racism, and antiracism. I have too yielded from the temptation to get involved with the study of civics and government (including curriculum documents, textbooks, or chapters within these textbooks), topics which are of obvious importance to an investigation into the articulations between racialization and state-formation. Moreover, specialty courses, such as Man in Society, a course of study in Ontario throughout the 1970s and 1980s, dealt explicitly with issues such as racism and the role of multiculturalism in fighting it and they too were not made part of this study.⁹³ Textbooks from biology courses and geography courses would also provide useful understandings of

⁹² Johnson, "What Is Cultural Studies Anyway?" See also Richard Johnson, "What Is Cultural Studies Anyway?," in *A Cultural Studies Reader: History, Theory, Practice*, ed. Jessica Muns and Gita Rajan (London: Longman Group Limited, 1995).

⁹³ Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14b: Textbooks, Additions to Be Inserted in Circular 14, 1980 (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1980), 3.

contemporary conceptions of race.⁹⁴ Similarly, other types of learning resources (e.g., videos) and in-class activities are also significant in the reproduction or disruption of racialized state formation and these have not been examined here. English literature texts would also be useful to examine particularly given the controversy generated by the delisting of such texts as *To Kill a Mockingbird* (e.g., in Nova Scotia) on the grounds that the language used is offensive, even racist, no matter if the overall message is hopefully anti-racist. Textbooks, and history textbooks in particular, were chosen because they constitute, in and of themselves, an integral position in the mass institution of schooling for the cultural transmission of cultural memory.⁹⁵

As part of this study, I have not examined textbooks that correspond to a curricular revision that occurred in the 1980s. This was a choice based both on manageability (the number of textbooks in my sample already reaching a limit), and my decision to select textbooks based first on changes to the state-sanctioned list of learning resources (i.e., *Circular 14* and later *The Trillium List*). I will discuss the curricular revision that occurred with the publication of the 1986 curriculum guideline for intermediate and senior history in the course of an examination of the context of textbook production and authorization, but the textbooks which may be said to best correspond to this document are not examined here. I should note that my earlier study looked at a single textbook from this period and its conclusions are consistent with some of the arguments I make here.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Steven Selden, *Inheriting Shame: The Story of Eugenics and Racism in America* (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1999), Willinsky, *Learning to Divide the World: Education at Empire's End*.

⁹⁵ Stanley, "Understanding the Structure of Anti-Chinese Racism: Collective Memory and the High School History Textbooks of British Columbia, 1950-1999", 12, Chris Stray, "Paradigms Regained: Towards a Historical Sociology of the Textbook", *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 26, no. 1 (1994).

⁹⁶ Montgomery, "Flashback Canada: Racialized Representations in a High School Canadian History Textbook", Montgomery, "The Imagined Canadian: Representations of Whiteness in Flashback Canada".

This is first and foremost a study of national history textbooks intended for use by students. I have referred to teacher resources, various curriculum documents, and other guidelines for the teaching of history, but only to frame contexts and not with the intent of analyzing them in great detail. To say, however, that this is a study of textbooks prescribed by the Province of Ontario for use with students is not to assume that such authorised textbooks were actually read by students. Owing to variations between schools, teachers, and local boards of education, not all students of history have been required to possess, let alone read, authorised Canadian history textbooks. Moreover, even when such requirements have been in place, considerable discrepancies exist with respect to the extent and manner in which the textbooks might have been read. Nevertheless, such textbooks do constitute representations of knowledge which the state has determined to be important (even compulsory) for students to learn and, in theory at least, all students are supposed to read and remember this knowledge as part of a requirement to graduate. The focus on the textbooks in a closely textual way, while prefaced with an overview of curricular and social contexts that gives some sense of their production and relation to other texts (i.e., “intertextuality”), nevertheless tells us very little about how the textbooks were used in the classrooms or the various, even contradictory, ways in which the textbooks were received by the students for whom they were intended.⁹⁷ Mine is a study of representations, not readings per se, and as such it explains more about the state and the privileged or preferred readings that this institution empowers than it says about the students obliged to contend with the reception (or rejection) of the texts. I am making no claims, in other words, to directly account for the meanings made by student readers of the textbooks.

⁹⁷ On “intertextuality” see Marsha Kinder, *Playing with Power in Movies, Television and Video Games* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991). On contradictory and oppositional readings with respect to a popular juvenile fantasy commodity text and an illustration of the salience embedded in precisely who is doing the reading, see, Erica Rand, *Barbie's Queer Accessories* (London: Duke University Press, 1995), especially 58.

This is a study of discourse and its reproductive effects. It examines how discourse contributes to the representation of Self and Other in Canadian history textbooks. It investigates how truths are made to organize and bring order to the social world. I look at how ideas of race, racism, and opposition to racism are represented in “true” ways or as truths in and of themselves. Discourse analysis has a most salient use in exploring the banal, the commonsensical, the taken-for-granted, and practices associated with things conceived and practiced as “normal.” My concern has not been to discover or reveal the truth about race, racism, or opposition to racism, but rather to understand how the truth of these things is formed through banal constructions and how it enters in to an eternal play of domination, violence, and subjugation.

CHAPTER 3

(DIS-?)CONTINUITIES ACROSS CURRICULUM AND NARRATIVE , 1945-2004

The cycle of cultural production involves the historical conditions of textual production, the textual forms and structures, the conditions of and struggles over textual reading and interpretation, and the multiple interactions of these with lived cultures and social relations.¹ Thus, production-based studies (e.g., social history or political economy), text-based studies (e.g., semiology, linguistics, or literary criticism), and studies of lived cultures (e.g., ethnographies) are each partial explanations of cultural processes.² My purpose with this chapter is to establish the broader context of the study by tracing important post-World War II curricular transformations and the socio-political contexts in which they were embedded with the aim of comprehending some of the productive forces that shaped the appearance of contemporary Ontario school history textbooks. In addition to describing features of the historical conditions of textual production, I aim to provide a general sense of the textbooks' structures and narrative forms. It has not been my intention with this chapter to conduct a tightly controlled or refined analysis. Rather, following in the tradition of critical discourse analysis, I have employed a variety of analytical strategies (e.g., historical, thematic, semiotic), without reducing my methods of analysis to a particular type, precisely because this is a political and ethical endeavor (i.e., one directed toward disturbing, disrupting, or making problematic nationalist racisms). This collage of important contextual issues and curriculum changes helps to explain salient continuities and discontinuities concerning the representations of race, racism, antiracism, and their antecedents across four periods in the post-WWII history of Canadian history textbooks in Ontario.

¹ Johnson, "What Is Cultural Studies Anyway?"

² Ibid.

I discuss the context of production for textbooks authorized 1) between 1945 and 1959, 2) during the 1960s, 3) from 1975 to the early 1980s, and 4) after the year 2000. For each of these four periods, I write about the educational policies and curricular transformations in the years leading up to each authorization period, since the textbooks themselves would have been produced substantially prior to the era of their authorization. Generally speaking, textbook publishers wishing to have their textbooks approved for use in Ontario have been expected to produce textbooks that correspond to curricular documents and, according to one minister of education, J. Fraser, these publishers have been known to have gained access to such documents even ahead of their official release.³ Thus, curricular documents are given particular attention and scrutiny for the ways in which they represent ideas about race, racism, and opposition to racism. I then go on to document how, in spite of the distinctiveness of each era and obvious discontinuities between them, continuities exist in the way Canada is represented through both the narratives of the textbooks and the curricular guidelines to which they are related. Here I employ some semiotic analytical strategies to argue that these textbooks and supporting curricular documents do not simply tell the history of the modern state of Canada, but rather redundantly promote, mandate, and disseminate idealized representations of Canada as a glorious and exceptional “living organism” that matures through the development of such redeeming qualities as respect for humanity, morality, compassion, heroism, and tolerance.⁴

³ Fraser, "The Circular 14 Story: Approved Textbooks in Ontario."

⁴ For more on the ways in which a country is viewed as a living organism, constituted by flesh and blood, see, Richard A. Koenigsberg, *Hitler's Ideology: A Study in Psychoanalytic Sociology* (New York: The Library of Social Science, 1975), 5-6.

Textbooks Authorized between 1945 and 1959: The Conservative Tradition

1. The Context of Production

Measured by age or by grade, schooling levels in mid-twentieth-century Ontario were very low. More than half of students dropped out by age 16 and some 60% of students in the 15-19 age group had left school.⁵ Grade 10, the grade in which Canadian history was offered as a course of instruction, was therefore also the high school grade in which the greatest number of students would be enrolled (even though many students were already gone from school or in the process of leaving by this year of high school). Generally, it was taken for granted that students would enter the workforce near the age of 16, once they had acquired adequate levels of literacy and numeracy and a familiarity with their rights and duties as citizens.⁶ It was understood that those who did make it into and graduate from high school, were prepared for the universities, professions, and other occupations of the managerial, technical and clerical kinds. By way of responding to the increasingly popular notion that the state provide certain “safety nets” against misfortune, the federal government initiated a committee to “determine the outstanding needs of Canadian schooling”⁷ and the Ontario provincial government appointed a royal commission, in 1945, charged with gaining a better understanding of how Ontario’s elementary and secondary education systems “might be made better suited to the modern world of nations that Canada shared at the end of WWII.”⁸ This royal commission, which came to be known as the Hope Commission, was viewed by many as a forum for the competing philosophies of progressivism

⁵ Gidney, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools*, 13.

⁶ Ibid., 15.

⁷ Robert M. Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 177.

⁸ Gidney, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools*, 23.

and traditionalism.⁹ Progressivism was devoted to the reform of education and consisted of a broad scope of proposed changes including a reduction on the emphasis upon traditional academic subjects, a focus on child-centered curriculum that engaged students' needs, interests, and abilities, more practical education to prepare students for the real world, and a learning sequence and pace more geared to individual students than arbitrary imposition by adults.¹⁰

Educational progressivism also had a more sinister side. "Scientific" techniques of quantitative measurement and evaluation were viewed as essential in establishing social control of children and bringing necessary reform to a wide array of undesirable behaviours and attitudes.

Progressivists pursued educational research related to the inheritance of physical, mental, and personality traits and adopted standards such as the IQ test as objective tools for measuring innate mental capacities. The ideas of social engineering and efficiency that were part of this progressive thought articulated closely with the eugenics movement which lasted into and beyond the middle of the twentieth century and which sought to favour "the more suitable races or strains of blood" through "scientific" techniques such as selective breeding and sterilization.¹¹

Educational traditionalism, on the other hand, privileged literacy and numeracy and the teaching of certain core subjects, including history. It sought to maintain the traditional authority of the teacher, structured lessons, direct instruction, and an orderly sequence to developing basic skills deemed necessary for students to function as effective citizens.¹² While the Hope Commission may have served as a forum to debate these competing educational ideas, the debate

⁹ Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976*, 188-90.

¹⁰ Gidney, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools*, 32.

¹¹ For example, see, Angus McLaren, *Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1990), 19, 61-63. See also, Alan Stoskopf, "Echoes of a Forgotten Past: Eugenics, Testing, and Educational Reform", *The Educational Forum* 66, no. 2 (2002). The quotation is from Sir Francis Galton, writing in *Inquiries into the Human Faculty* (1883, 24-25) as cited in Wendy Kline, *Building a Better Race: Gender, Sexuality, and Eugenics from the Turn of the Century to the Baby Boom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 13.

¹² Gidney, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools*, 34-35.

had been ongoing for some time already. From the 1920s onwards, progressivists had influenced, in a limited way, the rhetoric and practice of Ontario educators. This was especially the case at the elementary level where, for example, the revised program of studies introduced in 1937 promoted play, group work, and integrated studies.¹³ Another innovation was the beginning of a social studies programme designed to “help the pupils understand the society in which they lived and their duties and responsibilities as members of that society.”¹⁴ The influence of progressivism on the secondary school system was less evident, but did include, in 1949, the introduction of an intermediate level intended to make the transition into high school easier with a special curriculum that enabled students to explore different course options.¹⁵

Even before the end of the war, however, calls were being put forth for a return to teaching about the British Empire, Christianity, and the three Rs.¹⁶ Ontario Premier and Education Minister, George Drew, demanded a curricular program “with a view of instilling into Canadians ... loyalty to King, Country and Empire, respect for the flag together with a more complete knowledge of British and Canadian history”¹⁷ and subsequently engaged government officials in the process of developing “such a system as will tend to produce citizens who will conform to the ideal citizen envisaged by the Minister.”¹⁸ The conservative tradition of state and citizenship formation, in other words, had as strong a grip on state-directed education as it had in previous decades.

¹³ Ibid., 32.

¹⁴ Parvin, *Authorization of Textbooks for the Schools of Ontario, 1846-1950*, 103.

¹⁵ Gidney, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools*, 32-33.

¹⁶ Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976*, 159.

¹⁷ Ibid., 178.

¹⁸ Ibid., 179.

2. History Curriculum Documents and Developments

This hold of the conservative tradition was evident in curriculum continuities for grade 10 Canadian history. Throughout the 1930s and into the 1950s, it was common practice for the Ontario Department of Education to print a course of study for grade 10 history by simply re-printing a previous course of study. So, for example, *Circular H.S. 8. Courses of Study, Grades IX and X Social Studies. History* (Ontario Department of Education, 1952) was “reprinted without change from Circular H.S.8 printed in March and December, 1946, February, 1949, and October, 1950”¹⁹ and these earlier circulars were, in turn, “Reprinted without change from Courses of Study, Grades IX and X, Social Studies, History, printed in August, 1942.”²⁰ The 1942 circular was identical to one published in August of 1938 and this differed only in page numbers and title page from one published in May of that same year.²¹ Consequently, the curriculum in place in Ontario for the study of Canadian history in 1952 was identical to that which was in place in 1938.

This social studies curriculum bundled together courses for study for grades 9 and 10. The grade 9 component of this curriculum dealt with the history of Great Britain from the seventeenth century to the twentieth century. The grade 10 component, which publishers would have followed in producing the textbooks comprising this study and authorized for use during the period from the Second World War to the end of the 1950s, focused on “Canadian history and

¹⁹ Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular H.S. 8. Courses of Study, Grades IX and X Social Studies. History. August, 1952.

²⁰ Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular H.S. 8. Courses of Study, Grades IX and X Social Studies. History. December, 1946 (Toronto: The King's Printer, 1946), Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular H.S. 8. Courses of Study, Grades IX and X Social Studies. History. February, 1949 (Toronto: The King's Printer, 1949), Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular H.S. 8. Courses of Study, Grades IX and X Social Studies. History. March, 1946 (Toronto: The King's Printer, 1946).

²¹ Province of Ontario: Department of Education Courses of Study, Grade X Social Studies. Canadian History and Citizenship (Toronto: The King's Printer, 1938), Province of Ontario: Department of Education Courses of Study, Grades IX and X Social Studies. History, August 1938.

citizenship.” For both grade levels, however, the explicit aim was to promote and develop duties of citizenship. The introduction to the document stated: “The aim of a course in Social Studies is to give boys and girls an active interest in the life of the community and the nation so that when they leave school they may perform in a useful manner the duties of citizens.”²² The obvious objective with this curriculum guideline was, in other words, about the cultivation of attitudes of respect for the nation (and Empire) and the molding of students as ethical subjects of and within the nation (and Empire). These more traditional aims, designed to foster attachments to nation and empire, were woven with teaching suggestions that were clearly influenced by educational progressivists. Teachers were explicitly guided to stimulate interest in the course through individualized assignments, supplementary reading, debates and oral presentations, dramatization, creative expression, and inter-departmental cooperation. Teachers were also advised to reduce the emphasis on political and constitutional history so that social and economic aspects of history could be studied; however, even this increased attention to social and economic history was designed to be a “background for the study of political developments.”²³

While insisting that a “framework of definite information is necessary to the understanding of any period of history”, the course of study also suggested that teachers not unduly emphasize “dates and certain other factual material” and that teachers vary the amount of time and the topical stress according to their students particular needs and interests.²⁴

Notwithstanding such progressive ideas, the aim of this grade 10 course of study was to position

²² Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular H.S. 8. Courses of Study, Grades IX and X Social Studies. History. August, 1952, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular H.S. 8. Courses of Study, Grades IX and X Social Studies. History. February, 1949, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Courses of Study, Grades IX and X Social Studies. History, August 1938, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Courses of Study, Grades IX and X Social Studies. History, August 1942.

²³ Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular H.S. 8. Courses of Study, Grades IX and X Social Studies. History, June, 1945 (Toronto: The King's Printer, 1945), 11.

²⁴ Ibid.

students as dutiful subjects of the nation and, in the service of this traditional objective, the grade 10 course of study was divided into three sections: 1) the history of Canada, 2) the community, and 3) Citizenship. Together these three sections of the Canadian History and Citizenship course were to illustrate the progress made from Canada's past to present, to help students understand Canada's link to the British Empire and its relationship to the rest of the world, to foster a spirit of national unity and responsibility, and to "promote tolerance, respect, and goodwill towards other races and classes."²⁵

3. *Circular 14* and the Textbooks

Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, *Circular 14* was an 8-page document listing some 100 titles of "authorized and recommended" textbooks for all subject areas from grades 1 to 13. For these textbooks a contract, ratified by an Order-in-Council, was drawn between the Department of Education and the publisher. Generally, a single textbook was listed for each grade's subject. For example, the Macmillan Company Limited publication, *A First Book of Canadian History*, was the only elementary level Canadian history textbook from 1929 to 1950.²⁶ For the 1950-51 issue of *Circular 14*, "approved" textbooks were added. The addition of approved textbooks meant that any publisher could submit a textbook and, if accepted by the Department of Education, it would be placed on *Circular 14*. This was a change in response to progressivist demands for greater flexibility in education, and resulted in multiple listings of textbooks for any given subject at all levels. At the high school level, *A History of the Canadian People*, a book authored by Stewart Wallace and initially published by Copp Clark in 1930, but reprinted at least 18 times up to 1943, was the sole history textbook authorized for use from the year of its

²⁵ Ibid., 10.

²⁶ W. Stewart Wallace, *A First Book of Canadian History* (Toronto: The Macmillan Co., Ltd., 1928).

publication until 1945.²⁷ The authorization for *A History of the Canadian People* expired in 1945, but its use during the 1945-46 school year could be permitted by special resolution of any board.²⁸ George Brown's *Building the Canadian Nation* was the only other Canadian history textbook authorized for use in high schools during the 1940s. The first edition of this text was published in 1942. It appeared for the first time on *Circular 14* in 1945 and, through multiple editions, remained on the list until 1959.²⁹ Three new textbooks relevant to Canadian history were added to *Circular 14* for the school year 1952-53. Each of these, Chafe and Lower's *Canada, A Nation and How it Came to Be* (1948), Dorland's *Our Canada* (1949), and *Canada in the World To-Day* (Rogers et al., 1952), like *Building the Canadian Nation*, remained an approved text for the grade 9 and 10 intermediate divisions of social studies until 1959. *Canada and the World* was first authorized in 1954, the year of its publication by J.M. Dent and Sons,

²⁷ W. Stewart Wallace, *A History of the Canadian People*, 1st ed. (Toronto: The Copp Clark Co., Ltd., 1930). Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Text-Books Authorized and Recommended and Text-Book Regulations for Public, Separate, Continuation and High Schools and Collegiate Institutes (Toronto: King's Printer (Herbert H. Ball), 1930), 4, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Text-Books Authorized and Recommended and Text-Book Regulations for Public, Separate, Continuation and High Schools and Collegiate Institutes (Toronto: King's Printer (T.E. Bowman), 1935), 4, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Text-Books Authorized and Recommended and Text-Book Regulations for Public, Separate, Continuation and High Schools and Collegiate Institutes (Toronto: King's Printer (T.E. Bowman), 1940), 4.

²⁸ See, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Text-Books Authorized and Instructions Regarding Text-Books for Public, Separate, Continuation and High Schools and Collegiate Institutes (Toronto: King's Printer (T.E. Bowman), 1945), 5.

²⁹ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Text-Books Approved or Recommended for Use in Elementary and Secondary Schools (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1959), 21, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Text-Books Approved or Recommended for Use in Elementary and Secondary Schools for the School Year 1958-59 (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1958), 20, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Text-Books Approved or Recommended for Use in Public, Separate, Continuation and High Schools, Collegiate Institutes and Vocational Schools for the School Year 1953-54 (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1953), 12, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Text-Books Authorized and Instructions Regarding Text-Books for Public, Separate, Continuation and High Schools and Collegiate Institutes, 5, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Text-Books Authorized and Recommended and Instructions Regarding Text-Books for Public, Separate, Continuation and High Schools and Collegiate Institutes for the School Year 1949-50 (Toronto: The King's Printer, 1949), 5. This textbook was also widely authorized across the country. For example, the 1946 edition has on its inside cover a note indicating that it was authorized for use in Ontario and Manitoba. Similarly, the 1950 revised edition notes that it was authorized for use in Ontario, New Brunswick, Saskatchewan, and Quebec. See also, Province of Saskatchewan: Department of Education Circular Relative to Text Books for Elementary and High Schools. July 1, 1950 (Regina: 1950), 16-17, 28.

when it appeared under schedule B of *Circular 14A* in August as a “new addition” in 1954.³⁰ It remained on this list for the next nineteen years. On several occasions it was apparently considered for removal, but each time it survived to be listed another year. In 1961 and 1962 notes were appended indicating that it was “approved for purchase” only in the year of that circular and from 1968 to 1973 it was indicated to have been “approved for a limited time only.”³¹ The production of these textbooks was clearly gendered and racialized since all of the texts were authored by white males.³²

These textbooks authorized during the years of WWII up to 1959 were primarily survey textbooks covering Canadian history from the time of contact between European explorers and aboriginal peoples to the mid-twentieth century. They were more or less traditional histories with long stretches of text written as unbroken narrative and presented as indisputable fact. Black and white illustrations were inserted into the densely textual chapters that focused on political, constitutional, economic, and military history and that were sometimes followed by timelines, suggestions for further reading, terms to be mastered, or topics for reports. The first of these, timelines, were included at the end of every unit in *Canada – A Nation and How it Came To Be*, while the latter three were included at the end of every chapter.³³ *The Romance of Canada* contained two to three pages of questions and activities at the end of each of its

³⁰ Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14a: Approved Text-Books (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1954), 2.

³¹ Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Textbooks (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1968), 35, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Textbooks (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1969), 35, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Textbooks (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1970), 37, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Textbooks (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1972), 36, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Textbooks (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1973), 41, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Text-Books Approved or Recommended for Use in Elementary and Secondary Schools (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1961), 24, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Text-Books Approved or Recommended for Use in Elementary and Secondary Schools (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1962), 29.

³² Brown, Burt, Dorland, and Lower were also university historians. See K. Dewar, "The Road to Happiness: Canadian History in Public Schools", *This magazine is about schools* 6, no. 3 (1972): 13.

³³ For example, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 117-18.

chapters.³⁴ *Building the Canadian Nation* offered only “suggestions for reading” at each chapter’s conclusion while *Our Canada* contained no such pedagogical devices at all. The vocabulary of the time (e.g., “Negroes,” “Indians,” and “half-breeds”) pervaded all of the texts even though the historical figures highlighted were primarily identified as European and the overall perspective centered on British and French contributions to the building of the Canadian nation.

4. Nationalist Narratives

In these textbooks, the narratives were logical and causal sequences describing a linear progression of development from uninhabited and undiscovered land to an independent nation with close relations to “mother” Britain. The narratives were masculinist in at least two ways. First, it was (white) men who built the nation; women were practically absent in these early textbooks. Second, the narratives were gendered in terms of Canada being represented metaphorically as a growing boy who gained strength and conviction (and flexed his muscles) in a process of maturation whereby he developed autonomy from the “mother country.” The textbooks began with narrative illustrations of the “discovery” of North America and its resources by the Norsemen, Columbus, Cabot, Cartier and other men in the context particularly of motivations to find a route to the riches in the East.³⁵ The subsequent founding and expansion of French and English colonies through individual male explorers such as Davis, Hudson, Champlain, and La Salle, and through the activities of missionaries and fur trading companies, was then established to illustrate the “contest” or “duel” to maintain imperial control over the

³⁴ For example, Alfred Leroy Burt, *Romance of Canada*, Revised ed. (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1948), 60-62.

³⁵ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 46-65, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 1, Dorland, *Our Canada*, 1-10. One textbook refers to this as “the discovery of Canada.” See, Burt, *Romance of Canada*, 9-25.

“New World.”³⁶ According to the courses of study, an explicit aim within this topical focus upon French and English exploration and colonization, was to describe the “character” of the settlements established by rival English and French colonists, and to contrast this with “the native races of the continent.”³⁷ The textbooks followed the course of study by describing the “different” life and culture of the “Indians” whom the European explorers come into contact with. These descriptions consistently pointed out that the physical environment and geography of the continent (i.e., the forests, plains, mountains, waterways, soils, and climate) were what made the “Indians” so different.³⁸ These “Indians”, moreover, were indicated to have struggled through “stages of development” and levels of culture that “varie[d] with their physical environment.”³⁹ The people identified as “Indians” were made to appear as mere obstacles inherent to the geography and environment over which French and English commercial and military rivals fought for supremacy, with the eventual result being the incorporation of Canada into the British Empire.⁴⁰ Such strategies of separation worked to support a narrative logic that defined the fledgling national body and character as “French” and “English,” as decidedly not “Indian,” as masculine, and as growing out of child-like dependency and into kinship with the British Empire.

Following this resolution to the problems of discovery and French-English colonial rivalry, the narrative shifted to the story of those areas of North America which remained under British rule after 1763 and to the challenges needed to be met in order to achieve Confederation.

³⁶ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 71-167, Burt, *Romance of Canada*, 26-133, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 20-118, Dorland, *Our Canada*, 21-107. See also, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular H.S. 8. Courses of Study, Grades IX and X Social Studies. History. February, 1949, 11.

³⁷ Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular H.S. 8. Courses of Study, Grades IX and X Social Studies. History. February, 1949, 11-12.

³⁸ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 59-65, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 5-8, Dorland, *Our Canada*, 11-20. See also, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular H.S. 8. Courses of Study, Grades IX and X Social Studies. History, June, 1945, 12.

³⁹ Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 6.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 100-17.

“Confederation” in these narratives functioned as a trope for a developmental saga in which the national body was shaped through territorial expansion and the national character was both established (e.g., as British, just, pioneering) and distinguished from elsewhere (e.g., the United States). The textbooks described the salience of the Quebec Act in keeping Quebec under British control even while complicating future national developments by perpetuating an estrangement “between the two principal racial groups.”⁴¹ They also discussed Loyalist migration and settlement patterns and other consequences of the American Revolution that left an “indelible impression” upon Canada,⁴² the significance of the War of 1812 in terms of establishing a “Canadian” consciousness or patriotic spirit,⁴³ social conditions at home, school, work and play for the pioneering immigrants who arrived up to 1850,⁴⁴ problems of minority rule and the subsequent development of responsible government in the Canadas and Nova Scotia,⁴⁵ western expansion leading to extend the dominion from “sea to sea”,⁴⁶ and other political and economic factors (especially the “threat of the United States”) that helped to bring Confederation about.⁴⁷ Within these narratives of Confederation, father imagery functioned to support the notion of Canada as a living and growing organism.⁴⁸ Throughout it was the achievements and contributions of men such as Mackenzie, Durham, Lafontaine, and particularly the “Big Seven” so-called “Fathers of Confederation” (McGee, Galt, Brown, Macdonald, Cartier, Tupper, and

⁴¹ Dorland, *Our Canada*, 118. See also Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 179-82.

⁴² Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 203. See also Burt, *Romance of Canada*, 152-63, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 125-49, Dorland, *Our Canada*, 118-30.

⁴³ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 260, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 180-93, Dorland, *Our Canada*, 166.

⁴⁴ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 261-71, Burt, *Romance of Canada*, 206-22, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 199-212, Dorland, *Our Canada*, 169-93.

⁴⁵ Burt, *Romance of Canada*, 224-55, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 232-73, Dorland, *Our Canada*, 194-230.

⁴⁶ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 401-22, Burt, *Romance of Canada*, 279-91, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 302-07, Dorland, *Our Canada*, 239-50.

⁴⁷ Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 296-321, Dorland, *Our Canada*, 251-66.

⁴⁸ Koenigsberg, *Hitler's Ideology: A Study in Psychoanalytic Sociology*, 5-6.

Tilley) that were highlighted as central to the building of the Canadian nation.⁴⁹ In this part of the nationalist narrative, specifically in the context of the challenge to the ruling minorities of the Family Compact and the Chateau Clique, the textbooks followed the course of study closely by making mention of what was termed variously a “racial problem,” “racial friction,” or a “racial issue” in Lower Canada.⁵⁰ This, of course, referred to the “problem” between the so-called English and French “races” and it was one deemed temporarily resolved with the act of Confederation.⁵¹ In this sense, Confederation marked a maturation point in the developmental saga of the national body.

The narrative resolution of the problem of Confederation led to a new problem pertaining to the growth of a Canadian “spirit” of nationhood.⁵² This growth toward nationhood was described as successfully occurring through territorial expansion, industrial development, and changing relations with the United States and Great Britain up to the year 1914.⁵³ The national body grew and as it matured it developed a new and distinct sense of self. The “acquisition” of territory in the west, and the establishment of the provinces of Manitoba and British Columbia were framed in terms of a binary opposition in which the “old way of life of both the Métis and the Indians disappeared”⁵⁴ to be replaced with modern provinces populated with “the new people

⁴⁹ For example, Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 384-400, Burt, *Romance of Canada*, 270-76, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 318-21, Dorland, *Our Canada*, 261-64. See also, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular H.S. 8. Courses of Study, Grades IX and X Social Studies. History, June, 1945, 14-16.

⁵⁰ Burt, *Romance of Canada*, 228-29, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 243, Dorland, *Our Canada*, 200. See also, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular H.S. 8. Courses of Study, Grades IX and X Social Studies. History, June, 1945, 15.

⁵¹ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 422, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 319.

⁵² Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 485, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 337, Dorland, *Our Canada*, 301. See also, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular H.S. 8. Courses of Study, Grades IX and X Social Studies. History. February, 1949, 16.

⁵³ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 476-81, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 339-409, Dorland, *Our Canada*, 301-14.

⁵⁴ Dorland, *Our Canada*, 315.

(from Eastern Canada, the United States, [and] Europe).”⁵⁵ In the central and Maritime provinces the emphasis was on agricultural, economic, and industrial developments with such examples as mining, shipping, pulp and paper production, farming given to illustrate both progress and, in the case of the Maritimes, economic decline.⁵⁶ Cultural and social progress too was often part of the story. Changes in dress, hair-style, and recreation (especially the development of “Canadian” hockey) and the contributions of “Canadian” artists and writers were highlighted as evidence of the striking “achievements in civilization” within the nation since Confederation.⁵⁷ Politics during this period was also emphasized through the fatherly figures of John A. Macdonald and Wilfrid Laurier, both of whom were depicted as guiding the infant nation through its difficult early years.⁵⁸ Among the difficulties ostensibly overcome by these ‘fathers’ of the nation and their efforts to bring together the familial members of the national body were matters of “racial and religious representation.”⁵⁹ The trope of kinship was also deployed in representations of sibling-like ties to Britain and the United States. Canada’s “ties of sentiment and interest” was the way the curriculum guideline described Canada’s place within a changing British Empire.⁶⁰ In narratives that addressed disputes with the United States over territorial and fishing boundaries,

⁵⁵ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 445-51, Burt, *Romance of Canada*, 316-34, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular H.S. 8. Courses of Study, Grades IX and X Social Studies. History. February, 1949, 17.

⁵⁶ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 503-26, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 371-81.

⁵⁷ Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 389, Dorland, *Our Canada*, 346-48.

⁵⁸ On Macdonald, see especially Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 405, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 353-70. On Laurier, see especially, Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 446, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 391-410.

⁵⁹ Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular H.S. 8. Courses of Study, Grades IX and X Social Studies. History. February, 1949, 17.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 18.

Canada was depicted as having improved its relations with the United States in part because it had learned to stand up for itself with a more mature “attitude of self-reliance.”⁶¹

The story then moved to the event of the Great War, as it was called in these textbooks. This particular battle, and the others which would follow, functioned in these narratives as tropes for national maturation. The reasons for Canada’s participation in the Great War, the outstanding events of those men who fought overseas and the contributions of others (mostly men, in this era of textbooks) who worked at home for the war, and the consequences of the war were all highlighted.⁶² Women’s suffrage was described as “a problem” created by the effects of the war and it was lumped together with other “problems” associated with debt, the railway, agriculture, and industry in narratives that marked Canada as shouldering the “burdens thrust upon her” and stressed the stimulus provided by these so-called wartime problems to enhancing “national feeling.”⁶³ This is one of only a few instances that break from a broader pattern of signifying Canada as masculine, by using “her” in reference to the nation. It nevertheless sustains the pattern of personifying the inanimate object of the nation. Moreover, the representation of women’s suffrage as a “problem” equated to the debt or agriculture is one that clearly devalues women as it at once asserts masculine centrality with respect to the nation. “Most important of all,” read *Canada – A Nation and How it Came to Be*, “the experience of the country in waging a great war caused it to mature: by 1919 Canada was beginning to face the world for itself.”⁶⁴ The pride in the achievements of Canadian troops and the international recognition garnered by Canada for its war effort were gloriously displayed and lead into narratives that mapped well onto

⁶¹ Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 354-55, 93-94. See also, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular H.S. 8. Courses of Study, Grades IX and X Social Studies. History. February, 1949, 18.

⁶² Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 487-504, Burt, *Romance of Canada*, 337-47, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 415-30, Dorland, *Our Canada*, 389-99.

⁶³ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 485.

⁶⁴ Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 430.

the curricular guidelines for addressing “the achievements of nationhood.”⁶⁵ Canada’s newly recognized status as a result of The Versailles Treaty, its membership in the League of Nations, its role in the Imperial Conference, its achievement of effective independent status as a consequence of the Statute of Westminster, and even the role of arts and sciences, were topics used to illustrate Canada’s “coming of age.”⁶⁶

The narrative establishment of Canada as a nation in its own right paved the way for the telling of Canadian accomplishments since the Great War. Transportation developments such as the building of highways and the rise of automobile and airplane travel, communication advances pertaining to radio and motion pictures, economic changes with respect to industry, electrical power generation, the invention of the combine harvester, the development of world trade markets, the rise of mining, lumber, and oil industries, and even the growing popularity of the chain-store were all topics represented in ways that illustrated national progress.⁶⁷ From here there was a shift into discussions about the changing relations with Great Britain and the United States,⁶⁸ examinations of issues associated with the Great Depression (e.g., unemployment, immigration, and social legislation),⁶⁹ and references to the troubled international relations of the pre-WWII period centered upon the imperialist expansions of Japan, Italy, and Germany.⁷⁰ The ending of the narrative of Canadian history in these textbooks of the 1940s and 1950s involved

⁶⁵ Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular H.S. 8. Courses of Study, Grades IX and X Social Studies. History. February, 1949, 19.

⁶⁶ Burt, *Romance of Canada*, 365-71, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 453-67, Dorland, *Our Canada*, 413-28, 59-77.

⁶⁷ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 505-26, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 444-51, Dorland, *Our Canada*, 400-77.

⁶⁸ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 527-37, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 453-60, Dorland, *Our Canada*, 425-428.

⁶⁹ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 516-21, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 437-43, Dorland, *Our Canada*, 407-09, 89-96.

⁷⁰ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 537-43, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 460-67, Dorland, *Our Canada*, 426-27, 505-08.

discussions of the Second World War.⁷¹ That Canada declared war on its own and came to the aid of Britain and France even before the United States were two points highlighted in depictions that saw Canada becoming a stronger and more autonomous nation.⁷² The significance of industrial and agricultural production in Canada was stressed as were the burdens placed on Canada's financial resources and the initiation of wartime controls (such as those that "sparingly" and "wisely" curtailed civil liberties), but the emphasis was largely on Canada's contribution to the battles.⁷³ Representations of these battles utilized "glorious achievement" as a marker to fortify the narrative logic of Canada as a living organism deemed to be maturing into an adult boy body, flexing his muscles and making significant contributions in its own right on the world stage. "Canada's greatest war effort," according to *Our Canada*, "was through the Royal Canadian Air Force," which, among other accomplishments, "turned back the Nazi Luftwaffe."⁷⁴ But Canadian men were also glorified for their heroic contributions in the Sicilian campaign where they "gave an excellent account of themselves", in the capture of Caen hinge in Normandy "which sealed the fate of the German Seventh Army", and in the battle for Schelde where they were said to have opened the way for the invasion of Holland.⁷⁵

Representations of the ending of the war also had the effect of supporting the logic that Canada had matured to the point that it could participate on more equal (i.e., adult) terms with the older nations of the world in their efforts to keep the peace. In particular, narrative discussions about the formation of various international organizations (e.g., United Nations, N.A.T.O.) and Canada's role in them were used to mark the Canadian nation as one growing into a good,

⁷¹ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 544-65, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 468-93, Dorland, *Our Canada*, 505-26.

⁷² Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 544-46, Dorland, *Our Canada*, 509, 13.

⁷³ Dorland, *Our Canada*, 517.

⁷⁴ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 559, Dorland, *Our Canada*, 515.

⁷⁵ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 556-57, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 481-84, Dorland, *Our Canada*, 518-21.

honourable, and increasingly independent nation.⁷⁶ This independence was also stressed near the conclusion of these textbooks in sections of text describing how the passing of the Canadian Citizenship Act in 1947 “gave Canadians for the first time the legal right to call themselves Canadian citizens as well as British subjects.”⁷⁷ Throughout, markers of kinship (especially parent England), propped up the idea of Canada as a living organism which was developing into a distinctive being aligned with the goodness of its parents and siblings (e.g., US, UK). In these narratives of the growing nation, the democratic parliamentary system of Canada was contrasted with “Communist or despotic systems of government”⁷⁸ or “dictatorships,”⁷⁹ and civil liberties (e.g., freedom of speech and assembly, the right of petition, freedom of worship, the right to vote, and equality before the law) were represented as proud traditions “inherited from England”⁸⁰ and “enjoyed by every Canadian citizen.”⁸¹ The textbooks cautioned readers, however, that these rights inherited from Britain and developed through the struggle of building the Canadian nation were bound together with responsibilities to promote democracy and freedom internationally.⁸²

In summary, then, the textbooks from the 1940s and 1950s promoted and sustained a narrative logic about nationhood and its structural composition by utilizing strategies of separation that marked the national body as essentially British (and, to a lesser degree, French) and by employing multiple tropes that positioned the nation as a living (masculinized and racialized) individual which was growing into adulthood by developing a sense of distinctiveness and by distinguishing itself to others in the world through progressive and glorious achievements.

⁷⁶ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 605-12, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 486-88, Dorland, *Our Canada*, 526.

⁷⁷ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 600; Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 493, Dorland, *Our Canada*, 497.

⁷⁸ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 635.

⁷⁹ Dorland, *Our Canada*, 500.

⁸⁰ Ibid. See also, Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 644.

⁸¹ Dorland, *Our Canada*, 497. See also, Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 614.

⁸² Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 647-48, Dorland, *Our Canada*, 525-26.

Textbooks Authorized from 1960 to 1969: Traditionalist Reorganization

1. The Context of Production

The post-war baby-boom continued into the early 1950s and combined with an influx of immigrants into the country to increase dramatically the size of Ontario's population.⁸³ As the 1950s progressed, many Europeans and later, non-European immigrants came to Canada to take part in the country's economic prosperity.⁸⁴ One of the effects of this demographic development and the economic boom with which it corresponded was a rapidly increasing participation rate for students in the high school level. Although disparities between rural and urban schooling (in terms of school attendance, teacher qualifications, the quality and range of programs of studies, and financial resources) were as great as they had been a decade earlier, by the mid-1950s nearly all children stayed in school from the age of six to sixteen.⁸⁵ The entire physical infrastructure of high school education was affected as local trustees and the Ontario government put substantial resources into new libraries, audio-visual facilities, science laboratories, gymnasiums, and other enhancements to the schools. Plans were also put into place to reorganize the vocational school system with the aim of attaining higher rates of pupil retention, an aim which was deemed important for a future imagined to be increasingly complex and technologically-oriented. The idea was to produce students better suited to the duties of citizenship by fostering national

⁸³ Doug Owram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

⁸⁴ R. Douglas Francis, Richard Jones, and Donald B. Smith, *Destinies: Canadian History since Confederation* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1996), 323.

⁸⁵ Gidney, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools*, 29.

development through shared-cost educational programs which targeted the secondary manufacturing, trades, and service sectors of the economy.⁸⁶ Indeed, both the federal and provincial governments were to give substantial legislative priority and funding to education as a vehicle for “generating the skills needed for the fledgling state manufacturing project.”⁸⁷

Another effect of the demographic changes brought through immigration and resulting as well from WWII was a widespread concern about the state’s responsibility to protect its citizens’ rights and social well-being. This became evident in the growing popularity of the newly-formed NDP party, and in the pluralist rhetoric of Prime Minister Diefenbaker who, in the late 1950s, promised “to plan and build for a greater Canada, with equality and opportunity for every citizen.”⁸⁸ It was in these years that successful challenges to certain discriminatory policies and legislation would be formulated, eventually leading to such reforms as enfranchisement for “Status Indians” in 1960 and to the ending of explicit discrimination on the basis of “race” in immigration policy in 1962. But the subtle move toward progressiveness in a broader social sense did not necessarily translate into similar changes in education. Premier Frost and his education minister William Dunlop spoke repeatedly of the traditional value associated with the three Rs and small town/rural Ontario, and this was apparently representative of the opinion of the wider public who returned Frost and the Conservatives to majority governments three times in the 1950s. The educational conservatism of the times was articulated by Education Minister William Dunlop who emphasized that the primary purpose of schools was “to produce loyal, intelligent, right-thinking, religious, and freedom-loving citizens.”⁸⁹ The general conservatism of the period was also reflected by the immense popularity of Hilda Neatby’s best-selling book

⁸⁶ Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976*, 203-05.

⁸⁷ Andy Green, “Education and State Formation Revisited”, *Historical Studies in Education* (1994): 10.

⁸⁸ Francis, Jones, and Smith, *Destinies: Canadian History since Confederation*, 337.

⁸⁹ As cited in, Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976*, 193.

entitled *So Little for the Mind* in which she called for a curriculum based on the essential values of western civilization and schools to provide students with “intellectual preparation for citizenship.”⁹⁰ Although the language of progressivism was surely becoming apparent in policy documents and change was more than obvious in the physical expansion of the education system, moderate conservatism and academic tradition dominated high school classrooms, teaching practices, curriculum, and learning materials to the extent that the high school experience at the end of the 1950s remained like that of the mid-1940s and, as Gidney points out, “not entirely unlike that of 1890.”⁹¹

2. History Curriculum Documents and Developments

The Department of Education maintained a single curricular guideline for the teaching of Canadian history that remained unchanged from the 1930s to the late 1950s and which was closely followed by most teachers.⁹² However, a process of curricular revision had begun in the aftermath of WWII and manifested itself in several new Department of Education guidelines that outlined “courses for experimental use.”⁹³ These documents were published in the early 1950s and gave publishers and aspiring textbook authors a sense of what would soon be expected of them by outlining courses of study for obligatory subjects (including Social Studies, English, and Physical Education at the grade 10 level), optional subjects and special courses. The guidelines, prepared by committees comprised of inspectors of Elementary and Secondary Schools, and with recommendations from the Ontario Teachers’ Federation and the Ontario Educational

⁹⁰ Neatby, *So Little for the Mind: An Indictment of Canadian Education*.

⁹¹ Gidney, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools*, 30.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Province of Ontario: Department of Education Intermediate Division Grades Vii, Viii, Ix, X: Outlines of Courses for Experimental Use, Curriculum I:1 (Toronto: The King's Printer, 1950), Province of Ontario: Department of Education Intermediate Division Grades Vii, Viii, Ix, X: Outlines of Courses for Experimental Use, Curriculum I:1 (Revised) (Toronto: The King's Printer, 1951).

Association, were said to have been “based on modern educational thought and practice in Canada and elsewhere” and intended to give directions and suggestions to local curriculum committees.⁹⁴ The social studies courses were to blend the subjects of history, geography, civics, and guidance into a unity that could assist with understanding “the democratic way of life” and help pupils to “live on good terms with [their] fellow men.”⁹⁵ In addition to aiming to instill critical thinking skills and the practices of “acceptable social behaviour”, these guidelines aimed explicitly to provide knowledge of “the differences between people,” understanding that “customs which are different are not necessarily inferior,” and to cultivate attitudes of “respect for peoples and individuals unprejudiced by qualities of race, colour, class, creed or national origin.”⁹⁶ Among fourteen “guiding principles” directing the achievement toward such aims were those that emphasized the salience of having students work cooperatively, accessing multiple sources of historically-relevant information, utilizing interdisciplinary subjects, supplementing lessons with multiple forms of audio-visual aids, relating topics to contemporary and local contexts, promoting learning through the discovery of knowledge, and illustrating links between physical and cultural environments. These principles also insisted that good citizenship be engendered through the lessons, that democracy be presented as a “desirable way of life” and recommended that “accurate and balanced information about typical life in other lands” be presented in place of “the strange, bizarre, and unusual.”⁹⁷

The first of these documents included outlines for the study of Social Studies only for grade seven. The revised edition included, under the heading “social studies,” guidelines for

⁹⁴ Province of Ontario: Department of Education Intermediate Division Grades Vii, Viii, Ix, X: Outlines of Courses for Experimental Use, Curriculum I:1, 3, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Intermediate Division Grades Vii, Viii, Ix, X: Outlines of Courses for Experimental Use, Curriculum I:1 (Revised), 3-4.

⁹⁵ Province of Ontario: Department of Education Intermediate Division Grades Vii, Viii, Ix, X: Outlines of Courses for Experimental Use, Curriculum I:1 (Revised), 58.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 58-59.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 69-61.

grades 7 through 10. The grade seven component examined the history of Canada up to Confederation, grade eight looked at British Commonwealth history, and grade nine concerned itself with historical relations between Canada and the United States. It was in these grades that the guideline was most explicit about prejudice and race. Grade seven, for example, began with topics about the “special contributions of groups and individuals” and “unifying influences, combating prejudice, objectionable propaganda,” and with activity suggestions for students to inquire about “the national origins of families represented in the class,” to discover examples of “good citizenship”, “propaganda” and “prejudice”, and to develop “a skit contrasting a reasonable with a prejudiced person, or one dramatizing the arrival of a newcomer to your community.”⁹⁸ An objective with a grade eight unit entitled “How the Peoples of India, Pakistan, and South Africa Live To-day as Nations Within the Commonwealth” was “to recognize that a common humanity exists despite differences of custom, race, and religion” and “to recognize that ways of living different from our own are not necessarily inferior.”⁹⁹ The grade eight component included an activity requiring students to “review ethnic groups found in your class or community.”¹⁰⁰ It also declared that “social and racial differences present problems”¹⁰¹ and suggested class discussions about “methods of dealing with the racial problem” and comparisons of Canada and South Africa with respect to the “racial problem”.¹⁰²

The grade ten component of this course for experimental use looked at “Canada and the Modern World,” which was sub-divide into eight units entitled, 1) Canadians Are a People with World-Wide Interests and Influence”, 2) “Canadian and European Affairs are Closely Related”,

⁹⁸ Ibid., 62.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 93.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 80.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 97.

¹⁰² Ibid., 98.

3) “Two Nations on the Arctic Sea”, 4) The Near East is of Interest and Importance to Canadians”, 5) The Far East is of Interest and Importance to Canadians”, 6) “Climate and Surface Features of the World Influences Man’s Use of the Land”, 7) “Man Utilizes the Resources of the Earth”, 8) “Cooperation is Essential for World Security and Progress.” This grade ten component of the guideline included multiple references to the importance of identifying “common ethnic origins” that illustrated that “Canadians have many ties with Europe to-day” or that helped students “to appreciate Canada’s cultural heritage from Europe.”¹⁰³ Another activity suggested was for students to “make a chart to show the percentage of the different ethnic groups in the total population of Canada [and to] mark the origin of these groups on a map of Europe.”¹⁰⁴ A similar activity, discussed in the context of global “problems” with respect to “differences of race and religion” suggested that students be asked to “make a world map to show the chief races and religions of the world.” Given the era in which it was produced, one especially noteworthy inclusion in this grade ten part of the document was a suggestion for students to “investigate Canada’s treatment of Japanese Canadians during World War Two.”¹⁰⁵

Both of these experimental documents were precursors to one that would replace them and the main history curriculum document that had been in place since the 1930s. The new guideline, published by the Department of Education in 1962 was entitled *Curriculum I:7 & I:9 40m, 1962, Geography, History and Government: Social Studies Intermediate Division Grades 7, 8, 9, and 10.*¹⁰⁶ Interestingly, this document insisted that while the study of history should inspire love of country that was not to be its main function and that the historian must avoid over-

¹⁰³ Ibid., 118-19.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 127.

¹⁰⁶ Province of Ontario: Department of Education Curriculum I:7 & I:9 40m, 1962, Geography, History and Government: Social Studies Intermediate Division Grades 7, 8, 9, and 10.

simplification, the falsification of events or the suppression of facts with the intent to build up national feeling.¹⁰⁷ This guideline also made several recommendations specific to the use of textbooks. Teachers were advised to avoid note-taking based on paraphrasing the textbook. They were also recommended to select one or more basic textbooks approved for the course and make copies available to every student. Stressing the necessity of multiple perspectives, the document also suggested that copies of other approved textbooks be made available in the classroom library, and, moreover, that students be required to read beyond the required textbook.¹⁰⁸ The document itself covered the curriculum for both “geography” and “history and government” in grades seven through ten. In Grade 7 students were to learn about the history of Canada “beginning with the arrival of Europeans” moving from there to “the French régime” and concluding with the history of British North America up to 1800.¹⁰⁹ In Grade 8, the focus was on “Anglo-American issues affecting the history of Canada” between 1800 and 1901.¹¹⁰ The history of Great Britain to 1910 was to be covered in grade 9. In Grade 10 the emphasis was placed on “the History of Canada, Britain and the U.S.A. from 1901 to the present.”¹¹¹ The guidelines directed that emphasis should be placed upon Canada but insisted that since “the interplay of forces and events in the three great English-speaking democracies is so continuous and significant that no side of the Atlantic triangle can be studied without reference to the other two.”¹¹² There was nothing in this document explicitly pertaining to racism, racial prejudice, or any other cognate of race.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 77.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 79.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 77.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 2.

¹¹² Ibid., 111.

3. Circular 14 and the Textbooks

The 1960 edition of *Circular 14* textbooks for intermediate division grades nine and ten was reorganized so that textbooks were grouped according to grade level (whereas up to this point they had been grouped according to subject). The only three textbooks listed under grade ten included *Canada and the World* (a text blending history, geography, and current affairs) and two straightforward geography texts, *Geography of Lands Overseas*, and *Lands of Europe and Asia*.¹¹³ In the 1961 edition of *Circular 14* “Grade 10 history” appeared for the first time as a category under intermediate division “Social Studies or History and Geography” and it was in this document, published a year prior to publication of the new curricular guideline, in which the history textbooks produced to correspond to the new guideline were first listed. Three new textbooks entitled *The Twentieth Century*, *The Modern Era*, and *Decisive Decades*, joined one carry-over from the 1950s, *Canada and the World*, to comprise the full list of grade ten history textbooks.¹¹⁴ *Decisive Decades*, published by Thomas Nelson and Sons in 1960, remained on the list until 1974 at which point it was replaced by a significantly revised edition that would retain its authorization until 1980.¹¹⁵ Lambert’s *The Twentieth Century*, published by House of Grant in 1960, was also continuously authorized up to 1974 although in both 1973 and 1974 it was

¹¹³ Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Text-Books Approved or Recommended for Use in Elementary and Secondary Schools (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1960), 19.

¹¹⁴ Brown and Careless, *Canada and the World*, A.B. Hodgetts, *Decisive Decades: A History of the Twentieth Century for Canadians* (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1960), R.S. Lambert, *The Twentieth Century* (House of Grant, 1960), Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Text-Books Approved or Recommended for Use in Elementary and Secondary Schools, 24, John C. Ricker, John T. Saywell, and Elliot Rose, E., *The Modern Era* (Toronto and Vancouver: Clarke, Irwin & Company Limited, 1960).

¹¹⁵ A.B. Hodgetts, *Decisive Decades: A History of the Twentieth Century for Canadians*, Revised ed. (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1973), Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Textbooks (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1974), 49, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Textbooks (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1977), 62, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Textbooks (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1980), 83.

indicated to have been “approved for a limited time only.”¹¹⁶ The third new textbook for grade 10 history was *The Modern Era*, the fourth installment of a four-book series called “The Background of Our Times” and published by Clarke, Irwin, and Company. Book one of the series was *Bold Ventures*, book two was entitled *Nation of the North*, and book three, *The British Epic*. *The Modern Era* would retain this authorization until 1975 even though it too was “approved for a limited time only” during the final three years of this authorization. *The Winds of Change*, a Ryerson Press publication, made its debut on *Circular 14* in 1962 and remained there until 1975.¹¹⁷ During its final three years of authorization, it was indicated to have been “approved for a limited time only.” *Three Nations*, a 1962 publication of McClelland and Stewart, was first authorized under Schedule B of *Circular 14* in 1963.¹¹⁸ This original edition was authorized from 1963 to 1969. In 1970, it was replaced by what was termed a “revised edition”, but the revisions were minimal as the text was mostly unaltered (even down to the page numbers). This revised edition, published in 1969 was authorized from 1970 to 1976.¹¹⁹ A French language text and seven textbooks having to do with government and law were added to *Circular 14* in 1966.¹²⁰ In 1968, a new history category, “grades 7 to 10” appeared just below “grade 10.” The regional history textbooks, *Canada’s Pacific Province* and *Footprints in Time*:

¹¹⁶ Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Textbooks, 47, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Textbooks, 52.

¹¹⁷ Hugh Peart, W. and John Schaffter, *The Winds of Change: A History of Canada and Canadians in the Twentieth Century* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1961), Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Text-Books Approved or Recommended for Use in Elementary and Secondary Schools, 29.

¹¹⁸ Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Text-Books Approved or Recommended for Use in Elementary and Secondary Schools (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1963), 35.

¹¹⁹ Gerald W.L. Nicholson et al., *Three Nations: Canada - Great Britain - the United States of America in the Twentieth Century* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1969), Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Textbooks, 38, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Textbooks (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1971), 34, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Textbooks, 39, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Textbooks, 46, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Textbooks, 52, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Textbooks (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1975), 61, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Textbooks (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1976), 62.

¹²⁰ Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Textbooks (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1966), 20.

*A Source Book in the History of Ontario*¹²¹ were listed here and joined the following year by the brief soft-cover book, *Canada Since 1867*, which would retain its authorization until 1980.¹²²

As was the case with the production of textbooks from the preceding decades, the production of the main textbooks of the 1960s was also clearly gendered and racialized since the authors were all white males. Two differences characterize the textbooks of the 1960s in relation to those of the 1950s. First, while textbooks authorized throughout the 1950s were concerned with Canadian history since the arrival of Europeans, the textbooks authorized in the 1960s were almost exclusively concerned with twentieth century Canadian history. Second, the textbooks of the 1960s told the story of twentieth century Canadian history together with, and in almost equal proportion to, the stories of twentieth century American and English history. In *The Winds of Change*, *The Modern Era*, *The Twentieth Century* and *Three Nations* this was accomplished by short alternating chapters highlighting one of the three countries. The five very long chapters in *Decisive Decades* contained subsections in which the narrative moved back and forth between the three national histories.

Beyond the obvious focus on grouping Canadian history with that of the United States and the United Kingdom, these textbooks were remarkably similar to one another in a number of ways. They looked and felt the same. All but *The Twentieth Century* were approximately 9" x 6" x 1" texts, and it only missed these dimensions by a bit, and each textbook was filled with hundreds of pages of black text and gray images. At 388 pages, *The Modern Era* was the shortest text. The others contained well over 400 pages each, with *Decisive Decades* stretching the

¹²¹ Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Textbooks, 35, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Textbooks, 35.

¹²² Patricia Johnson, *Canada since 1867* (McClelland and Stewart, 1968). Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Textbooks, 35, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Textbooks, 35, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Textbooks, 48-52, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Textbooks (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1979), 70-72, Province of Ontario: Department of Education Circular 14: Textbooks, 80-83.

narrative the fullest to 553 pages. Like their predecessors of the 1950s these textbooks contained long traditional narratives with few inquiry-style questions or activity sections. Only later, when the revised editions *Three Nations* and *Decisive Decades* appeared, did such pedagogical tools appear. For example, the 1969 edition of *Three Nations* had “For Exploration” questions at the end of each chapter. A common highlighting technique among these textbooks was the use of the margins as a location for key topics written in bold type. Particularly significant examples of these margin guides, insofar as they provided a space of possibility for student-readers to engage with historical racisms, were those entitled “The Nature of Fascism”¹²³, “The Colour Bar”¹²⁴, and the “Revival of Ku-Klux-Klan.”¹²⁵

Decisive Decades was the most densely textual of the lot while *The Modern Era* was dotted with perhaps the most illustrations. Generally, however, one could not get more than a few pages into any of the textbooks before some sort of gray image appeared within the main text or alongside it in the margins. A common form of illustration found in all of the textbooks was the squared photograph of a notable figure from the past. These fuzzy gray photographs, sometimes located in the margins, were dominated by the faces of white male politicians, royalty, and military leaders ranging from the knighted Arthur Currie to the dictatorial Adolph Hitler. The black and white illustrations also consisted of reproduced sketches or cartoons and various diagrams and maps that usually accompanied descriptions of particular wartime battles. Several shades of red, blue, or green occasionally appeared in these diagrams, or in certain subheadings, but, generally, the texts were void of color. One exception was the curious appendage to *Winds of Change* entitled “Canadian Painting in the Twentieth Century: An Introduction.” Here, ten

¹²³ Ricker, Saywell, and Rose, *The Modern Era*, 232.

¹²⁴ Peart and Schaffter, *The Winds of Change: A History of Canada and Canadians in the Twentieth Century*, 404.

¹²⁵ Lambert, *The Twentieth Century*, 207.

glossy reproductions from individuals such as A.Y. Jackson, Emily Carr, and Jean-Paul Lemieux overshadowed the brief bit of text describing “headlong and bewildering artistic changes ... since the solid and sedate days of the year 1900.”¹²⁶ These painters, and their work, were tropes for the growing national body and a maturation process that the textbooks would represent as having produced a bright, distinctive, and increasingly autonomous living being.

4. Nationalist Narratives

As should be expected, the story of twentieth century Canada was interspersed throughout these narratives with ties to American and English history. What was clear from the outset was that these three nations were conceived to have been bound not only by a common history, but also by language, religion, and by even more conceptually ambiguous markers such as “culture”, “heritage”, and “way of life.” Tropes of family and kinship, often set out in the preface or introduction to the textbooks, functioned to uphold the narrative reasoning that Canada was a living organism tied by blood to siblings and parents while it sought and achieved individual autonomy. For example, in the preface to *The Twentieth Century* author R.S. Lambert referred to Canada, Britain and the United States as “brothers” and informed readers that the unity of these leading English-speaking peoples has been “an overriding necessity” through the twentieth century.¹²⁷ This explicit grouping of the three nations created something of a pre-reading strategy whereby that which was deemed Canadian was made to appear obviously akin (or kin) to that deemed English and American. The inverse, of course, also was made to appear self-evident; that is, non- American or English histories were largely peripheral to, and subordinated by, the narrative logic of the textbook alliance set between Canada, the US, and the UK.

¹²⁶ Peart and Schaffter, *The Winds of Change: A History of Canada and Canadians in the Twentieth Century*, 10 of appendix.

¹²⁷ Lambert, *The Twentieth Century*.

The textbooks differed only slightly with their choice of where to commence the narrative of Canada in the twentieth century. Each of *The Winds of Change*, *The Modern Era*, *The Twentieth Century* and *Three Nations* began their histories of Canada with introductory chapters about Great Britain at the turn-of-the-century. This was not the case with *Decisive Decades*, which put the early emphasis on Canadian economic progress and geographical expansion. Still, though the topical arrangements differed somewhat, the narratives about each of the three nations were remarkably similar (insofar as each nation was depicted as overcoming huge obstacles and shaping itself into a modern and progressive nation). I will concern myself here primarily with the narrative representation of the Canadian component of this three nation focus.

The narrative of Canadian history in these textbooks generally began with the concerns of the government and people of Canada in expanding the nation-state westward. Topics such as building the railways, settling the prairies, discovering natural resources, and establishing new provinces dominated the telling of Canadian history for the period of 1901 to 1914 and, also, supported the idea of Canada as a maturing body growing into its full adult dimensions. Changing relations with Britain and America were also highlighted and, in these representations, both Canada's growing sense of self and its familial ties were made prominent. These representations of Canada as having feelings about itself (and about its relations with others) and also as having blood relations or intimate ties to others also functioned to reinforce the notion of Canada as a growing individual. Canada was said, in spite of the increasing importance of America as a trading partner, to have come to resent the power exerted by the US over Canada and that this resentment was evident in the aftermath of the so-called Alaska Boundary Dispute of 1902 and in the rejection of Reciprocity in 1911. The Boer War, the Imperial Conferences of 1902 and 1907, and the divide created between French- and English-speaking Canadians over

these issues were highlighted as having caused Canada to question its longstanding relations to its imperialistic “mother country.”¹²⁸ These tensions between “mother Britain” and “child Canada” privileged a sense that Canada was a troubled adolescent seeking ways to define itself as separate from the parent. Indeed, Canada was depicted in these narratives as an individual subject in search of its own identity and as a youth who favoured a policy of cooperation with (mother) Empire, but not dominated or determined by imperial (parental) relations.¹²⁹

The “Great War” functioned in the narratives to support a personification of the fledgling state in which Canada’s sense of self and place in the world were defined by the noble participation and extraordinary accomplishment of its male figures in wartime battles. The distinction of Canadian troops at the Somme¹³⁰, the Canadians’ “brilliant victories” at Vimy, and of the heroics of individuals (all white men) such as Currie¹³¹ were given prominence. Other Canadian men were said to have written “a particularly brilliant chapter in the history of aerial warfare”¹³² and still others to have been “in the vanguard of an uninterrupted series of brilliant victories” during a stretch of time referred to as “Canada’s Hundred Days.”¹³³ One reoccurring wartime story included in these accounts of WWI was that of the second battle of Ypres when courageous Canadians stood their ground in the first gas attack in history. Representations of this wartime event are of special significance because the supposed cowardice of Zouaves, variously identified as “coloured” and “African” and “French colonial” troops, was utilized to illustrate more forcefully the heroics of the Canadian regiment. These markers of difference (e.g., “coloured”, “African”, “French colonial”) delimited what was in, or part of, the new national

¹²⁸ Province of Ontario: Department of Education Curriculum I:7 & I:9 40m, 1962, Geography, History and Government: Social Studies Intermediate Division Grades 7, 8, 9, and 10, 116.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 112.

¹³⁰ Ricker, Saywell, and Rose, *The Modern Era*, 107.

¹³¹ Ibid., 108.

¹³² Ibid., 111.

¹³³ Ibid., 136.

body which was deemed to have matured through the Great War. The issue of racialized character, in other words, was front and center, and so warrants some discussion in detail. In *Decisive Decades* the battle was described as follows:

The deadly, seven-foot bank of chlorine gas drifted across to a section of the Allied lines occupied mainly by Zouaves, coloured troops drafted by France from her colonial empire in Africa. Unaccustomed to this raw form of western civilization, these unfortunate men, except those who were already suffocated, bolted in utter confusion leaving a four-mile gap wide open to the sea. According to Sir John French, the British Commander-in-Chief, this immediate and very serious crisis was saved by the Canadians who had moved into line beside the Zouaves just a few days previously. When the French colonials fled – the poor fellows ran back with the poisoned air they were trying to escape – the Canadian troops spread out to cover the gap.¹³⁴

The Zouaves were portrayed as pitiful and reluctant draftees who lacked in courage, resolve, and common sense. They bolted in confusion and fled unwittingly with the deadly gas whereas, in stark contrast, the steely Canadians stood their ground and saved the day. Significantly, a discourse of race as colour was made explicit when the Zouaves were described as coloured and the Canadians were not. Put differently, this racialized wartime battle functioned to represent the maturing Canadian nation as one capable of withstanding great hardship, determined to resist oppression, and as one exclusive of colour.

Each textbook chose this particular event as a tale worthy of inclusion and told it similarly, employing binary oppositions that represent “coloured” Zouaves and Canadians (of apparently no colour) as completely at variance with each other. In *Winds of Change*, discipline and ingenuity, or the lack thereof, seemed to be the explanation for the completely different reactions to the gas attacks. “Discipline disintegrated among the French colonial troops” who left their trenches “en masse” while the Canadians “improvis[ed] gas masks from dampened handkerchiefs ... closed

¹³⁴ Hodgetts, *Decisive Decades: A History of the Twentieth Century for Canadians*, 167.

the gap and hung on for three days until relieved.”¹³⁵ This depiction of quitting Zouaves versus persevering Canadians was also evident in *The Modern Era*. “The French defenses crumbled and the troops broke and fled,” wrote the authors of this textbook, but “the untried Canadian soldiers won undying fame as they hung on with grim and often fatal determination.”¹³⁶ Not much could be seen to have changed by the time the revised edition of *Three Nations* appeared.

Choking and tearing at their throats, the African troops broke completely, leaving a wide gap on the Canadian flank [but] the Canadians, reinforced by British battalions, withstood the German pressure, and though forced to give some ground, held the enemy from capturing Ypres.¹³⁷

Here again, Canadian and British courage and calm was juxtaposed with the frightful panic of Africans. In all of the textbook representations of this particular battle, the only source cited to back up the claims of such divergent reactions to the gas attack was the reference to “Sir” John French in *Decisive Decades*. It should not be surprising therefore that the Zouaves got portrayed in such disparaging ways when their perspective on the battle was so obviously excluded. Of course, I am not disputing either that the Zouaves fled or that the Canadian troops stayed. I am suggesting that the textbooks, for the most part, portrayed the diverse reactions as owing to character. Moreover, the significance of Africans fighting and dying for the WWI allies, including their colonial rulers, seemed to have been entirely overlooked. But the entirely negative representation of Zouaves was only part of what was happening here. The Canadians were portrayed in significantly positive ways, that is, as courageous, tough, perseverant, ingenious, calm and resourceful. And although Canadians were implicitly portrayed as “not coloured” they were significantly represented in each textbook as having fought alongside the

¹³⁵ Peart and Schaffter, *The Winds of Change: A History of Canada and Canadians in the Twentieth Century*, 134.

¹³⁶ Ricker, Saywell, and Rose, *The Modern Era*, 106.

¹³⁷ Nicholson et al., *Three Nations: Canada - Great Britain - the United States of America in the Twentieth Century*, 97. See also Hodgetts, *Decisive Decades: A History of the Twentieth Century for Canadians*, 196.

“coloured” troops. This reinforces, to a certain extent at least, imagined ideals of Canadian tolerance. Additionally, there was also a sense that the French were sending reluctant “coloured” men from its colonies into battle terribly ill-prepared and ill-equipped. This painted France and French imperialism as unjustly harsh and aristocratic, particularly when viewed next to the Canadian example of fighting side by side in the trenches. *Decisive Decades* made this point significantly more obvious by referring to fleeing colonial troops in the battle of Aisne as “the coloured cannon-fodder so often used by France.”¹³⁸

The resolution of the Great War led into narrative problems pertaining to establishing the peace, recovering from economic recession, adjusting to social changes, and repairing Canadian unity.¹³⁹ The textbooks described Canada as having changed, as an individual might, to have become more North American in outlook and to be desiring of greater freedom.¹⁴⁰ So, Canada, the maturing organism, had developed through the war a new sense of identity (e.g., North American) and a desire to be more autonomous (e.g., free from “parental” constraints). The textbooks at this point also talked in detail of a rising Canadian nationalism and the supposed development of a distinctly Canadian consciousness despite a redundant emphasis upon important imperial links. Thus, in this post-WWI period, Canada was marked as a growing adolescent still tied by blood to its mother, but increasingly asserting (and achieving) independence. Hodgetts, in *Decisive Decades* stated that, “Canadians were developing an independent outlook” during this period and a “national consciousness” that was distinct from,

¹³⁸ Hodgetts, *Decisive Decades: A History of the Twentieth Century for Canadians*, 181. This was an important inclusion in another sense too since it created a potential space for student-reader engagement with the racialized oppressions carried out by colonial France.

¹³⁹ Province of Ontario: Department of Education Curriculum I:7 & I:9 40m, 1962, Geography, History and Government: Social Studies Intermediate Division Grades 7, 8, 9, and 10, 116.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 117.

and perhaps even more mature than, that of the US.¹⁴¹ The use of fatherly imagery also strengthened this phantasy trope of a growing adolescent. Just as men were represented as courageously and honourably shaping, through wartime battles, the maturing character of the nation, it was Prime Ministers (all male to this point) who were deemed responsible for guiding the young nation forward. For example, “Since Confederation, successive Prime Ministers, regardless of party affiliations, had steadily advanced the cause of Canadian nationhood.”¹⁴²

The discussion of new industries that greatly benefited Canada in its prosperity of the 1920s prefaced the next major narrative problem, the Great Depression. The impact of the Depression on Canada and Canadians was described along with attempted remedies and the Depression itself was depicted as a major contributing factor to the start of WWII. As was the case with representations of WWI, “glorious achievement” was used as the semiotic marker to fortify the narrative logic of Canada as a maturing body and soul struggling against difficulty and oppression. The campaign in Sicily was often noted to have been the first occasion in which Canadians “played a major part in the fighting” and there the First Canadian Division was said to have “fought courageously against German veterans.”¹⁴³ Sickness, the fierceness of the German forces, the rocky terrain, and the ferociousness of close “hand-to-hand fighting” were cited as obstacles overcome by Canadian troops in Italy.¹⁴⁴ In *Winds of Change*, it was stated that,

In the thirty-eight day campaign, the Canadians suffered from heat stroke, dysentery and malaria. Yet they marched up to forty miles a day, spearheaded a vital offensive and outfought some of the toughest troops in the *Wehrmacht*.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹ Hodgetts, *Decisive Decades: A History of the Twentieth Century for Canadians*, 273, 87, 98, and 305.

¹⁴² Peart and Schaffter, *The Winds of Change: A History of Canada and Canadians in the Twentieth Century*, 223.

¹⁴³ Ricker, Saywell, and Rose, *The Modern Era*, 254.

¹⁴⁴ Peart and Schaffter, *The Winds of Change: A History of Canada and Canadians in the Twentieth Century*, 337.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

In these representations of figures of the Canadian nation (i.e., male soldiers), the trope of refusing to capitulate, even in the face of impediments of the most severe kind, marked the national body as constituted by a pure and strong (i.e., youthful and masculinized) willingness to struggle for liberty and freedom. These representations of the war, particularly the role of Canadian figures in it, served also to illustrate the Canadian struggle for existence (or recognition) as a mature nation. The self-preservation of the Canadian nation, in other words, depended upon the youthful defenders acting in the name of the nation and against those who would destroy it or otherwise inhibit its growth.¹⁴⁶ These agents of the Canadian nation were depicted as distinguishing themselves as shock troops in the Italian campaigns¹⁴⁷, to have made a tremendous contribution to the war in the air,¹⁴⁸ to have saved Ceylon¹⁴⁹, and to have “opened the campaign for the Rhineland [by] clear[ing] the Netherlands of the German army.”¹⁵⁰ Numerous white male figures of the Canadian nation were identified by name and title and represented as having acted heroically and unselfishly in battles aimed at repulsing the threat to the Canadian nation and its allies (e.g., Captain D.C. Heggie¹⁵¹, General A.G. L. McNaughton,¹⁵² General H.D.G. Crerar,¹⁵³ and Major-General Guy Simmonds¹⁵⁴).

Even when Canadians lost a battle or suffered heavy casualties in it, the event was depicted as a glorious achievement indicative of Canadian perseverance, determination, or devotion to the national body. For example,

¹⁴⁶ C.f., Koenigsberg, *Hitler's Ideology: A Study in Psychoanalytic Sociology*, 75. Sometimes, the textbooks stressed the young age of the Canadian soldier. See, for example, Peart and Schaffter, *The Winds of Change: A History of Canada and Canadians in the Twentieth Century*, 319.

¹⁴⁷ Ricker, Saywell, and Rose, *The Modern Era*, 255.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 257.

¹⁴⁹ Peart and Schaffter, *The Winds of Change: A History of Canada and Canadians in the Twentieth Century*, 319.

¹⁵⁰ Ricker, Saywell, and Rose, *The Modern Era*, 262.

¹⁵¹ Peart and Schaffter, *The Winds of Change: A History of Canada and Canadians in the Twentieth Century*, 295.

¹⁵² Ibid., 292 and 329.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 345, Ricker, Saywell, and Rose, *The Modern Era*, 260 and 345.

¹⁵⁴ Peart and Schaffter, *The Winds of Change: A History of Canada and Canadians in the Twentieth Century*, 335.

Faced with inevitable defeat, its [British Hong Kong] garrison of some 12,000 troops, including two Canadian regiments, the Royal Rifles and the Winnipeg Grenadiers, fought for seventeen and a half days, and surrendered only after the last water reservoir had been captured.¹⁵⁵

The tragedy of Dieppe too was portrayed as having produced heroes of which the maturing nation could be proud. In particular, *Les Fusiliers Mont-Royal* were said to have “distinguished themselves” through “bitter hand-to-hand fighting.”¹⁵⁶ The battle of Dieppe also functioned in these narratives as a trope for the unity of individual and nation.¹⁵⁷ That is, these young men were represented as having made the ultimate sacrifice for their nation, not at all in vain, but rather with consequences (i.e., lessons learned) that would eventually eliminate the forces that threatened the nation’s well-being. Most of the textbooks suggested that “the Dieppe experience paid dividends.”¹⁵⁸ In *The Modern Era*, for example, it was claimed that although “out of 5,000 Canadian troops some 3,367 were killed, wounded or taken prisoner,” the battle of Dieppe was nevertheless “an important lesson for the Allies.”¹⁵⁹

The next narrative problem, the aftermath of war and bloody destruction, focused on post-war political, economic and social changes as constructive actions aimed at restoring the growing potential of the national body. The economic boom, urbanization, the development of new resources and industries, and changes to foreign policy and defense functioned as markers indicating a national growth spurt in which Canada blossomed to become a significant (adult-like) power in the world. The influence of the Cold War was a defining feature of these narrative sequences. With a style approaching hysteria and reminiscent of the so-called “Red Scare” of the

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 317.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 330.

¹⁵⁷ Koenigsberg, *Hitler's Ideology: A Study in Psychoanalytic Sociology*, 43-50.

¹⁵⁸ Peart and Schaffter, *The Winds of Change: A History of Canada and Canadians in the Twentieth Century*, 344.

¹⁵⁹ Ricker, Saywell, and Rose, *The Modern Era*, 258.

twenties that these very textbooks criticized and mocked, the communist threat was made both a central feature of the textbooks and one which represented Britain, Canada, and the United States as standing together in unified defense against the dangers Communism was thought to embody.¹⁶⁰ The trope of kinship (with Britain and the US) helped to sustain the logic that goodness, and its perfection, existed in the national bodies of these three countries and that each nation's continued existence as a living organism was contingent upon the suppression or removal of the communist threat. This "menace of Communism" was represented as the antithesis of all that Canada stood for and as having "posed serious problems for Canada, Britain and the United States," but it was also said also to have had strong appeal "among the backward peoples of Africa and Asia."¹⁶¹ The representational effect of "menace" in other words was to prop up the idea that Canada was an ideal (and white) nation, distinct from other (menacing, backward, and coloured) nations, and thus worth defending.

In these 1960s textbooks, Canada was marked as an adolescent tied by blood to "Mother Britain" and to "Brother United States." Multiple battles tropes (e.g., "The Great War") and the trope of "glorious achievement" helped to support narratives that personified Canada as a growing and living organism which could withstand assaults (e.g., by gas attack), resist oppression, defend the honour and body of the nation, and struggle to overcome death, impoverishment (e.g., economic recession), and other hardships. Gendered and racialized separation strategies delimited the constitution of this maturing national body by consistently marking it as white and male.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 321 and 29.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 335.

Textbooks Authorized between 1975 and 1980: Neo-Progressive Revival

1. The Context of Production

The terms racism and racist entered into common parlance through the 1960s and 1970s. This was a period marked by major social reform. Civil and women's rights movements forced governments at federal, provincial, and municipal levels to pay more attention to human rights (i.e., with respect to gender inequalities and to socio-economically and culturally minoritized people such as Aboriginals peoples in rural areas and immigrants settled in urban areas.)¹⁶² The federal government moved to broaden immigrant sponsorship categories in 1967 and then adopted an official policy of multiculturalism in 1971. It was a period in which the celebration of diverse heritages and the teaching of tolerance and pluralism were promoted through official channels as "the Canadian way."

The publication in 1970 of the report of the Royal Commission on The Status of Women also heralded a re-emerging period of feminism that placed a great deal of emphasis upon the role of education in improving social inequalities.¹⁶³ Feminists challenged traditional notions of sex-roles as systems of difference with research that asserted sex-appropriate socialization to be about discrimination and inequality within a system of oppression (i.e., sexism).¹⁶⁴ The critique of sex role socialization took aim particularly at the representation of females in school textbooks and curriculum. Women and girls in various school textbooks, for example, were documented to be either underrepresented or represented in "traditional" sex roles (e.g., as teachers, maids, nurses, waitresses, princesses, witches, or stay-a-home mothers) or with stereotypical characteristics (e.g.,

¹⁶² B. Singh Bolaria and Peter S. Li, *Racial Oppression in Canada* (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1988), 221.

¹⁶³ Jane S. Gaskell and Arlene Tigar McLaren, eds., *Women and Education* (Calgary, Alberta: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1987), 6.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 7.

passive, indecisive, emotionally weak, un-adventurous, subservient).¹⁶⁵ This research (and the political lobbying that coincided with it) influenced the establishment of advisory groups on sexism in education and the issuing of guidelines about how to eliminate sex bias and stereotypes in textbooks and other learning resources. In 1974, for example, the Ontario Status of Women Council published *About Face: Towards a Positive Image in Textbooks* and, in 1976 and 1977 respectively, the Ontario Ministry of Education published a teacher's resource guide entitled *Sex-Role Stereotyping and Women's Studies* and a pamphlet entitled *Guideline Evaluations for Sex Bias in Textbooks*.¹⁶⁶

Youth culture, with its explicit values of individuality, liberation, and autonomy and its distinctive dress, hair style, musical expression, and drug-use, was another factor exerting pressures for change upon traditional conceptions of schooling.¹⁶⁷ New interest groups, largely dominated by students at one level or another, had entered the political forum and were loud in charging schools with discriminatory practices that emphasized assimilation into the mainstream culture rather than preservation of immigrant culture.¹⁶⁸ One particular response of the provincial government to increased student protest regarding the infringement of their rights was to direct more funding to schools with immigrant children.¹⁶⁹ The post-WWII entry into Ontario of large numbers of immigrants and the subsequent entry of their children into both the public and separate school systems also prompted the provincial government to develop ESL and heritage

¹⁶⁵ E.g., L. Fisher and J.A. Cheyne, *Sex Roles: Biological and Cultural Interactions as Found in Social Science Research and Ontario Educational Media* (Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Education, 1977), Jane S. Gaskell, "Stereotyping and Discrimination in the Curriculum," in *Precepts, Policy and Perspectives on Canadian Education*, ed. Stevenson and Wilson (London, ON: Alexander Blake Associates, 1977), Mattu and Villeneuve, *Eliminating Group Prejudice in Social Studies Textbooks*, 21-23.

¹⁶⁶ Gaskell and McLaren, eds., *Women and Education*, 8. See also, Dewar, "The Road to Happiness: Canadian History in Public Schools": 13-14.

¹⁶⁷ Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976*, 226-27.

¹⁶⁸ Francis, Jones, and Smith, *Destinies: Canadian History since Confederation*, 350, Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976*, 234.

¹⁶⁹ Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976*, 235.

language programs, and to revise methods of textbook writing by aiming to “remove the exclusive emphasis on the Anglo-Canadian experience and, more important, to eliminate stereotyped or demeaning characterizations of other cultures and customs.”¹⁷⁰ By the mid-1970s, school boards and the provincial ministry had begun to incorporate anti-discrimination programs into their more general policies on multiculturalism.¹⁷¹ The provincial government, with much direction from J.R. McCarthy, also responded by reorienting pedagogy and curriculum in such a way as to emphasize personal fulfillment as the essence of education.¹⁷² In 1968, the Department of Education published a document entitled *Living and Learning*, but which came to be known as the Hall-Dennis Report. This report admonished traditional education and its goal of ensuring social stability through pressures of conformity and standards of behaviour. It emphasized instead the necessity of a schooling atmosphere that could prepare youngsters to cope with the accelerated rate of social change and insisted that the role of the teacher in such an atmosphere was one of facilitator or advisor and not authoritarian leader.¹⁷³

Heightened Canadian nationalism was also apparent during the 1960s and 1970s (as evidenced by, for example, the Centennial and Expo celebrations in 1967 and the establishment of such formal organizations as The Committee for an Independent Canada, a group comprised largely of professors and politicians, which aimed to promote Canadian nationalism in response to a perceived threat of American influence on Canada’s independence.) The Quiet Revolution in Quebec and the transformation of federal English-French relations following the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism also brought to the fore inequities in relations between Francophone Quebec and English Canada and contributed to the promotion of a distinct

¹⁷⁰ Gidney, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools*, 150.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Ibid., 72-77.

¹⁷³ Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976*, 217.

Canadian (and Quebecois) nationalism. Congruent with the nationalism of the times, there was during the late 1960s and early 1970s an increasing emphasis on the study of Canada and Canadian identity. Project Canada, for example, was a school program initiated by the Ontario Ministry of Education, in co-operation with other provincial and territorial departments of education, and aimed at providing young people with a personalized opportunity to learn about Canada and Canadians. The Canada Studies Foundation, an inter-provincial enterprise, was active in promoting the development of Canadian learning materials in schools. In 1972, a new annual publication was introduced by the Ministry of Education called *Circular 15: Canadian Curriculum Materials*, which described more than 3000 books, films, and other educational materials “of Canadian authorship and manufacture.”¹⁷⁴ The Ministry of Education continued its policy of listing in *Circular 14* “wherever possible, only textbooks written by Canadian authors, and which are printed and bound in Canada” and educators were consistently reminded that from this Canadianized *Circular 14* “textbooks must be chosen ...unless permission is granted for another selection.”¹⁷⁵

Incongruent with the above developments, and in response to the progressivism that gained ascendancy in the late 1960s and early 1970s, program control was decentralized and the requirement that all students take three or four years of Canadian or European history was removed. Instead, high school students were presented with a credit system in which they could choose from a host of new courses such as Man in Society, People in Politics, and World Religions.¹⁷⁶ The Ministry of Education came under heavy criticism for this new curriculum and

¹⁷⁴ Thomas L. Wells Report of the Minister of Education to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1972), 8. In 1972, the “Department of Education” changed to the “Ministry of Education.”

¹⁷⁵ William G. Davis Report of the Minister of Education to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1970), 9.

¹⁷⁶ Gidney, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools*, 107.

the philosophy which underscored it from those who viewed it as an assault on the traditional Ontario school system including the Ontario Secondary School Teacher's Federation, which issued a call for a return to compulsory courses "in the basic skills of reading and writing, Canadian history, geography, and politics."¹⁷⁷

2. History Curriculum Documents and Developments

In the face of such criticism, the Ministry soon relented. On November 15, 1973, the Minister of Education announced to the Legislature the decision to make two credits in *Canadian Studies* mandatory for graduation.¹⁷⁸ Education Minister Wells reinstated a compulsory core curriculum claiming that the public wanted assurance that students acquire a deeper understanding of the English language and of Canada, subjects that he deemed key to the preservation of "western" civilization and that should be studied in greater depth.¹⁷⁹ By 1976 all grade 9 and 10 students were required to study Canadian history or geography.¹⁸⁰ The first inclusion of Canadian Studies occurred in the curricular document, *Circular H.S. 1, 1974-75*.¹⁸¹ Within a few years, a special Canadian Studies supplement was published.¹⁸² In the meantime, throughout the early 1970s, the Ontario Ministry of Education had begun a review of the curricula within the Intermediate Division of Ontario schools. It subsequently published, in 1973, an interim curricular guideline for intermediate division history that outlined "new approaches and programs for study, for discussion, and for optional implementation during the review

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 88. Gidney also cites as relevant, *At What Cost? A Study of the Role of the Secondary School in Ontario* (1976) and *Basic Skills at School and Work: A Study of Albertown* (Hall and Carleton, 1977)

¹⁷⁸ Province of Ontario: Ontario Ministry of Education *Canadian Studies: A Supplement to H.S.1 1975-76 and 1976-77* (Toronto: The Queen's Printer, 1976), 1.

¹⁷⁹ Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976*, 247.

¹⁸⁰ Gidney, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools*, Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976*, 247.

¹⁸¹ Province of Ontario: Ontario Ministry of Education *Canadian Studies: A Supplement to H.S.1 1975-76 and 1976-77*, 1.

¹⁸² Ibid.

period.”¹⁸³ It departed rather significantly from the history curriculum that had been in place during the 1960s. Whereas the former curriculum was organized such that the history of Canada up to 1901 would be taught in grades seven and eight, the history of Great Britain in grade nine, and the twentieth-century history of Canada, Great Britain, and the United States in grade 10, the new guideline set out four areas of investigation, each of which corresponded to a particular grade level such that, “Canadians” was the area of study for grade 7, “Canadians and Americans” was to be studied in grade 8, “Canada’s Multi-Cultural Heritage” to be investigated in grade 9, and “Contemporary Canadian and World Concerns” taken up in grade 10.¹⁸⁴ Some flexibility was permitted in that the first two areas of study (for grades 7 and 8), and the latter two areas (for grades 9 and 10), might be combined.¹⁸⁵

In 1977, the Ontario Ministry of Education published *Curriculum Guideline: Intermediate Division History* to replace the interim guideline published 4 years earlier.¹⁸⁶ The new curriculum guideline maintained the content and organizational structure of the interim guideline. “The Story of Canada and Canadians: A Two-Year Program in Canadian History” was the title of the program of study for grades 7 and 8. Courses for Grades 9 and 10 were to be developed from “Contemporary Canadian and World Concerns” and “Canada’s Multicultural Heritage.” It was also made explicit that for those students taking only a single course in Canadian history, it could

¹⁸³ Province of Ontario: Ministry of Education History, Intermediate Division, 1973, 1.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 3.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Province of Ontario: Ontario Ministry of Education Curriculum Guideline for the Intermediate Division, History, 1977. Several drafts which preceded the publication of the final document, dated December 10, 1976 and February 24, 1977, are available in the Hodgins Room of the Ontario History of Education Collection. See OHEC 373.23609713 O59 DE/IG Box 2

be taken in either grade 9 or grade 10, but had to be developed from Contemporary Canadian and World Concerns.¹⁸⁷

The course for “Canada’s Multicultural Heritage” was designed not as a traditional history course, but rather as “a study of those aspects of the history of the British or French people” and “many [other] groups” to “the development of our Canadian culture.”¹⁸⁸ This course was intent on having students understand that Canadians have “origins”, that most of these origins are to be found in Europe, and that examining these origins could give “new perspective to an understanding of Canada today as well as a deepening and challenging interest in the world community.”¹⁸⁹ The stress on French and British origins was explicit and it functioned to mark the national body as one conceived in Europe. In the 1973 interim document, it was stated that “while most units will likely focus on the European heritage, units concerning the cultures of the first Canadians and cultures in other parts of the world *could* be included.”¹⁹⁰ Other cultures and origins (i.e., those not deemed French or British) were represented as non-essential elements of the national body. The little word “our” functioned to separate these Others from French and English Selves who were represented as having shaped “the roots of *our* Canadian heritage.”¹⁹¹ The making optional of knowledge about non-French and non-British Others (i.e., it could be included, or not) worked to sustain the idea that the development and maturation of the national

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 3. In the ensuing years, this curricular document for intermediate history was supplemented with a series of pamphlets. These were published as Curriculum Ideas for Teachers suggesting curricular ideas for teachers on topics including: “Current Affairs”, “Rebellions”, “Canada’s Multicultural Heritage”, “Canadian-American Relations”, “The Opening of the West”, “Life in Upper Canada”, “Government and Law in Canada”, “The Canadian Military: Evolution of a Peacekeeper”, “Confederation”, and “The United Empire Loyalists and the American Revolution”

¹⁸⁸ Province of Ontario: Ministry of Education History, Intermediate Division, 1973, 18-19, Province of Ontario: Ontario Ministry of Education Curriculum Guideline for the Intermediate Division, History, 1977, 12.

¹⁸⁹ Province of Ontario: Ministry of Education History, Intermediate Division, 1973, 6.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. Emphasis added.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 18-19, Province of Ontario: Ontario Ministry of Education Curriculum Guideline for the Intermediate Division, History, 1977, 12. Emphasis added.

body into a good and tolerant being depended primarily upon European bodies, blood, and character.

The explicit objectives of the course included developing an appreciation and understanding of “contributions of various cultural groups to *our* Canadian heritage” and fostering “empathy and positive attitudes towards members of cultural groups other than one’s own.”¹⁹² Other objectives of the course included developing “a reasoned pride in Canada,” “an understanding of civic responsibility,” and “an understanding of the Canadian identity and societal goals.”¹⁹³ Thus, the aims were overtly nationalistic and squarely focused on a national identity that was represented as increasingly tolerant of diversity even while being clearly marked in Eurocentric terms.

The objectives of the course for “Contemporary Canadian and World Concerns” were exactly focused on giving students “an appreciation of the rights and responsibilities of citizens in Canadian society” and as citizens of “the world community” through the utilization of historical perspective.¹⁹⁴ The “skills, concepts, and values” intended to be developed through this course were identical to those for the other course, “Canada’s Multicultural Heritage”, and I have described them above.¹⁹⁵ The interim version of this course described units of study that examined arts in Canadian society, the development of the Canadian North, the involvement of Canada in space research, the historical influence of mass media and communications, political leadership, world patterns of urbanization and ecology, international powers and crises, Canada’s

¹⁹² Province of Ontario: Ministry of EducationHistory, Intermediate Division, 1973, 18-19, Province of Ontario: Ontario Ministry of EducationCurriculum Guideline for the Intermediate Division, History, 1977, 12. Emphasis added.

¹⁹³ Province of Ontario: Ministry of EducationHistory, Intermediate Division, 1973, 5, Province of Ontario: Ontario Ministry of EducationCurriculum Guideline for the Intermediate Division, History, 1977, 6.

¹⁹⁴ Province of Ontario: Ministry of EducationHistory, Intermediate Division, 1973, 20, Province of Ontario: Ontario Ministry of EducationCurriculum Guideline for the Intermediate Division, History, 1977, 10.

¹⁹⁵ Province of Ontario: Ontario Ministry of EducationCurriculum Guideline for the Intermediate Division, History, 1977, 10.

role in the United Nations, and the responsibilities and rights of Canadian citizens.¹⁹⁶ There was also a unit entitled “Diversity in Unity” in which students were to be encouraged to “explore the economic, or political, or social, or cultural influences affecting ... different points of view” on the “value of unity” in Canadian history.¹⁹⁷ In the document which replaced the interim guidelines, aspects of these units of study were reworked into two “core content areas” identified as “Government and Law in Canada” and “Contemporary Issues.” The general thrust of the “Government and Law in Canada” component was to provide opportunities for students to come to know that Canadian democracy functioned inherently to provide societal order, public participation in maintaining this order, and a good mixture of representation, rights and responsibilities for both the “majority” and “minority” among the citizenry.¹⁹⁸ The “Contemporary Issues” component aimed at giving students an opportunity to analyze the historical roots, future implications, and inter-connectedness of contemporary concerns related to “English-French relations”, “Canadian-American relations”, and “issues of concern to the world and to Canada.”¹⁹⁹

Curricular developments in the 1970s brought matters of national identity to the core of high school Canadian history. Whereas the earlier generations of curriculum documents focused primarily on traditional political developments in the building of the nation-state, the guidelines developed in the 1970s sought explicitly to give students a sense of what it means to be Canadian by emphasizing the French-English origins of Canadian identity, the contributions of multiple cultures to the development of a tolerant multicultural nation, the value of harmony among

¹⁹⁶ Province of Ontario: Ministry of Education History, Intermediate Division, 1973, 20-21.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 21.

¹⁹⁸ Province of Ontario: Ontario Ministry of Education Curriculum Guideline for the Intermediate Division, History, 1977, 10-11.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 11.

diverse groups within a civic nation-state devoted to ensuring rights for all its citizens, and the important role for Canada in taking its goodness to the rest of the world.

3. *Circular 14* and the Textbooks

Beginning with the 1970 edition of *Circular 14*, grade levels were no longer identified for the individual entries. Rather, all history textbooks approved for use in the intermediate division grades 7 to 10 were listed in schedule B alphabetically by author.²⁰⁰ The 1973 *Circular 14* document was unique in that it was the only edition in the history of this circular to include an annotated description for each textbook authorized. This was quite a feat given the number of textbooks listed, but was clearly too much of an undertaking to continue into future years, especially since the authorized list of learning resources continued to expand. By 1979 over 2000 titles represented by more than 100 different publishers were listed in *Circular 14*.²⁰¹ Between the years 1975 and 1980, some 300 books dealing with Canadian history were authorized for use. The style and format of *Circular 14* would not change significantly until it was officially replaced in 2002. Two kinds of Canadian history textbooks were evident among those listed between 1975 and 1980 and corresponding to one or the other grade 10 courses of study. Those that were aligned with “Contemporary Canadian and World Concerns” included: *In Search of Canada* (Kirbyson, 1977); *Canada’s Century* (Evans and Martinello, 1978); *Canada Towards Tomorrow* (Evans & Diachun, 1976); *Forging a Destiny* (Mitchener et al, 1976), and *Canada Since Confederation* (Howard, Riddoch, and Watson, 1976).

These textbooks were quite different from those sanctioned by the state from the 1940s to the end of the 1960s in that they were not simply traditional linear histories. In addition to a

²⁰⁰ This poses some difficulties, for textbooks that first appeared in *Circular 14* after 1970, in identifying those specifically aimed at the grade ten level.

²⁰¹ Fraser, “The Circular 14 Story: Approved Textbooks in Ontario,” 9.

focus on twentieth-century history (especially post-WWII), and in line with the curricular objectives, these textbooks incorporated large sections devoted to Canada's political and judicial systems of governance and to contemporary world concerns and their relevance to Canada. The texts were designed for use either chronologically or thematically with units of study that could be flexibly rearranged depending on local needs and purposes. However as one of the textbooks put it, "chronology and linear structure are there for teachers who value these qualities."²⁰² Of course, the texts were not identical and so while *Canada's Century*, *Forging a Destiny*, and *Canada Towards Tomorrow* were organized with such explicitly interchangeable units, *In Search of Canada* and *Canada Since Confederation* were more traditional (though not entirely) in their organizational structure. Another stress in these textbooks was on making history more interesting and relevant for the readers through the inclusion of numerous study sections in which students were requested to broaden their understanding by analyzing difficult concepts and ideas and applying their own insight and knowledge to contemporary concerns through individual or group activities. For example, *Canada's Century* included at the end of each unit a section entitled "things to think about and do" which asked students to review key words, recall certain facts and analyze key ideas from the unit, and apply acquired knowledge to contemporary or local concerns.²⁰³ Similarly, *Canada Towards Tomorrow* and *Forging a Destiny* concluded each chapter with key words and ideas to be understood and activities for further study that stressed local and contemporary issues.²⁰⁴ Bold-face type, parenthetical explanations of difficult concepts, review questions interspersed throughout the narrative sections, and many kinds of illustrations

²⁰² Allan.S. Evans and I.L. Martinello, *Canada's Century* (Toronto and Montreal: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1978), preface.

²⁰³ E.g., *Ibid.*, 64-65.

²⁰⁴ E.g., A.S. Evans and L.A. Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow* (McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976), 39-40, E.A. Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945* (Gage Educational Publishing Limited, 1976), 34.

including charts, maps, tables, and graphs, reproduced historical archive materials (such as advertisements), black and white photographs, cartoons, and even an occasional glossy photograph were some of the enhancements made with the aim of making the texts both more enjoyable and comprehensible.

The textbooks corresponding to the course “Canada’s Multicultural Heritage” included: *Many Cultures, Many Heritages* (Sheffe, 1975), *Call Us Canadians* (Martinello, 1976), *Canada: Discovering Our Heritage* (Smith, 1977), *Our Cultural Heritage* (Riddoch and Watson, 1979), and *Origins: Canada’s Multicultural Heritage* (Saint and Reid, 1979). These were history texts organized unlike any of the others that preceded them insofar as the focus was not on the history of Canada per se, but rather on the history of particular cultures within Canada and their historical contributions to the make-up of the spirit and character of contemporary “multicultural” Canada. In this respect, each of these textbooks was presented as “a new kind of history text” that altered the traditional linear narratives of political, military, and economic history to emphasize the history of certain groups who shaped the Canadian “mosaic.”²⁰⁵ This was accomplished in texts such as *Many Cultures Many Heritages* with straightforward thematic divisions entitled “the Native People; the French; and the British; as well as the Germans, Jews, Italians, Ukrainians, Japanese, Blacks, and Scandinavians.”²⁰⁶ Other texts, such as *Our Cultural Heritage* and *Canada: Discovering Our Heritage*, used more chronologically oriented themes as unit headings (e.g., “The Age of Louis XIV” and “Canadian Society and Immigration After 1914”), but nevertheless focused on the histories of cultural groups such as “the Indians and the Inuit”, “the French”, “the British”, and “the Chinese” within these units. Each of these textbooks, like those

²⁰⁵ I.L. Martinello and Allan S. Evans, *Call Us Canadians* (Toronto & Montreal: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976), preface.

²⁰⁶ Norman Sheffe, *Many Cultures Many Heritages* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1975), ix. See also, Martinello and Evans, *Call Us Canadians*.

corresponding to “Contemporary Canadian and World Concerns,” contained sections requesting students to analyze, evaluate, and interpret the knowledge of the past represented and each was filled with a variety of illustrations and source materials ranging from letters and diaries to photographs.

Clearly, these textbooks published in the 1970s departed in significant ways from their predecessors insofar as they explicitly broke from traditional historical narrativization by incorporating various pedagogical devices intended both to enhance learning and to make learning history more fun, and by telling Canadian history thematically and through a focus on multiple cultural groups who contributed to the story of Canada. Nevertheless, and as becomes clear when the narratives of the textbooks themselves are analyzed, a certain continuity with the earlier textbooks did exist insofar as these texts of the 1970s and 1980s also sustained and promoted the idea of Canada as a living organism advancing toward maturity.

4. Nationalist Narratives

Given their non-linear approach, the infusion of history with political, constitutional, legal, economic, and geographical matters, and their telling of Canadian history with chronological pockets within a framework focused on recent events, it is particularly difficult with this set of textbooks to write a narrative about the narrative these textbooks represent as a whole. There is too the problem of two rather distinct types of textbooks corresponding to each of the courses of study. With respect to the latter issue, and as I earlier pointed out, even the thematically organized units of study in the “Canada’s Multicultural Heritage” course textbooks were written chronologically and, moreover, the narratives written within these chronological representations of aspects of Canada’s past paralleled those written in more traditional style. I do not want to dismiss legitimate concerns about analytical reductionism nor do I want to misrepresent the style

of the textbooks in this group as similar to earlier, more traditional, narratives; however, I do wish to give a sense of the story these textbooks tell with respect to Canada.

With this aim in mind, I will proceed with a focus on the narratives of those textbooks approved for use under the “Contemporary Canadian and World Concerns” course.²⁰⁷ Whereas the textbooks designed for the course “Canada’s Multicultural Heritage” often examined the histories of certain cultures way back into centuries past,²⁰⁸ the narratives of the textbooks for the course in contemporary and world concerns usually began with attention to Canada at the turn of the century. Canada was represented in this era as a growing national body confidently optimistic about its future based largely on its successful resolution of problems related to rounding out the dominion from sea to sea, quelling the northwest rebellions, building the Canadian Pacific Railway, and populating the west via an aggressive immigration policy.

In these depictions of Canada as a growing organism at the beginning of the twentieth century, war again functioned as a trope for national maturation. The accounts of the First World War and Canada’s role in it were not straightforward descriptions of the battles in which Canadians participated, but rather narratives that made figures of Canada stand out as exceptionally brave, heroic, intelligent, strong, and determined. One example of such national character development, found in *Canada’s Century*, was one in which Canadians were represented as having “excelled as pilots,” charged Vimy Ridge “with sleet driving at their backs,” and to have been the only troops to have “stood their ground” in the battle of Ypres.²⁰⁹ The war, thus, was a semiotic device for distinguishing Canada and Canadians from other nations and nationalities. The accounts of the war and Canada’s magnificent participation in it were then

²⁰⁷ Where it seems pertinent, I have included references to textbooks from the other course of study.

²⁰⁸ For example, Sonia A. Riddoch, *Our Cultural Heritage* (Toronto and Vancouver: Clarke Irwin, 1979).

²⁰⁹ Evans and Martinello, *Canada’s Century*, 154-58.

followed by representations of the effects the war generated for the country, particularly as these related to cycles of economic prosperity and depression. These difficulties of impoverishment faced by the struggling young nation were then followed by narratives of the Second World War in which Canadians were once again represented as having played “prominent roles wherever major battles were fought.”²¹⁰ Canada was depicted, through the trope of war and struggle, as a nation that had come of age by transforming from a “youthful country” to a “mature nation.”²¹¹

There was then a shift into what was deemed to be of primary focus, that is, developments in the second half of the twentieth century. The textbooks observed that only the United States and Canada were actually strengthened as a result of the war and described how Canada so successfully established itself as a middle power proudly committed to multiple international organizations and councils that, “there grew the idea that Canada had a special place among the nations of the world.”²¹² The trope of distinctiveness was thus employed to mark Canada’s development and growth as the century progressed. In these narratives of progress, fatherly figures of the national body were represented as having successfully nurtured the youthful nation through to an increasingly distinct state of maturity. For example, Prime Minister King and his government were lauded for having transformed a wartime economy into a peacetime one and for developing a “genuinely Canadian policy in world affairs.”²¹³ Prime Minister St. Laurent, too, was pictured as taking a patriarchal role in moving the national body toward full maturation. He was credited with having Canadian-ized the Constitution and with fulfilling “the territorial destiny provided for in the BNA Act” by bringing Newfoundland into Confederation.²¹⁴ Here the

²¹⁰ Ibid., 184.

²¹¹ Ibid., 142.

²¹² Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945*, 18. See also Evans and Martinello, *Canada's Century*, 408.

²¹³ Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945*, 137.

²¹⁴ Ibid., 138.

trope of distinctiveness (i.e., a uniquely Canadian Constitution) converged with the trope of territorial expansion to mark the nation as a growing, and increasingly distinct, body.

Also focused on in representations of the period following the Second World War was Canada's involvement in the formation of the United Nations and its role as one of the UN's "strongest supporters."²¹⁵ The UN was depicted as an institution that could police the world and foster collective security and Canada was represented as having become key to these processes.²¹⁶ In other words, the UN was a narrative marker that illustrated Canada to have grown into young adulthood so successfully that it could take "a leading part in establishing and maintaining UN peacekeeping forces" and exhibit a "willingness to carry out our international responsibilities ... as a middle power in world affairs."²¹⁷ The semiotic significance of the UN was not only that it marked Canada as a maturing body, but also that it bolstered the logic that this maturing national body was an ideal one replete with good qualities such as benevolence, determination, and peacefulness since the United Nations was represented as a global organization which aimed to prevent future catastrophic wars.²¹⁸ Several historical examples of UN peacekeeping operations were consistently highlighted as tests for the fledgling international organization and, in each case, Canada and Canadians were trumpeted as making essential contributions. The "first test" came with the Korean War and here another fatherly figure of the nation, Lester B. Pearson, was singled out for using "his great diplomatic skills behind the scenes" to formulate a "dramatic" and "bold" plan to break a UN Security Council deadlock in order to sustain the "peacekeeping operation."²¹⁹ Canada was represented as making a

²¹⁵ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 216, Evans and Martinello, *Canada's Century*, 414.

²¹⁶ Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945*, 31.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 199-215, Evans and Martinello, *Canada's Century*, 409-14, Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945*, 23.

²¹⁹ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 223, Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945*, 32.

contribution to the actual fighting, but also depicted as making its own decisions based on principle and national interest. Tropes of distinctiveness and growing strength predominated in these narratives as Canada protested an “American plan” to supervise elections in South Korea,²²⁰ made clear that its involvement in the war was aimed at defending the United Nations,²²¹ and reassured China that its interests were not threatened by the UN decision to send troops across the Korean 38th parallel.²²² As the war threatened to escalate into a nuclear one, Lester Pearson was once again represented as the rational saviour of peace when his remarks about “the fate of the whole world” resting upon the decision to use the atomic bomb were quoted and indicated to have diminished the alarm.²²³ The narrative logic sustained by such representations was that adolescent Canada, through the efforts of certain father-like figures, was developing into an ideal nation blessed with a fine character, more confident in asserting its own strength, and worthy of an important role in the world.

The Suez Crisis was another “test” repetitively represented and here again the leadership, intellect, persistence, and negotiating skills of Pearson were highlighted as that which brought about a resolution to the problem in the form of an easing of tensions and a halting of the war.²²⁴ As a consequence of his efforts, Pearson was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace and “Canada earned international gratitude and admiration.”²²⁵ These and other peacekeeping operations (e.g., in Cyprus, Kashmir, and the Congo²²⁶) marked Canada as having developed not only skills in peacekeeping techniques, but a worldwide and sterling reputation for excellence, impartiality,

²²⁰ Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945*, 98.

²²¹ Ibid., 99.

²²² Ibid., 100.

²²³ Ibid., 101.

²²⁴ Evans and Martinello, *Canada's Century*, 419-20, Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945*, 35.

²²⁵ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 226.

²²⁶ Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945*, 37-38. See also Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 228-30.

and fair-minded-ness.²²⁷ So admired had Canada become by the rest of the world as a result of its peacekeeping role and foreign policy, according to these textbooks, that these became key parts of Canada's "identity."²²⁸ The credit for establishing Canada in such high esteem with the rest of the world was given to those in Canada, and specifically in the Canadian government, who were empowered to decide such matters as foreign policy.

We are highly respected by most other nations and peoples, and seemingly have no bitter enemies. This is in part because of *good* luck and *good* friends, but in greater measure because of the *good* sense of the distinguished men and women who have decided what policies Canada should adopt toward other countries."²²⁹

This trope of "international reputation" helped to sustain the logic that Canada had matured into a national body enriched with goodness, that is, a being so ideal as to be admired by all others for its good qualities. In the above excerpt, the layering on of frequencies (i.e., "good") assisted in positioning this representation of "Canada the good" as a preferred meaning for student readers.

Coinciding with these narratives about Canada's development as an international peacekeeper were narratives pertaining to the period known as the Cold War. In them yet another fatherly figure of the national body, Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, was positioned as integral to the nation's growth. Although his personal attributes such as charisma, concern for human rights, and speaking ability were frequently cited, and although his government's achievements in national development, productivity, foreign trade, communications, agriculture, and civil rights were noted as important legacies, so too were his inabilities to maintain a unified government and failures related to matters of finance, external affairs, and defense consistently mentioned within

²²⁷ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 232, Evans and Martinello, *Canada's Century*, 417.

²²⁸ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 232, Evans and Martinello, *Canada's Century*, 390-404, 17, Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945*, 12-15.

²²⁹ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 182. Emphasis added.

these sections of text focusing on the Cold War era.²³⁰ The Cold War was regarded as having forced the nations of the world into defensive alignments such as NATO, NORAD, and the Warsaw Pact.²³¹ These organizations, and the Cold War itself, functioned semiotically to sustain the narrative logic that Canada was a maturing body devoted to democratic freedom and peacefulness and increasingly distinct with respect to other nations in the world. While Canada was represented as participating fully in the “Western” alliances in defense of cherished ideals of freedom and democracy deemed threatened by Soviet expansion, it was also depicted as advocating non-military alliances and urging peaceful co-existence among all nations, and not always jumping to the commands of the US.²³² These textbooks also spoke to the structural composition of the national body by depicting Canada as a rational place devoted to democracy. According to *Forging a Destiny*, for example, “there were few Canadians who shared the anti-communist hysteria of the United States.”²³³ In these representations that marked Canada as separate from (even antithetical to) communism, the nation of Canada was also marked as a living organism with the capacity for human anxieties and desires. Canada was depicted as being “nervous about the spread of communism,” but also as carefully (as well as rationally and conscientiously) balancing this nervousness about communism with a desire to expand its own influence globally by assisting “needy countries” in the “Third World.”²³⁴ As the Cold War progressed, “Canadians became more aware of the poorer countries of the world” and shifted focus toward “spending money on their problems, not on guns and missiles.”²³⁵ The Cold War functioned as a semiotic device to illustrate the personification of Canada as a being which had

²³⁰ Ibid., 11, Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945*, 143-57.

²³¹ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 254-76, Evans and Martinello, *Canada's Century*, 343-54, 428-35.

²³² Evans and Martinello, *Canada's Century*, 357, Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945*, 62.

²³³ Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945*, 96.

²³⁴ Ibid., 46, 96.

²³⁵ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 375, Evans and Martinello, *Canada's Century*, 436.

grown not only into a sense of self, but also into an awareness of others and their needs. It signified Canada to be a good, benevolent, and peaceful place.

The wars in India and Vietnam as well as “problems” in the “former African colonies” (i.e., white supremacist rule in Rhodesia and South Africa) and in the Middle East (i.e., that revolved around the formation of the State of Israel), were problems implied to have resulted when “Afro-Asian peoples” within the “emerging nations of the third world” sought to obtain their independence “immediately” and with “bitter and bloody results.”²³⁶ The bloody violence that characterized these non-Canadian places helped to distinguish Canada from them and to sustain the logic that Canada was inherently peaceful. Indeed, on the basis of Canada’s “history, geography, and economic and cultural development” it was positioned as “especially qualified to make” choices to assist the “Third World” by bringing it together with the “First World.”²³⁷ That is, by narrowing the gap between rich and poor nations through advancement of “its policies of cultural and economic stability and development” Canada could, according to these textbooks, “solve the immense problems of economic growth and cultural conflicts.”²³⁸ In this respect, war again functioned as a trope distinguishing the Canada national body as one that had grown into peaceful maturity and, consequently, as one capable of uplifting infantilized places elsewhere that had not yet grown out of their violent ways.

Canada was represented as having contributed capital gifts, educational assistance, and commodity aid through its own organizations such as the Canadian International Development Agency or external agencies like the World Bank.²³⁹ The provision of assistance and “expertise” to the Third World brought Canada “respect throughout the world” and “great pride to many

²³⁶ Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945*, 50-59.

²³⁷ Ibid., 60.

²³⁸ Ibid., 56-59, 85.

²³⁹ Evans and Martinello, *Canada's Century*, 454-55.

Canadians” by establishing Canada as a nation with a reputation as one “that gives help without tying it up in too many political strings.”²⁴⁰ “The Third World”, “the Orient” and “the Pacific Rim” were marked as troubled and dangerous places to be both saved and uplifted via humanitarian actions and aims even if economic and political goals were also acknowledged to have played a role.²⁴¹ These infantilized places were used in these narratives to signify Canadian distinctiveness as a generous and compassionate provider to the less fortunate in the world. But these places were also positioned as mysterious and exotic, that is, as in need of being known and made known by prominent (white male) figures of the Canadian nation such as Ralph E. Collins, Canada’s first ambassador to China who presumably gained insight from being “born in China of missionary parents”, and Chester Ronning, “the son of missionary parents [who] provided Canada with much of the basis for our understanding of Asian culture.”²⁴² The genderings and racializations employed through figures made to represent the nation marked Canada as white and male. Moreover, the logic of the maturing Canadian nation was sustained by these depictions of Canada becoming wiser about the world and more determined to do good in it.

Another emphasis with this era of textbooks was on the relations between Canada and the United States. In these narratives, Canada was depicted as a maturing nation struggling to distinguish itself from and against the United States. Canada was represented as increasingly making its own decisions separate from US and often in direct opposition to the US (i.e., in recognizing the People’s Republic of China as the sole government of China and in pursuing trading relations with the Soviet Union and Cuba).²⁴³ Canada’s opposition to the US war in

²⁴⁰ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945*, 88-89.

²⁴¹ Evans and Martinello, *Canada's Century*, 390-404, Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945*, 79-93.

²⁴² Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945*, 82-83.

²⁴³ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 365, Evans and Martinello, *Canada's Century*, 449, Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945*, 103, 74-77.

Vietnam was given particular attention, especially the remarks by Canadian Prime Minister Pearson who was depicted as having dared to speak out critically against U.S. military campaign.²⁴⁴ The rise of anti-Americanism in Canada and the threat posed to Canadian sovereignty by the US were two other tropes that functioned to signify Canada as having “matured as a nation” and become both more confident in its own identity and more sensitive to US “imperfections” and potentially harmful influence.²⁴⁵ Still, however, the Canadian national body was represented as not fully grown or solidly established as an adult since US cultural and political domination was positioned as posing a serious threat to the supposedly distinct and “true Canadian identity.”²⁴⁶ There was even a tone of fear in these narratives that the US could one day take over Canada culturally, or even literally, as represented in one fictionalized representation in *Canada's Century*.²⁴⁷ As if to combat such a undesired possibility, the textbooks placed a great deal of stress upon illustrating the distinctiveness and worth of “Canadian culture” with long passages, and even entire chapters, pertaining to Canadian writers, artists, television personalities, musicians, and sporting figures (especially hockey players).²⁴⁸

This struggle for cultural survival and political independence in the face of US power was juxtaposed with internal struggles related to national unity. Canada was depicted as a nation “deeply divided” between the east and west and between the French and English.²⁴⁹ Western discontent received noticeable attention and was seen as having an economic root.²⁵⁰ By far, however, it was French-English relations that dominated these narratives. The history of

²⁴⁴ Evans and Martinello, *Canada's Century*, 277-388, 57, Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945*, 102-03, 74-77.

²⁴⁵ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 352, 60-64, Evans and Martinello, *Canada's Century*, 283, 358.

²⁴⁶ Evans and Martinello, *Canada's Century*, 364-88.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 278-79.

²⁴⁸ For example, Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 79-133.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 309-11, Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945*, 198-208.

²⁵⁰ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 309-11, Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945*, 198-208.

English-French relations was represented as having originated with the conflict between French and British colonizers, traced through ensuing tensions related to the Quebec Act, the Riel rebellions, the Manitoba Schools Act, the conscription crises in both World Wars, the period of latency under the reign of Maurice Duplessis's Union Nationale government in Quebec, and through the flood of change referred to as the Quiet Revolution.²⁵¹ All through these representations, the response by the Canadian state (and especially by certain white male figures standing for the state) to the English-French tensions was privileged in ways signifying Canada to have grown more fully into a distinctive nationhood. Prime Minister Pearson, in particular, although depicted as dogged by being unable to attain a majority government, was represented as successful in implementing "important , innovative legislation" mostly related to social welfare (e.g., national health care and pension programs) and especially praised for its efforts to make national unity a priority through a series of constitutional conferences, through the establishment of the B & B Commission, and through a search for a new Canadian flag that would be a unique emblem to identify Canada.²⁵²

These issues concerning national unity then proceeded into narratives depicting Quebec separatism as an internal force in Canada's struggle for survival.²⁵³ Represented as having emerged in full force after the end of the autocratic reign of Duplessis, the Quebec separatist movement came to dominant the later part of these textbooks.²⁵⁴ The disruptive and alarming visit of Charles De Gaulle,²⁵⁵ the rise of the Parti Quebecois, and the "radical" terror of the FLQ, which apparently "came as a complete shock to most Canadians"²⁵⁶ highlighted the tenuousness

²⁵¹ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 134-62, Evans and Martinello, *Canada's Century*, 237.

²⁵² Evans and Martinello, *Canada's Century*, 238-43, Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945*, 163, 71.

²⁵³ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 307.

²⁵⁴ Evans and Martinello, *Canada's Century*, 319.

²⁵⁵ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 315.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., 261, 323.

of Canadian unity and hence the seriousness with which approaches to national harmony were necessary to keep the living organism alive. Into this gloomy picture of desperation dominated by the spectre of national disintegration stepped another heroic white male figure, Pierre Trudeau. He was heralded as just what the country needed, that is, an “outspoken champion of French-Canadian rights” who “strongly condemned the notion of an independent Quebec.”²⁵⁷ The image of Trudeau and the phenomena of Trudeaumania brought an air of optimism into the narratives. Trudeau’s campaigns for Canada to be a unified and “just society” with a foreign policy that stressed human rights, international aid, and broadened ties with other countries positioned him as potential saviour of Canada and Canada’s reputation as it at once reiterated in glorious terms the benevolent, compassionate, and tolerant spirit of the nation.²⁵⁸ The figure of Trudeau functioned, in other words, as a trope for the ideal multicultural nation. Nevertheless, although Trudeau’s aims were celebrated as good for the nation, his methods were sometimes made suspect in ways that had the potential to open spaces for radical student reader engagement with such matters as human rights and citizenship. Specifically, the application of the War Measures Act by the Trudeau government was said to have led to uneasy feelings among many Canadians since it “wiped out overnight” those democratic rights of citizenship that had been won “by the British people” during a long period of “arduous struggle” originating with “an Englishman [who] cut off his King’s head.”²⁵⁹ Again, such representations marked Canada as a living organism that was British “at birth” and as a civic state devoted to struggles for democracy. For these reasons, Canada was worth keeping, the textbooks implied, and since Trudeau’s actions

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 173.

²⁵⁸ Evans and Martinello, *Canada's Century*, 239-41, 441-44, 52-55, Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945*, 177-80.

²⁵⁹ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 278, Evans and Martinello, *Canada's Century*, 261-63, Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945*, 118-19, 89-94.

kept the country intact (or, the living organism alive), they were seemingly forgiven as something of a necessary evil.

In the later parts of these textbooks, contemporary matters concerning the use of natural resources, power and transport development, economic and industrial diversification, and the development of policies concerning foreign ownership²⁶⁰ were interspersed with topics that discussed the urbanization of the country,²⁶¹ the liberalization of immigration policy,²⁶² and the development of citizenship and rights within Canada.²⁶³ The nation had come a long way, these textbooks concluded, and in the process had established itself as an important cog in the machinery of the world. Moreover, this difficult journey had brought about the successful discovery of Canadian identity as that founded on worldliness and tolerance. The endings to these textbooks stressed such a point by explaining that the “search for identity and of community” had led to ideas in which Canada as a “mosaic of cultures” and Canadians as “citizens of the world” reigned as the most salient.²⁶⁴

In these textbooks published in the 1970s and authorized for use into the 1980s, Canada was marked as a living body progressing through stages of maturation and learning to distinguish itself from others (e.g., the US) by expanding (in size and global influence) and by devoting itself to unique and noble causes that could enhance its stature in the eyes of the “adult” world of nations (e.g., peacekeeping, humanitarian relief). Wars again functioned as tropes for the coming of age of the national body and certain white male figures (e.g., King, St. Laurent, Diefenbaker, Pearson, Trudeau) again were marked as guiding the nation through its adolescent difficulties and

²⁶⁰ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 331-44, Evans and Martinello, *Canada's Century*, 312-37.

²⁶¹ Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945*, 213-33.

²⁶² Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 283-92.

²⁶³ Ibid., 278-306.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 391-92, Evans and Martinello, *Canada's Century*, Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945*, 294-306.

against the internal and external threats to its survival as a living entity (e.g., US domination, Quebec separatism). Such genderings and racializations assisted in marking the nation as white and male at the core, even if difference was coming to constitute an increasingly more integral component of the national body's sense of unique self. Tropes of distinctiveness, peacefulness, compassion for the rest of the world, and glorious achievement functioned to uphold narratives that personified Canada as national body that was maturing into a good and ideal multicultural one.

Textbooks Authorized after 2000: "Common Sense" Conservatism

1. The Context of Production

Resulting from the sheer volume of immigration and particularly from the increase in immigration from non-European countries, the proportion of students identified as "visible minorities" grew substantially during the last 15 years of the twentieth century. This demographic change exerted pressures on the public school system insofar as it required schools to budget for rising costs associated with testing, placement, and ESL instruction, but significantly it also coincided with an increase in reports about racial discrimination and school safety.²⁶⁵ In response, various school boards introduced equity policies and programs (including those identified as anti-racist) that aimed to foster a safe school environment for all students and to ensure greater equality in outcomes and achievement.²⁶⁶ In 1987, the provincial Ministry of Education itself published a report detailing the development of a "race and ethnocultural equity" policy that could be used by local boards to "tackle the concerns about racism and other discriminatory practices, promote respect for cultural diversity, and reduce the number of

²⁶⁵ Gidney, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools*, 180-85.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 184.

students assigned to lower streams because of cultural differences or difficulties with the English language.”²⁶⁷ Anti-racism initiatives were also a concern of the NDP government that came to power in 1990 and this was reflected in an outcome-based curricular document published in 1995 by this government (and entitled *The Common Curriculum*) which, in addition to a concern with excellence and accountability, stressed equity in education and social values. Indeed, the increasingly formalized attention to social justice and equality characterized the period from the early 1980s to the 1990s and was due in part to the growing political strength of previously marginalized groups. The patriation of the Constitution in 1982, for example, affirmed the equality of male and female persons, recognized Métis as Aboriginal people, and entrenched Aboriginal and treaty rights.²⁶⁸ However, the decades of the 1980s and 1990s were also characterized by fiscal restraint and dominated by conservative concerns that the permissiveness of the 1960-1970s had led to a morally unhealthy society of irresponsible citizens who were increasingly dependant upon the state, lacking work ethic, neglecting civic responsibilities, destabilizing traditional families, and revolutionizing sexual relations.²⁶⁹ In education, it followed that there were strong conservative “back to the basics” movements that advocated returning to a compulsory core curriculum with more time invested in mandated courses such as Canadian studies, but that these were paralleled by concerns “regarding sexism, racism, and the special needs of children categorized as minority, disadvantaged, and exceptional.”²⁷⁰ The economic constraints of the era also led to demands for more career-oriented schooling, but had also created restricted budgets and, as a result, a less expansive view of education. Thus, while most school jurisdictions had in place multicultural policies dealing with the representation of

²⁶⁷ Ibid., 213.

²⁶⁸ Francis, Jones, and Smith, *Destinies: Canadian History since Confederation*, 472-73.

²⁶⁹ Gidney, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools*, 163.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 98, Tomkins, *A Common Countenance: Stability and Change in the Canadian Curriculum*, 315.

minoritized or marginalized groups, the extent to which these policies affected real change in the schools was less sure. For example, even those textbooks which incorporated flagrant stereotypes “had long shelf lives” in these years of financial restraint.²⁷¹

While public expenditures increased in Ontario as the province moved through the economic recession of 1980s and into the prosperous 1990s, and while spending on school construction and renovation similarly rose during this period, the proportion of the budget directed towards the operation of public schools continued to decline under each successive provincial government.²⁷² Moreover, at the same time as the public schools struggled fiscally to keep pace with inflation, there developed a widespread “crisis of confidence” regarding the quality of education in Ontario.²⁷³ Test results indicating that Ontario students fared poorly when compared to both international students and students from other Canadian province, various polls and surveys revealing parental dissatisfaction with the education their children were receiving in Ontario, forceful newspaper commentary about the failure of schools to meet public expectations, and books such as Andrew Nikiforuk’s *School’s Out: The Catastrophe in Public Education* all worked as “evidence” that something had to be done about schooling in Ontario.²⁷⁴ In the midst of this purported educational crisis several government-commissioned reports were published and one in particular was influential in directing the agenda for repairing the state of schooling in Ontario. Published in 1988, the *Ontario Study of the Relevance of Education, and the Issue of Dropouts*, otherwise known as the Radwanski Report, argued for an increased emphasis on the acquisition of specific knowledge and skills and especially those that would enable students to

²⁷¹ Gidney, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools*, 163.

²⁷² Ibid., 170.

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., 170-72.

compete in the new highly technological and globalized economy, a standardization of curriculum and testing to ensure greater accountability to taxpayers, and a shift from child-centered pedagogy toward a focus on excellence and high standards of achievement for all students regardless of their individual differences, needs, interests, and so forth. The Radwanski Report set the tone for the debate over education in Ontario for the remainder of the century. It was reflected in the report of the Royal Commission on Learning, which was established by the NDP government and published in 1995 as *For the Love of Learning*.²⁷⁵ This 1995 document stressed the need for a return to the traditional skills of literacy and numeracy in addition to a focus on modern skills associated with information technology. Among other things (e.g., greater professionalism in education and more teacher education) the report of the Royal Commission also called for a more rigorous curriculum and higher achievement standards to promote excellence in education.

The language of “rigour” and “excellence” also dominated the hotly contested education reform agenda brought in by the Conservative government as part of its “common sense revolution” beginning in 1995. This revolution was about creating a “lean state” in which management strategies would eliminate waste, drive up productivity, and orient the population toward the market.²⁷⁶ Making the state leaner, according to the policies of this government, necessitated the repeal of numerous equity initiatives and the reduction of funding provided to various human rights organizations.²⁷⁷ It also involved re-tooling the education system to make it more entrepreneurial and consumerist. The Harris government insisted that the education

²⁷⁵ Ibid., 230.

²⁷⁶ Alan Sears, *Retooling the Mind Factory: Education in a Lean State* (Aurora, Ontario: Garamond Press, 2003).

²⁷⁷ Gidney, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools*, 237, Sears, *Retooling the Mind Factory: Education in a Lean State*, 19.

system was broken, that the primary stakeholders (i.e., taxpayers) deserved better, and that they would get better for less with an education system that involved a more rigorous curriculum that would also be more relevant in terms of labour market preparation, greater accountability and standards of measurement, and a move back to a traditional focus on discreet subject areas and specific learning outcomes.²⁷⁸

2. History Curriculum Documents and Developments

The history curriculum underwent a substantial revision in the 1980s culminating in the publication of a new “History and Contemporary Studies” curriculum guideline in 1986.²⁷⁹ This document superseded the guidelines in Economics, History, Law, Man in Society, People in Politics, and Religion.²⁸⁰ It divided the study of Canadian history into “The Emerging Canadian Community” (for grade seven), “Building the Canadian Nation” (for grade eight), “Living in a Changing World” (for grades 9 or 10), and “Contemporary Canada: Life in the twentieth Century” (compulsory for grades 9 or 10). The compulsory grade 10 course was designed to make comprehensible twentieth century Canadian history through a “communities approach” that examined citizenship, French-English relations, Canadian-American relations, International relations, and socio-economic issues.²⁸¹ The optional grade 10 course was to focus on “past, present, and future forces, events, and institutions that have or will have an effect on young adolescents” and to do so by examining how individual growth within a multicultural society can

²⁷⁸ Sears, *Retooling the Mind Factory: Education in a Lean State*, 65-68.

²⁷⁹ Province of Ontario: Ministry of Education Curriculum Guideline, History and Contemporary Studies, Part B: Intermediate Division.

²⁸⁰ See Economics, Senior Division, 1971; History, Intermediate Division, 1977; History, Senior Division, 1970; Law, Senior Division, 1972; Man in Society, Senior Division, 1965; People in Politics, Senior Division, 1972; and World Religions, Senior Division, 1971.

²⁸¹ Province of Ontario: Ministry of Education Curriculum Guideline, History and Contemporary Studies, Part B: Intermediate Division, section 5, p.?

be enhanced through “co-operation, tolerance, and change.”²⁸² The guideline prescribed cognitive objectives and skills, but did not do likewise for specific historical knowledge.

The bland multicultural rhetoric and the dearth of specific historical knowledge in the curriculum prompted, by the time the 1990s rolled around, a period of volatile debate, eventually leading in 1999 to the publication of a new curriculum for a compulsory grade 10 course entitled, “Canadian History in the Twentieth Century.”²⁸³ The new curriculum guideline was a sixty page document that promoted the examination of Canadian and world studies through the subjects of economics, geography, history, law, and politics and with such aims as helping students “to become responsible citizens and informed participants in Canadian democracy” and to understand “Canada’s heritage” and its “role in the world community.”²⁸⁴ It explicitly discouraged rote memorization and encouraged research, critical thinking, problem solving, decision-making, co-operative and inter-disciplinary study, and the development of communication skills.²⁸⁵ The grade 10 history course component of the guideline was indicated to be one that “picks up from” the grade 8 history program, “completing the story of Canada’s development to the present time” by focusing “on the events and personalities that have shaped our nation in the past hundred years.”²⁸⁶ It was sub-divided into “academic” and “applied” courses, but each was structured similarly according to five distinct strands of study.²⁸⁷ One of these strands was “methods of historical inquiry” and it encouraged the investigation of “topics and issues” through historical methods of research, recording, organization, analysis, and

²⁸² Ibid., ?

²⁸³ Province of Ontario: Ministry of Education The Ontario Curriculum Grades 9 and 10: Canadian and World Studies, 4. I discuss aspects of this volatile debate in chapter 1.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., 2.

²⁸⁵ Ibid., 3.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., 3, 25.

²⁸⁷ Ibid., 25-26.

evaluation.²⁸⁸ At the academic level, the expectations for the “communities” strand were that students would come to understand the elements of Canadian identity, the forces that have shaped Canadian policies, French-English relations, and Canada’s role in war and peace.²⁸⁹ For the “change and continuity” strand, students were expected to explain the historical significance of demographic patterns in Canada, the impact of technology, and the evolution and salience of Canadian foreign policy.²⁹⁰ For the strand named “citizenship and heritage” students were expected to come to an understanding about the “contributions” of various individuals and of social and political movements to the development of Canada and Canadian identity.²⁹¹ For the strand identified as “social, economic, and political structures”, students were expected to come to know about changes to economic conditions, the role of government, and Canada’s social support programs.²⁹² Among the more specific expectations identified in this document were those suggesting that students should be able to describe Canada’s response to the Holocaust and how this shaped Canada’s role as a world leader in human rights, Canada’s policies in dealing with hate crimes in Canada, the influence of civil and human rights movements in Canada, and the significance of Canada’s contributions in the campaign against South African apartheid.²⁹³

3. *The Trillium List* and the Textbooks

The last issue of *Circular 14* was published in 1994. Thereafter, *Circular 14* was updated only in electronic form and accessible via the internet. Two years after the 1999

²⁸⁸ Ibid., 35-36.

²⁸⁹ Ibid., 28-29.

²⁹⁰ Ibid., 30-31.

²⁹¹ Ibid., 32.

²⁹² Ibid., 33-34.

²⁹³ Ibid., 25-36.

publication of a new curriculum for “Canadian History in the Twentieth Century,”²⁹⁴ as part of the speech to the throne and under the heading “flexibility and choice in education,” the Eves government indicated that *Circular 14* would “be replaced with provincial guidelines that permit local flexibility.”²⁹⁵ The Ministry of Education designated the Ontario Curriculum Centre (OCC), the provincial affiliate of Curriculum Services Canada (CSC), as the evaluation agency to support curriculum in English-language schools. OCC was thus granted managerial authority over the evaluation of textbooks and exclusive responsibility for recommending textbooks to the Ministry for approval on a new list of approved resources entitled, *The Trillium List*.²⁹⁶

For the study of grade 10 history, the complete list of textbooks included the following, all of which were published in the year 2000: *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*; *Canadian History: 1900-2000*; *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*; *Spotlight Canada*; *Canada: Face of a Nation*; *Canada: Continuity and Change*; and *Making History: The Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*.²⁹⁷ These textbooks focus on Canadian history in the twentieth century. They are colourful and glossy textbooks with plenty of activities designed to engage reader’s attention and to develop critical and reflective skills. In addition to the main narrative which exhibits a return to something approximating a traditional historical narrative, there are numerous photographs and illustrations, timelines, summary sections, side-bar “factoids,” links to current issues, and activity sections that ask students to express their opinion on complex issues, to work with and judge historical evidence, and to consider multiple perspectives on significant historical

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Weston Speech from the Throne: 21 Steps into the 21st Century.

²⁹⁶ Curriculum Services Canada, *A History of Curriculum Services Canada* ([cited]).

²⁹⁷ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, Bogle, D’Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, Cruerton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*.

events. The textbooks are generally much more inclusive of diverse peoples and viewpoints than textbooks from earlier generations. Additionally, in these textbooks historical racisms are discussed and even explicitly noted to be integral to the story of Canadian national progress.

4. Nationalist Narratives

The seven textbooks published in 2000, consistent with the curriculum guideline, tell the story of Canada in the twentieth century and do so by returning to a more chronologically linear narrative than that evident in textbooks published in the 1970s and 1980s even though it is similarly interspersed with activities, diagrams, illustrations, and special sections. These textbooks personify Canada (e.g., as an entity with a distinct identity) and set the scene for the story of this person's maturation by describing how "the road to the twentieth century" was one in which Canada took steps toward forging its own unique identity.²⁹⁸ The threat of an American takeover, changing British attitudes toward the colonies, the need for new trade links, and greater resources for transportation are reasons cited for bringing the colonies into Confederation (i.e., for expanding the national body).²⁹⁹ The achievement of Canadian identity and independence are themes at the heart of these narratives that illustrate Canada to be finding its place in the world and being noticed on the world stage.³⁰⁰ Technological modernization that brought automobiles, airplanes, telephones, and indoor plumbing into the lives of many Canadians are depicted as symbolic of Canada's progressive maturation during this period.³⁰¹ However, the early narratives of these texts also focus on the emergence of uniquely Canadian culture which, according to *Canada: Our Century Our Story*, was "most significant" in helping Canada "to

²⁹⁸ Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 1, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 2, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 14-16.

²⁹⁹ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 2-7, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 3.

³⁰⁰ Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 7.

³⁰¹ Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 14-21, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 16-21.

forge an identity of its own.”³⁰² Writers such as Stephen Leacock, Lucy Maud Montgomery, and Pauline Johnson, painters including Emily Carr and the Group of Seven members, entertainers such as Mary Pickford, and athletes such as Tom Longboat are represented as having fostered a Canadian outlook and national pride steeped in a multiplicity of cultures.³⁰³ These figures of the nation function, that is, as tropes for the ideal multicultural nation.

The emergence of Canada as a prosperous and unique nation is attributed in part to the immigration boom from 1901 to 1911, urbanization, and industrialization, but also to the social inequalities produced by such changes since they led to the development of social reform movements aimed at overcoming economic inequalities, racial discrimination, and the paternalistic and assimilative policies of Canadian government toward Aboriginal peoples, especially the abuses suffered in residential schools.³⁰⁴ In these recognitions of oppression in the early part of the twentieth century, a pattern is obvious by which the chronological narrative is broken by insertions of events or actions that happened much later to counter said oppressions (for example, the insertion of notes indicating that in 1998 the Canadian government apologized to the Aboriginal peoples.)³⁰⁵ In this way, the recognition of oppression serves as a discursive vehicle through which to highlight the nation’s progressive development. It privileges a reading that understands the young nation to have learned from its mistakes and overcome them.

³⁰² Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 26.

³⁰³ Bogle, D’Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 14, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 20, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 20-21, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 28, 42-48.

³⁰⁴ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 18-31, Bogle, D’Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 16-17, 22-27, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 4-11, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 55, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 9-22, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 19-40, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 6-7, 23-42.

³⁰⁵ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 12-13, Bogle, D’Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 21, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 7. This pattern is also evident in representations of the WWII internment of Japanese Canadians and the 1988 redress settlement. See, for example, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 253.

As with the older texts, Canada's relations with Britain and the United States and as well the relations between English and French Canadians are represented as having been strained as the result of debates over Canada's role in the British Empire and the Boar War, the Naval Crisis, the Alaskan Boundary Dispute, and the Reciprocity Issue.³⁰⁶ Throughout these crises, Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier figures prominently as one who guided Canada to take control over its own foreign affairs. World War One then enters into the narratives as that which "brutally shattered" Canada's "sunny progress at the turn of the twentieth century."³⁰⁷ As with other generations of textbooks, WWI functions as a trope for the maturation and development of an ideal, unique, and independent nation. The patriotic fervor surrounding Canada's entry into the war, the fact that Canada was obliged to enter into the war when Britain did, the mobilization of troops, and the controversial role of Sam Hughes are all issues highlighted.³⁰⁸ However, the thrust of the wartime narratives is toward illustrating that Canadians distinguished themselves in battle and made important contributions to the Allied victory. The textbooks stress that "many different ethnocultural and racial groups" were involved in these contributions even though it is asserted that the patriotism of these groups coincided with prejudice against them.³⁰⁹ In *Canada: A Nation Unfolding*, Black Canadian and Aboriginal participation in the war is described under a heading that reads, "A White Man's War: Racism in the Canadian Military" and depicted as not

³⁰⁶ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 43-54, Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 60-65, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 21-29, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 39-48, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 30-37, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 48-56.

³⁰⁷ Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 70.

³⁰⁸ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 65-69, Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 80, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 38-40, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 71, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 55-56, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 69-70.

³⁰⁹ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 67, Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 92, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 41, 51-52, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 62, 75-76, 107, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 52, 57-60, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 71, 84, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 88-92.

“equally welcomed” at the time though “valued” today.³¹⁰ Such representations illustrate too that WWI functions semiotically in these textbooks to signify the Canadian nation as one that had grown, not without struggles, into multiculturalism.

The honourable contributions of Canadian forces are detailed in the such battles of Somme and Passchendaele, but it is the battles of Ypres and Vimy Ridge which are most gloriously attended to as those which came to define Canada and its soldiers to the rest of the world.³¹¹ Regarding Ypres, *Canadian History* quotes an American war correspondent as saying “The Canadians made a stand which was to be remembered as one of the heroic episodes of the war.”³¹² *Canada: Continuity and Change* suggests that “The Canadians had proved themselves. Nobody sneered at them after the battle of Ypres.”³¹³ Even more explicitly than this, the battle of Vimy Ridge is emphasized to be the one in which “Canada became a nation.”³¹⁴ In *Spotlight Canada* a soldier is quoted as saying, “A national spirit was born, and now to be British was not enough; we were Canadian and could do a good job of paddling our own canoe.”³¹⁵ Similarly, in *Making History*, Vimy Ridge is deemed to be “an important turning point for Canada because it brought both world recognition and a strong sense of patriotism.”³¹⁶

Canadians in World War One are also depicted as having distinguished themselves as among the “greatest fighter pilots of the British Commonwealth,”³¹⁷ as integral to spearheading

³¹⁰ Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 88.

³¹¹ Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 47, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 91.

³¹² Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 77.

³¹³ Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 87.

³¹⁴ Ibid., 89, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 54, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 82, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 74, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 78.

³¹⁵ Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 82.

³¹⁶ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 81.

³¹⁷ Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 96. See also Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 84-86, Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 94-97, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 49-50, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 83.

the final Allied push to end the “last hundred days” of the war,³¹⁸ and as liberators to whom “grateful Belgians shouted, “Vive les braves Canadiens!”³¹⁹ It is also stressed that women made significant contributions to the war through the changing roles they took up especially on the home front and that such contributions came even from those who “faced racism and intolerance” in Canada.³²⁰ The war is said to have taken a heavy toll in Canadian lives, to have created a gulf between Quebec and the rest of the country as a consequence of the controversy associated with conscription, and to have unjustly removed the rights of those “enemy aliens” interned during the war.³²¹ Yet, the war is also said to have brought about the enfranchisement of women, a great economic boom, and above all to have made Canada “a more independent country” and one with newly established “international respect.”³²² According to *Canada: Our Century Our Story*, “Canada had entered World War I as a colony in the shadow. Through four years of bloodshed and the efforts of millions of Canadians, it had emerged on the threshold of full nationhood.”³²³

The years after the war are characterized as “a period of turmoil and unrest” in which influenzas, labour unrest, prohibition movements, and regional protests occurred alongside the abuses of residential schools for Aboriginal peoples and discriminatory immigration restrictions

³¹⁸ Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 100, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 76-77.

³¹⁹ Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 100.

³²⁰ Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 108-11, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 58-61, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 109, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 85-86.

³²¹ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 93-104, Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 98-107, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 62-64, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 109-26, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 69-71, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 90-93.

³²² Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 89, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 65, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 126, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 99.

³²³ Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 80. See also Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 176, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 61.

placed upon “non-British” immigrants.³²⁴ Yet, the textbooks move from these inclusions to illustrate that Canada overcame such problems, developed a prospering economy by the mid-1920s and “took some major steps toward full autonomy.”³²⁵ This stress upon Canada’s growing independence and autonomy occurs primarily through depictions of a succession of Imperial Conferences in the 1920s, the Chanak Crisis in 1922, the Halibut Treaty in 1923, and the Statue of Westminster of 1931.³²⁶ This progress toward national maturity is depicted as coinciding with such technological progress as the discovery of insulin, the invention of the radio, the mass production of automobiles, the invention of the snowmobile, and developments in aviation.³²⁷ In each case, the roles of Canadians (most often men such as Frederick Banting and Edward Rogers) are made prominent in the modern achievements which are deemed to have “brought Canadians closer to each other.”³²⁸ This coming together as a more unified nation is represented as critical given the ever-increasing influence of American culture through the “roaring twenties” and beyond.³²⁹ The textbooks depict the pervasiveness of US fads and fashions as having instilled fears of a complete cultural takeover and thus producing a concern with “creating distinctively Canadian art.”³³⁰ Literature, art, and the “golden age of sport” are then highlighted as fixes to

³²⁴ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 111-13, 37-38, Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 16-31, 128-35, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 66-69, 76-77, 87-89, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 145-48, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 88-101, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 124-25.

³²⁵ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 113, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 72-76, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 155.

³²⁶ Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 148-53, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 135-37.

³²⁷ Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 54-59, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 89-92, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 161-66, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 102-06, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 110-16.

³²⁸ Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 144-49, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 90.

³²⁹ Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 167-70.

³³⁰ Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 179-80, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 79-81, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 171, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 117.

this presumed problem of cultural domination insofar as they are represented as having contributed to “an emerging sense of Canadian identity and nationalism.”³³¹ The narratives also describe the measures taken to protect Canadian culture through, for example, the formation of the CBC and the NFB and the establishment of Governor General’s Awards for Canadian writing.³³²

Detailed descriptions of the cyclical nature of business, how economies function, and how the stock market works are included in narratives as part of explanation about what led to the Great Depression.³³³ Why, one could ask, is there such stress on explaining the function of the economy and not on explaining the structures of racism? These explanations of business cycles are followed by those that describe the devastation caused by the Depression in the West and the hard times it produced for those in different regions of the country, both urban and rural.³³⁴ This context of economic depression and sometimes radical protest is suggested to have fostered the growth of prejudice and discrimination and to have led to tougher restriction on immigration such that people not from Britain and the United States were effectively barred from entering the country.³³⁵ Although references are made to accounts of how Aboriginal peoples, Jews, and Blacks suffered the consequences of intolerance and discrimination during the Depression era, these accounts are sometimes juxtaposed with stories of “Canadians helping Canadians” who

³³¹ Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 79. See also Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 81-83, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 172, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 110-11, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 118.

³³² Bogle, D’Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 172, 76-77, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 197-98, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 167-68.

³³³ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 123-25, Bogle, D’Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 152-54, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 100-04, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 180-87, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 120-27, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 140-44.

³³⁴ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 125-26, Bogle, D’Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 154-63, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 127-36, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 146-50.

³³⁵ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 121-23, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 119-21, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 202.

provided generous meals and lodging for those in need.³³⁶ Similarly, while discrimination against women (including “women of colour”) during and prior to the years of the Depression is recognized, the focus is on the progressive gains made through the suffragette movement and the “persons case.”³³⁷ Impoverishment and the struggle to overcome obstacles (such as economic depression, racism, and sexism) are narrative tropes functioning to produce and sustain the logic of a youthful nation maturing, through trial and error at times, into a more progressive and tolerant place. The textbooks mark the inter-war years as a particularly difficult time in the development of the nation by highlighting the political discontent, protests, and strikes that coincided with government attempts to establish financial stability by describing the formation of new national and regional political parties (e.g., C.C.F., Social Credit) to be the result of widespread dissatisfaction and economic hardship.³³⁸ Ultimately, however, even the Depression is represented as having helped “to unify Canadians” and to have contributed to a stronger sense of unique Canadian identity by instilling among those people coping with the hardships such traits as “sacrifice” and “community spirit” and as well a “geographical sense” of the country and its diversity.³³⁹

As with textbooks from the earlier eras, World War II is said to have had underlying causes in the harsh terms of the treaty of Versailles, boundary problems with respect to the new nations formed after World War One, the failure of the League of Nations and policies of non-

³³⁶ For example, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 155, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 186-88.

³³⁷ Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 29-31, 136-43, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 84-86, Cruyton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 171-73, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 37-44, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 118-22, 29-31.

³³⁸ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 139-44, Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 168-71, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 105-14, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 136-41, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 169-86.

³³⁹ Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 166, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 188.

intervention, appeasement, and isolationism.³⁴⁰ In contrast to the older textbooks, these new ones published in 2000 give prominence to the “widespread persecution of the Jewish people” under the totalitarian rule of Hitler and to the Holocaust itself, which now takes up entire sections of chapters.³⁴¹ The rise to power of Hitler and the Nazis is explained as owing to economic problems, unemployment, depression and political instability in Germany.³⁴² The Nuremberg laws, Kristallnacht, and the concentration camps are all topics broached by the textbooks. Depictions of gaunt survivors, artistic impressions of the tragic victims, and frank descriptions of death camps are included in these sections of the texts devoted to the Holocaust a topic of history.³⁴³ For example,

The Nazis wanted a more systematic way of killing the Jews. They set up death camps, such as Dachau, Auschwitz and Treblinka, to quickly and scientifically kill Jews. Men, women, and children were herded into “showers” and murdered by clouds of poison gas. Later the bodies were burned in huge ovens.³⁴⁴

While anti-Semitism is indicated to have existed in Canada and to have produced serious consequences for Jewish people in Canada or those attempting to enter the country (e.g., aboard the *St. Louis*), the narratives describing Canada’s “inadequate response” or its own racist organizations sometimes eventually conclude by redeeming Canada as a place that has learned

³⁴⁰ Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 129-42, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 154, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 187-98, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 207.

³⁴¹ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 187-90, Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 236-39, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 152-54, Cruyton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 216-21, 46-48, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 198-201, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 208-10, 39-41.

³⁴² Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 162-63, Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 190-97, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 133-34, 48-49, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 158, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 207-08.

³⁴³ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 190, Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 236, Cruyton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 241, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 198, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 200.

³⁴⁴ Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 237.

from its past errors or as a nation which fought gallantly against Nazi tyranny.³⁴⁵ In *Spotlight Canada*, for example, it is observed that “Today, Canada has a more open policy in accepting political refugees. Few Canadians would want to repeat the mistakes of the past.”³⁴⁶ This same textbook, in reference to Canadian and other Allied forces who liberated the concentration camps, concludes a discussion of the Holocaust with the following statement,

The first battle-hardened soldiers who entered these death factories often broke down and cried. One soldier turned his machine gun on the camp guards. If Canadian troops had ever doubted whether the war was worth fighting, the Nazi death camps made it clear that the fight though tragic, was just.³⁴⁷

Thus even the Holocaust itself is represented in ways that depict Canada and its soldiers in a glorious light. *Canada: Continuity and Change* drives the point home.

Canadians earned the endearing respect and affection of people enslaved by Hitler’s armies. Our soldiers helped liberate the infamous death camps and revealed the full horrors of the Holocaust to the world. By the end of the war, Canada’s armed forces were among the largest and most accomplished in the world.³⁴⁸

Canada is heralded in these textbooks as having “made a major contribution to the war effort and gained international prestige.”³⁴⁹ Highlighted throughout are accounts of the brave fight of Canadians at Hong Kong, the tragic lessons learned from the disaster at Dieppe, the contributions of the Canadian navy and merchant marine, the Normandy invasions in which Canadians “were the only Allied troops to reach their D-Day objectives,”³⁵⁰ the Italian campaign which brought Canadians a “reputation as elite street fighters,” and the liberation of European nations which released explosions of gratitude in the direction of the Canadian forces who accepted the

³⁴⁵ Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 199.

³⁴⁶ Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 221.

³⁴⁷ Ibid., 248. See also, Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 189.

³⁴⁸ Bogle, D’Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 186. See also Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 165, 90, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 204.

³⁴⁹ Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 232.

³⁵⁰ Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 192.

surrender of the Nazi forces.³⁵¹ As is the case with representations of the First World War, these representations of the Second similarly illustrate that “many different ethnocultural and racial communities” (including Aboriginal soldiers such as Tommy Prince, Black Canadians like Gerry Carter, and Chinese Canadians such as Henry Fung) contributed to the glorious accomplishments of Canada in spite of acknowledged discriminatory barriers faced by such Canadians.³⁵² Canada is depicted in these narratives as having been discriminatory and distrustful towards such groups (especially the Japanese Canadians), but also as having been swayed by their wartime contributions to change its discriminatory policies, to grant the vote to these previously disenfranchised citizens, and to pass civil rights legislation all from a sense of shame about what occurred during the war.³⁵³ The war, in other words, is represented as forcing Canada to come to terms with its own injustices and to turn over a new leaf. As *Spotlight Canada* puts it, “Canadians” attitudes to people of different racial and ethnocultural communities was tested during the war. Gradually, Canadians began to draw together to create a more open, multicultural society than they had ever envisaged before.”³⁵⁴ These narratives are about Canada growing up justly and gaining status and recognition on the world stage as it “emerged from the war with a new commitment to world peace and a growing concern for human rights”³⁵⁵ Canada,

³⁵¹ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 177-87, Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 206-33, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 150-57, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 232-46, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 179-96, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 203-12, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 239.

³⁵² Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 157, 64, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 210, 36-37, 48-49, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 234-37. Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 201-04, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 226-27. I will take up representations of these discriminatory barriers in chapter 5.

³⁵³ Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 235-6, 45.

³⁵⁴ Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 273. See also, Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 204.

³⁵⁵ Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 209, 73. See also, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 235.

according to *Canada: Our Century Our Story*, “tested its new strength in the world, and established an international reputation as a voice of peace.”³⁵⁶

The Second World War is depicted as an important turning point for Canada in terms of its relations with the world.

Canada’s strong economy also meant that it was one of the few nations that could help the war-shattered world. In the post-war years, Canada made important changes in its foreign policy, its action plan for dealing with other nations in the world.³⁵⁷

Canada’s foreign policy is indicated to have become focused on promoting world peace and awareness of human rights issues, increasing foreign aid to less developed nations, and “extending Canada’s autonomy.”³⁵⁸ Canada is represented as having taken a “leading role” in giving technical, financial support, and humanitarian support to developing countries through programs as the Columbo Plan and agencies such as its own Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).³⁵⁹ Canadian motives for giving such assistance are said to have been political and economic, but primarily humanitarian. *Spotlight Canada* reads, for example, “The first motive was humanitarian – a country as wealthy as Canada considered itself morally obligated to help less prosperous countries.”³⁶⁰ The Cold War is also taken up in these narratives with special attention to Canada’s role in combating Communism through participation in the Marshall Plan, NATO, NORAD, and the development of nuclear weapons defense agreements.³⁶¹ Yet even these military alliances get represented as that which “encourage cooperation and

³⁵⁶ Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 206.

³⁵⁷ Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 281.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 282.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 418-22, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 357-58.

³⁶⁰ Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 297. See also Bogle, D’Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 486.

³⁶¹ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 261-73, Bogle, D’Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 280-83, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 18-189, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 258-73.

peaceful solutions to the world's problems."³⁶² Canada's role in the establishment of the United Nations and in carrying out its aims to keep the peace, to provide relief for refugees, and to fight for human rights are also highlighted in these textbooks. As was the case with textbooks from the 1970s and 1980s, special attention is reserved for certain (white male) figures of the nation such as John Humphrey and, especially, Lester Pearson who is signified to be one who brought great honour to Canada through his efforts to attain peaceful resolutions to violent conflicts in the Middle East and Korea.³⁶³

Canada's relations with Britain and the United States (e.g., Canadian involvement in the Commonwealth, Canadian assertion of sovereignty in the Arctic, and the development of Canadian citizenship and greater constitutional control) function as tropes sustaining the narrative of a growing nation coming ever closer to full autonomy.³⁶⁴ Tropes of distinctiveness and international admiration also uphold the narrative of an increasingly autonomous nation. For example, during the baby-boom years Canada is indicated to have prospered like never before with important technological changes, increased infrastructure development, and the development of social support programs "admired by many other nations in the world."³⁶⁵ This era of prosperity is also depicted as one in which regional disparities, debates over foreign investment in Canada, the formation of new political parties, concerns about social justice, and protest movements against the Vietnam War and nuclear weapons predominated.³⁶⁶ The protests against

³⁶² Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 480.

³⁶³ Ibid., 290-92, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 190-91, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 284-88, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 273-78, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 296.

³⁶⁴ Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 301-02.

³⁶⁵ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 229, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 202-13, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 349, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 210-21, 40-42.

³⁶⁶ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 273-76, 83-86, Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 299.

the Vietnam War, in particular, are depicted as “helping to define Canada as a nation” since the actions of the Canadian protestors “told the world that Canadian society was different from, less violent than, the United States.”³⁶⁷

The narrative structure then builds on a logic of presumed development and progress by illustrating Canadian maturation with respect to human and civil rights. The passing of legislation by the Diefenbaker government and other provincial governments prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race, the liberalization of immigration, the gains made by Aboriginal and women’s political movements, and discussions of the Trudeau era and his conception of Canada as a “just society” all function as tropes for the entry into multicultural adulthood of the Canadian national body.³⁶⁸ Canada, according to these textbooks, had come of age by the end of the 1960s as an urban and industrialized nation respected throughout the world and comprised of “people from many different ethnocultural and racial communities.”³⁶⁹ Tropes of uniqueness and international admiration operated to support this narrative reasoning of Canada as a maturing body seeking to maintain and enhance its exceptional goodness. Canada, for example, is represented in this period as having embarked on an intense search for a national identity through the B and B Commission, adopted a new and distinctive flag, passed the official languages act, and promoted Canadian culture as notably distinct from American culture.³⁷⁰ Through art, the theatre, ballet, literature, television, film, music and sports (e.g., hockey and

³⁶⁷ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 276.

³⁶⁸ Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 196-99, 227-28, 62, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 350-59, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 243-49, 86-91, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 269-78, 323-24, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 399-400.

³⁶⁹ Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 310, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 306.

³⁷⁰ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 244-51, Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 258-61, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 193, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 320-29, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 236-.

notably the Canada-Soviet Union Summit Series³⁷¹), Canada is deemed to have come together as a more unified nation where cultural diversity forms an integral component of the national sense of self.³⁷²

In these texts, the 1971 adoption of a policy of official multiculturalism confirms Canada to be a “more racially and culturally diverse” nation where equality for all is paramount.³⁷³ According to *Canada: Continuity and Change*, the policy of multiculturalism “changed the face of Canada. For the first time in history, minorities were welcomed.”³⁷⁴ Here is another trope. The body of the Canadian nation has a face that changed and became more tolerant and accepting of difference (e.g., multicultural) in 1971. Discrimination, prejudiced attitudes, and racism are nevertheless represented as having been problems in Canada throughout the 1970s and 1980s, but their oppressive effects are indicated to have been mitigated by the responses from Canadian human rights activists and the establishment of new charter of rights and freedoms in a “more compassionate atmosphere.”³⁷⁵ That is, the growing national body changed along with its face as it moved forward toward ideal goodness. Moreover, greater betterment of the nation was yet to come. *Canada: Face of a Nation*, for example, encourages the reader to see hope-filled progress for the national body when it proclaims that “The new Canadian Constitution and Charter of Rights and Freedoms was a significant step forward, but it still did not satisfy all groups...many

³⁷¹ Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 256, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 390-92, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 295.

³⁷² Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 222-27, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 299-310.

³⁷³ Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 377, 81-82, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 367-68, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 399.

³⁷⁴ Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 306.

³⁷⁵ Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 284-91, 303, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 393.

more changes were yet to come.”³⁷⁶ Here Canada is personified as a body taking steps to enhance its own growth and maturation as a good and tolerant living entity.

The narratives then shift to the threat posed to the national body. The textbooks examine the rise of the Quebec separatist movement, the October Crisis of 1970, the coming to power of the Parti Quebecois, the passing of controversial Bill 101 in response to the language crisis, the referendum of 1980, and the Constitution Act of 1982 in terms of their effects on national unity and longevity.³⁷⁷ The possibility that the nation could disintegrate or cease to continue living as a full and autonomous being is offset by the emergence of the figure of Prime Minister Trudeau “as the leader who could keep Canada together.”³⁷⁸ Trudeau, another father-type figure of the nation guiding it through the struggles of maturation, is also marked as rescuing the national body when US domination of the global economy threatens Canada’s independence.³⁷⁹ Trudeau gets lauded for his efforts to enhance Canadian autonomy by instigating new directions in foreign policy, recognizing the People’s Republic of China, and increasing Canadian influence and aid among countries of Pacific Rim and developing nations.³⁸⁰ This is not to say that Trudeau is represented as the perfect father since significant tensions are indicated to have developed during the Trudeau era with respect to social spending and inflation, rising oil prices, wage-and-price controls, foreign investment, and western alienation.³⁸¹

³⁷⁶ Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 303.

³⁷⁷ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 253-56, 97-310, Bogle, D’Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 371-407, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 216-21, 47-50, 61-62, 69-79, Cruyton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 369-77, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 281-83, 328-34.

³⁷⁸ Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 262.

³⁷⁹ Ibid., 230-31, 56-66, Cruyton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 397-401.

³⁸⁰ Bogle, D’Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 323, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding*, Ontario Edition, 350.

³⁸¹ Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 339-53.

The economic-related stresses attributed to Trudeau's governmental era are represented as having brought into power a more conservative fatherly figure of the national body, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. He is represented in the textbooks as having focused attention upon reducing the national deficit, encouraging growth of private industry, diminishing conflict between the federal government and provincial governments, making stronger the Canadian defense role, and improving relations with US.³⁸² The figure of Mulroney works in these narratives to signify the sibling-like struggles (e.g., with the US and Quebec) involved in the maturation process of the Canadian national body and its quest for a harmonious existence. The ongoing tensions and discordant struggles with respect to national unity are also illustrated through discussions of the Meech Lake Accord of 1987, the Charlottetown Accord of 1992, the formation of new political parties with regional interests (e.g., Bloc Quebecois and Reform), The Quebec Referendum of 1995, and the Calgary Declaration of 1997.³⁸³

Representations of popular culture are then inserted into the narratives almost as if their inclusion were intended to balance off the threat posed to the national body by the Quebec separatist movement. Distinctively Canadian contributions to popular culture and arts or the extraordinary achievements of particular Canadian figures work to reassert the uniqueness of Canadian identity. "Canadians who refused to give up" and who made "a mark on the country and around the world" (e.g., Terry Fox, Rick Hansen, and Lincoln Alexander) and other celebrated cultural figures from the literature, art, music, or sporting worlds (e.g., Margaret Atwood, Deborah Cox, and Donovan Bailey) signify the Canadian national body to be one

³⁸² Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 324.

³⁸³ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 357-69, Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 327, 410-19, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 310-14, 37-40, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 439-52, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 310-34, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 369-84.

unified by diversity and by struggles for tolerance.³⁸⁴ The representation of women (e.g., Atwood and Cox) in fields of popular culture helps to sustain the notion of Canada as an equitable and just place, yet it does little to disrupt a centrally masculinist narrative in which great white men are still depicted as the primary nation-builders and guardians of the national body.

In the latter chapters of the textbooks, the efforts of the national body to fulfill its promise of maturation are directed toward overcoming particular obstacles in the way of this growth. Difficult relations with its sibling-like neighbour, especially with respect to the Free Trade Agreement, fishing disputes, and Arctic sovereignty are an example of one such obstacle.³⁸⁵ Others include the impact of globalization on the Canadian economy, the protest of World Trade Organization polices, and difficulties arising with modern technology such as the Internet.³⁸⁶ Social movements concerning the environment and the rights of women and Aboriginal peoples are frequently joined together as evidence that Canada had made significant progress in advancing toward a more equitable and conscientious state of being.³⁸⁷ Contemporary Aboriginal Rights and Land Claims, in particular, are much more prominent in these new textbooks than in earlier eras. While Aboriginals within Canada are consistently illustrated to have had their civil and human rights violated by the Canadian nation-state, Canada is also represented as progressively (and, with the exceptions of the Oka and Ipperwash confrontations, peacefully) working to redress such violations. Canada, in these narratives, enshrines Aboriginal and treaty

³⁸⁴ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 293, Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 322, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 300-03, 20-21, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 400-05, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 406.

³⁸⁵ Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 315-17, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 507-13, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 407-08.

³⁸⁶ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 353-55, Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 364, 478-79, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 358-59, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 513-25, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 441, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*.

³⁸⁷ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 289-90, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 301, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 404-13, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 354-55, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 400-05.

rights in the constitution, issues a Statement of Reconciliation to Aboriginal peoples, compensates the Aboriginal communities involved in Oka and Ipperwash with cash and the return of land, and establishes the new territory of Nunavut.³⁸⁸ Additionally, human rights issues are tropes in these narratives shoring up the narrative logic of Canada as effectively maturing into a tolerant entity determined to make the world more just. Canada is marked as a place in which human rights questions were hotly debated with respect to national matters of pay equity, prison reform, the funding of religious schools, AIDS treatment, the promotion of hatred, unjust hiring practices, and also international concerns about bringing an end to child labour and banning the use of land mines.³⁸⁹ Of the “many Canadians” deemed to have “struggled to make Canada and the world a better place through the promotion of human rights,” two male figures, Lloyd Axworthy and Craig Kielburger, are the individuals most often identified across the textbooks as especially influential in these international campaigns.³⁹⁰ These two white men come to stand for the nation standing up for the world.

Peacekeeping is another trope that functions in these textbooks to produce and support the narrative logic about the Canadian national body as one maintaining and enhancing its goodness by saving or uplifting other spaces and places. Peacekeeping, according to *Spotlight Canada*, is one of the important ways Canada contributes to international stability.³⁹¹ Canadians are represented as “world-class peacekeepers” and Canada as having “participated in more UN

³⁸⁸ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 343-49, Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 346-55, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 332-35, 88-90, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 482-88, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 302-06, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 394-99, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 384-86.

³⁸⁹ Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*.

³⁹⁰ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 395-96, Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 475, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 342-45, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 499, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 411-13.

³⁹¹ Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 500.

peacekeeping missions than any other country in the world,” most recently in such places as Somalia, the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, and Haiti and to have been particularly successful in providing humanitarian relief in each case.³⁹² Its reputation as “a benevolent peacekeeper” and as “Canada the Good” is represented as having been slightly “tarnished” however by an “incident” in Somalia in which Shidane Arone was tortured and killed by members of the Canadian Airborne Regiment.³⁹³ However, like a precious and durable metal that tarnishes, but which can be cleaned, polished, and made to shine brightly again, Canada’s sterling character as an inherently peaceful nation is resurrected by the semantic positioning of the murder as a shocking anomaly in an otherwise unimpeachable history of noble peacekeeping and by hasty narrative progressions from this sully event to the purifying and brightening activities of “good” Canadians who prosecuted war crimes, human rights violations, and genocides in Yugoslavia and Rwanda during the 1990s (e.g., Louise Arbor).³⁹⁴

The final pages of these textbooks reiterate that peacemaking and humanitarianism have long been the primary roles of Canada on the world stage. *Spotlight Canada* declares that Canada has a “long history of providing aid to foreign nations, particularly developing countries.”³⁹⁵ *Canadian History* reads,

The federal government, non-government agencies, and Canadian citizens provide foreign aid to many countries around the world. Canadian soldiers, police officers, and officials are working in world crisis spots to help maintain peace, create stability, rebuild damaged communities, or supervise elections.³⁹⁶

³⁹² Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 375, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 501-02, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 409-12.

³⁹³ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 391, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 353-54, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 502, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 433. See my discussion of this in chapter 5.

³⁹⁴ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 373-79, 91-93, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 352-56 {Bogle, 2000 #413, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 506-07.

³⁹⁵ Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 503. See also, Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 397.

³⁹⁶ Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 433.

These narratives of the Canadian nation are unashamedly direct in promoting a particular sense of national identity that is integrally linked to contact with other nations. “How others see us is influenced by what fellow Canadians have done to distinguish themselves and to make a difference in the global community.”³⁹⁷ A strong national identity and sense of purpose in the global world, moreover, are deemed essential to keeping Canada’s diverse peoples united.³⁹⁸ Canada, represented as compassionate toward the world (e.g., through humanitarian efforts and peacekeeping) and tolerant of its diverse citizens (even if this has come sometimes belatedly with, for example, the government apologizing and “expressing regrets over past injustices” carried out against Japanese Canadians and Aboriginal peoples³⁹⁹) is a multicultural model. Indeed, according to *Canadian History*, Canada has

become so multicultural that Canadians now write their ethnic identity on census forms, rather than ticking it off the appropriate box in a list of specified possibilities... Almost two in ten chose the relatively new category “Canadian”⁴⁰⁰

Such markers of Canadian internal “ethnic” and cultural harmony and other signifiers of a Canadian spirit of benevolent devotion to the rest of the world help to preserve narrative notions of Canada as a national body that has progressed dramatically to become a fantastic place of multicultural equality and one continuing to be vigilant about ensuring human rights globally.⁴⁰¹ “Legal guarantees cannot abolish all inequities, and there is still much work to be done. Still, Canadians in the new century belong to a society where rights are protected to a level undreamed of by Canadians 100 years ago.”⁴⁰²

³⁹⁷ Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 368.

³⁹⁸ Ibid., 393.

³⁹⁹ Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 419.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., 424.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., 428.

⁴⁰² Ibid., 434. See also, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 406.

Summary

In certain ways, the four generations of textbooks analyzed as part of this study are quite distinct from one another. The earliest tell the story of Canadian history from centuries past to the middle of the twentieth century and do so in a traditional linear narrative. Textbooks from the 1960s tell the history of Canada in the twentieth century in relation to the histories of its “brothers” the US and the UK. The histories of the 1970s-1980s depart significantly from the linear narrative with infusions of contemporary concerns, constitutional issues, and matters of identity throughout. The most recent textbooks focus squarely on the twentieth century and on Canada alone, but always with a view to Canada’s role globally. No matter what discontinuities are evident, however, significant continuities run across each of these generations of textbooks (and throughout the supporting and directive curricular documentation to which they correspond). Canadian history textbooks continue to personify Canada as a living organism advancing from infancy, through numerous difficulties in childhood and adolescence, into adulthood. These textbooks persist in representing Canada as having matured into a distinct place, a distinct people, and a distinct culture with interest and influence worldwide. They continue to tell the story of an offspring of Britain and France, sibling to the US, and kin to Europe that, in the face of difficult circumstances, learns from its mistakes and those made by others, to achieve remarkable progress at home while fostering a great deal of respect abroad. Tropes such as the nation as body, development, growing autonomy from parental authority, sibling struggles, aspirations for goodness, and quelling discord abroad function similarly across these four generations of textbooks to produce narrative ideals about the nation as a good and tolerant entity concerned with democracy, justice, and fundamental rights for all humanity across the globe.

CHAPTER 4

REPRESENTATIONS OF RACE: BLOOD MATTERS

Canada's official multiculturalism policy, enacted in 1971, makes clear that Canada is an open society offering full citizenship rights to qualified applicants irrespective of forms of social or cultural identification such as religious heritage, race, ethnicity, genealogical descent, or ancestral roots.¹ For this reason, Canada is often heralded as a civic state in which citizenship and nationhood are defined strictly on the basis of an ethical set of principles centered on equality before the law and loyalty to such political practices as responsible governance.² In contrast to this progressive idea of civic nationalism, which Canada is imagined to embody so well, is the idea of ethnic nationalism in which relationship to the nation is based upon blood ties, common origin, and specific cultural traditions that are not chosen, but rather obtained through the contingencies of birth and inheritance. So entrenched in national consciousness is the very idea of Canadian multiculturalism, it is practically taken for granted that Canada is representative of the good and tolerant civic type of nationalism and not its more tribal and divisive counterpart, ethnic nationalism.³ This chapter offers a critique of the multicultural premise that divisiveness in the form of racism is eliminated through tolerance of diversity within a nationalist framework

¹ *Canadian Multiculturalism Act*, (July 21, 1988).

² Michael Ignatieff, *Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism* (London: BBC Books, 1993), 3-4. For a critique of Ignatieff, see, Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, 46-49.

³ Bernard Yack, "The Myth of Civic Nationalism," *National Post*, July 1 2000, Bernard Yack, "The Myth of the Civic Nation", *Critical Review: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Politics and Society* 10, no. 2 (1996). It is, however, frequently asserted that the more problematic of the two nationalisms, that is, ethnic nationalism, exists within the borders of the civic state in such places as Quebec. See, for example, Ignatieff, *Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism*. Even the most recent Canadian history textbooks make this distinction between ethnic and civic nationalism and position Canada (but not Quebec separatists) as pursuing the latter. See, Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 371.

that stresses harmony through civic loyalties, rights, and responsibilities. That is, rather than eliminating racism through “racelessness,” the multiculturalism of the civic-state has the effect of camouflaging racism as tolerance, or of cloaking a normalized racism with multicultural patriotism.⁴

State-sanctioned histories of the nation such as the public school history textbooks analyzed here have as part of their explicit aim the inculcation of nationalistic pride and civic duty that outwardly, at least, appears to adhere to the civic conception of nationalism. These history textbooks implore students to remember the nation’s leaders and warriors who shaped and defended the political institutions deemed to define the nation. They constantly remind students what it means to belong to the nation by reasserting particular political values and principles of civic responsibility and moral conceptions of national and international “right” and “wrong.” And they present as rational, normal, and entirely unproblematic the position that defense of the civil and civilized society constituting the nation has warranted in the past, and will warrant in the future, the spilling of blood as an essential obligation of citizenship. All of this helps to imagine the nation in civic terms. However, as I illustrate in this chapter, blood is important in another sense, too, for these national histories sanctioned by the state (and read by more of its citizens than any other national histories) represent the nation according to successive generations of allegiances based upon such criteria as origin, culture, and ethnicity. In other words, although these national histories purport to instruct a normatively acceptable civic nationalism, they actually reflect something more closely approximating an ethnic nationalism that represents the

⁴ David Theo Goldberg, *The Racial State* (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers Inc., 2002), 195.

nation in terms of consanguinity. Consequently, it would appear that the commonly held idea that Canada constitutes a model of civic nationalism is an idealized, or mythical, projection.⁵

I will argue in this chapter that despite the certain shift whereby the topic of racism has come to occupy an explicitly criticized position in Canadian history textbooks, the idea of “race” has soldiered on as an objective reality tied to ideas about human type, lineage, and inheritance. It has been presented so banally as to suggest its meaning could not ever be in question, yet it has also been variously and redundantly linked to other markers of difference (e.g., nation, ethnicity, and culture) in ways that map onto the imperialist project of dividing the world so as to better know and control it.⁶ The essential point is that the absence of any coherent engagement with the specificity and significance of race as a social construction permits this idea to flourish in much the same way as it did centuries ago, as a fact of Nature. This, in turn, contributes to the banal or commonsensical reproduction of racism in student learning resources that have, ironically, passed through numerous (multicultural) evaluative procedures to ensure that they are free of racism and other forms of discrimination.

“Race” in Textbooks of the 1940s and 1950s

In textbooks authorized during the 1940s and 1950s, “mystical notions of blood”⁷ linked the people of particular nations to one another in an extended family of racial kinship that served as well as a marker distinguishing peoples within and across nations. *Canada: A Nation and How it Came to Be*, published in 1948 and authorized for use until 1959, held that Americans and

⁵ Yack, “The Myth of Civic Nationalism.”, Yack, “The Myth of the Civic Nation”.

⁶ John Willinsky, *Learning to Divide the World: Education at Empire's End* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998).

⁷ van den Berghe, “Ethnicity as Kin Selection: The Biology of Nepotism,” in *Racism*, ed. Leonard Harris (Amherst, New York: Humanity Books, 1999), 50.

Englishmen were “blood brothers”⁸ and that “ties of blood”⁹ between the Irish, Scotch, and English “races” of Great Britain were key to the foundational strength of the older Canadian provinces. Indeed, from these textbooks it would appear that the essence of Canada and Canadian identity was incorporated into the blood of certain subjects, especially those from the UK, the US, and Europe. Since the spaces and populations of the UK, US, and Europe were explicitly and frequently identified as “white,”¹⁰ the myths of blood and race as skin colour intertwined to create an imagined community of Canada centered on whiteness.

The discourse of race as skin colour was one of the most obvious features of the early textbooks. Most often the story of Canada began with references to the “coming of the white man”¹¹ or to “white man’s early efforts at settlement.”¹² Frequently, these narratives described the re-settled land as Canadian (well in advance of it actually becoming so) and explicitly discounted the aboriginal inhabitants who resided on the land prior to European arrival.¹³ For example, in *Building the Canadian Nation*, a textbook authorized in five editions from 1945 to 1959, it was stated that “the Canadian west, with little more than 200,000 white people beyond Lake Superior, was still almost empty.”¹⁴ Similarly, in *Canada: A Nation and How it Came to Be*, it was matter-of-factly claimed that “white settlement had not yet begun and except for a scattering of half-breeds, the area was peopled only by wandering tribes of Indians.”¹⁵ The

⁸ Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 105. See also George Brown, W., *The Story of Canada* (Toronto: Copp Clark Co., Ltd., 1950), 165.

⁹ Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 208.

¹⁰ E.g., Brown and Careless, *Canada and the World*, 21.

¹¹ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 413, Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 7, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 223.

¹² Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 59.

¹³ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 448, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 362. See also, Aileen Garland, *Canada: Then and Now* (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, Ltd., 1954), 312 and 19.

¹⁴ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 448.

¹⁵ Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 362. See also, Garland, *Canada: Then and Now*, 312 and 19.

people already occupying the land (e.g., those marked as “Indians” and “half-breeds”) were dismissed as unimportant (e.g., by use of the word “only”), insignificant in terms of their number (e.g., “scattering”), and non-permanently settled (e.g., “wandering”). They were also strategically separated from re-settlers marked as “white.” The idea of “racial” purity manifested itself here too through reference to “half-breeds.” Thus, indigenous people, conceived as dark-skinned and differently-blooded, were visible in the text, but their presence functioned primarily to demarcate “white” bodies and “white” purity. The nation, according to these textbooks, was founded upon (or born in) whiteness and grew successfully into mature nationhood as a result.

One particular pattern of the usage of “white” as a category of people involved so-called “white firsts.” The narratives of textbooks in this period were incessantly dotted with references to such events as the “the first white man ever to see [the St. Lawrence],”¹⁶ “the first white man to see Lake Superior,”¹⁷ or “the first permanent white population of Canadian West.”¹⁸ The textbooks represented the logic that “white” firsts took precedence over the entire history of aboriginal settlement and accepted such logic without having to put forward any arguments to justify it. It was thus depicted as commonsensical that what mattered most to these narratives of nation-building was what “white” men and their ancestors did, even though it was known that the very places stepped on for the first time by “white” men had been trampled many times over by feet of a different hue and gender.

The textbooks explicitly identified the European explorers and settlers who began the nation-building process in racialized terms as “white,” but they also unambiguously marked these

¹⁶ Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 27 and 29.

¹⁷ Ibid., 39.

¹⁸ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 297. See also, Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 46 and 297, Brown, *The Story of Canada*, 22, 57, and 127, Donald Dickie, *The Great Adventure* (Toronto and Vancouver: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1950), 21, 54, and 115, Garland, *Canada: Then and Now*, 120, 24.

people as civilized through the repetitive ascription of traits such as leadership, compassion, and intelligence to Europeans and, more explicitly, by describing European imperialism as the expansion of “white man’s civilization.”¹⁹ The representation of people marked with other colour-coded descriptors such as “red,” “black,” “yellow,” and “brown” reinforced the idea that “white” civilization was superior to all others and so clearly reflected a concept of race rooted in notions of putative worth premised on superior attributes of mind, body, and soul. With no other group of people identified in the narratives was this more evident than with those termed “red men.”²⁰ Through a European gaze the overarching image of aboriginal people that was represented in these textbooks was one of a dwindling population bereft of civilization and naturally inclined toward violence.²¹ *Building the Canadian Nation* described “Indians” as “howling like so many wolves and brandishing their war-clubs”²² as they brought fear and devastation to colonizers who were depicted as models of innocence and civilization. In *Our Canada*, a text published in 1949 and authorized from 1952 to 1959, even the most respected of aboriginal chiefs contributed to the terrorizing of “white” people with “blood-curdling warhoop[s].”²³ These “red men” threatened the development of “white” civilization and nationhood at every turn by indiscriminately massacring not only the putatively civilized men, but also those who were made to stand for “white” innocence (i.e., women and children).²⁴ What

¹⁹ Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 331. See also, Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 173, Dorland, *Our Canada*, 8.

²⁰ Burt, *Romance of Canada*, 45, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 60-64, 160, Dorland, *Our Canada*, 318. See also, Garland, *Canada: Then and Now*, 1.

²¹ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 448, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*. See also, Dickie, *The Great Adventure*, 15, 107, Garland, *Canada: Then and Now*, 15, 319.

²² Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 295. See also, Brown, *The Story of Canada*, 146.

²³ Dorland, *Our Canada*, 128.

²⁴ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 145, Garland, *Canada: Then and Now*, 101 and 334.

was at stake in these assaults by “bloodthirsty savages” was the very blood of those “whites” who represented the reproductive success of the civilized and civilizing Empire.²⁵

The threat posed by other “non-whites,” though less certain, existed nonetheless and was most apparent when the discursive emphasis was directed toward the suitability or desirability of various immigrant groups. American, British, and Scandinavian settlers were deemed to be of “sound stock” or of “stock akin to the Anglo-Saxon,”²⁶ while the entry into the country of “Chinese,” “Japanese,” and “Hindus” was indicated to have “alarmed the white people”²⁷ and “created many problems.”²⁸ Whiteness was clearly positioned as both the normative and desirable condition of the Canadian nation; conversely, people from places such as China, Japan, and India were marked as “non-white”, of less sound “stock”, and in possession of inadequate innate potential for assimilation into the nation. They were also marked as explosively reproductive. From “Asia’s teeming millions”, migrant labourers came in search of employment and while, “at first the newcomers did not attract much attention”, the “Oriental population” grew quickly to “many thousands” whose presence then came to be considered in these textbooks “a social and economic problem.”²⁹ Unlike the case with “red men” then, the supposed threat posed by these particular “non-white” people had nothing to do with blood thirst although it was similarly related to the safe reproduction of “white” bodies. These “non-whites” were represented as incapable of assimilating into (and even threatening to overtake) the “Canadian”

²⁵ Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 53. See also, Garland, *Canada: Then and Now*, 62-65 and 127, Wallace, *A First Book of Canadian History*, 81 and 88. Although the textbook by Wallace was published much earlier, it was reprinted at least 18 times and authorized for use in Ontario until 1945.

²⁶ Wallace, *A First Book of Canadian History*, 341. See also, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 399.

²⁷ Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 396.

²⁸ Dorland, *Our Canada*, 335. See also, Burt, *Romance of Canada*, 62-63.

²⁹ Burt, *Romance of Canada*, 62-63.

population which was fashioning itself from the merger and mixing of blood from French, English, and European “races,” and clearly not from any “Oriental race.”³⁰

Occasionally, these textbooks inserted cultural markers such as language and religion or the more ambiguous “way of life” into the discourses of compatibility. One of the earliest allusions to Canada as a “mosaic,” for example, was in *Building the Canadian Nation* in which Canada’s population was termed “a fascinating mosaic of many groups, each of which brings its own contribution to Canadian life.”³¹ Invariably it was the contributions of those from Europe, Britain, and the United States that received primary and redundant focus as the most desirable and acceptable.³² However, in discussions of the two groups most frequently identified as “races” (i.e., the French and English), cultural markers such as “outlook”, religion, and language were posited as significant obstacles along the road toward national homogenous bliss. Indeed, these textbooks asserted a fundamental and ancient difference between the French and English “races” that made for a more-or-less permanent division difficult to bridge. In *Canada: A Nation and How it Came to Be* the French and English “races” were said to constitute “two irreconcilable ways of life.”³³ In *Building the Canadian Nation* it was explained that “racial and religious bitterness threatened more than once to break the country into pieces”³⁴ and that “differences of race” blocked Canada’s road to nationhood “at every turn.”³⁵ In these depictions of problems of “racial strife,” language, religion, and “outlook” were persistently linked to the idea of race and thus implied that, in addition to lineage and physical features such as skin colour,

³⁰ Dorland, *Our Canada*, 336.

³¹ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 31.

³² For some examples see, Ibid., 41, 435-49, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 139, 395-99, Dickie, *The Great Adventure*, 369, Garland, *Canada: Then and Now*, 150, 71-74, 340-42.

³³ Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 242.

³⁴ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 422.

³⁵ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 472.

race was inextricably wedded to culture.³⁶ This, while perhaps a prelude to future multicultural sensibilities, did little to dilute the notion of a vital fluid flowing between white descendants since even these cultural aspects were portrayed as static traditions passed from generation to generation. It was as though the veins of succeeding kin carried culture as well as blood. The significance of culture resided in its potential to bring together European (white) races, and thus overcome essential differences of nature amongst the Europeans (but not necessarily non-whites). Enough commonality was believed to exist between the French and English, for example, to establish “a partnership between the two races” that would resolve the “race question.”³⁷

“Race” in this set of textbooks authorized during the 1940s and 1950s was about skin color, blood, and belonging. It drew upon assumptions that humanity was constituted by colour-coded divisions of people who passed on to successive generations blood that carried the essential determinants of each so-called “race.” Depending on their origin, some (notably those from the UK, the US, and Europe) carried determinants, of the body or of culture, that were portrayed as fitting into the Canadian hierarchy of desirability; others were assumed to be of a lesser stock or so different as to pose a serious threat to the good order of the nation. Implicit throughout was the idea that the Anglo-Saxon race of whites was superior and thus the one that other whites were to assimilate into.

“Race” in Textbooks of the 1960s

Color-coded categories did not disappear with the next generation of textbooks authorized throughout the 1960s. The colonized peoples of Africa, India, and south-east Asia were said to

³⁶ Ibid, Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 422, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 17.

³⁷ Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 319. See also, Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 447, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 261.

be “brown, black, and yellow peoples” or simply “coloured,”³⁸ and, moreover, were said to have “long held their white rulers in awe.”³⁹ Skin pigment was accepted by these textbooks as a meaningful way to divide the world’s population and to understand human diversity. *Canada and the World*, in a discussion of “the races of mankind” that claimed to follow “the *Statement of Race Problems* issued by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, listed “three main races” according to “skin colouring, shape of head, [and] kind of hair.”⁴⁰ The idea, too, that nations were coloured like the skin colour of those who resided within their borders was a frequently occurring one. Britain and other imperial powers were often marked unambiguously as white, while they and nations such as Canada also were marked as white through narrative juxtaposition with nations identified explicitly as “non-white” or “dark-skinned.”⁴¹ India’s decision to join the Commonwealth, for example, was said to have “made it possible for other non-white nations, to which Britain gave her independence, to follow her example and remain associated with Britain, Canada and the other older member nations.”⁴² The whiteness of Canada was also made evident through claims that Canada’s “colour bar” problem was “slight” because its “coloured population” was so miniscule.⁴³ In an explanation of the “our happy living conditions” *Canada and the World* remarked that “we see in Canada a country with a white population.”⁴⁴ According to such logic, Canada was white because a majority of its population was deemed to be white. Race as skin color was simply a banal component of the

³⁸ Peart and Schaffter, *The Winds of Change: A History of Canada and Canadians in the Twentieth Century*, 366. See also, Brown and Careless, *Canada and the World*, 70-73, 270-76.

³⁹ Hodgetts

⁴⁰ Brown and Careless, *Canada and the World*, 70. This, the oldest textbook of this particular set, was the only one that included a discussion of “race” in such explicit terms.

⁴¹ Peart and Schaffter, *The Winds of Change: A History of Canada and Canadians in the Twentieth Century*, 444-45, Ricker, Saywell, and Rose, *The Modern Era*, 357.

⁴² Ricker, Saywell, and Rose, *The Modern Era*, 202.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 373.

⁴⁴ Brown and Careless, *Canada and the World*, 21.

story, accepted by the textbooks as commonsensical truth. There was no explicit challenge made to the ideas that the world could be divided into colour-coded races or that nations, including Canada, were coloured (or not) like the bodies of those living inside their borders. Such was the case even when the textbooks took to condemning ideas of white supremacy.

This era of textbooks was much more inclined than its predecessors to explicitly denounce race hatred and the idea that races were superior to one another. *The Modern Era* was critical of the imperialist expansion promoted by individuals such as Rudyard Kipling or American Senator Beveridge who called for Anglo-Saxons to “obey their blood.”⁴⁵ In condemning Nazi theories of the master race, *The Winds of Change* labeled as “absurd” Hitler’s call for Germans to “think with [their] blood.”⁴⁶ *Three Nations* similarly criticized Hitler’s claim that “the nation must purge itself of ‘impure’ blood.”⁴⁷ In each of these instances, the idea of blood as a metaphor for racial kinship was never in doubt, only the idea that some bloods were more pure, and thus superior, than others. In other words, while the textbooks privileged readings that could be considered “antiracist” insofar as they problematized ideas about racial hierarchization and discrimination, they nevertheless permitted the discourse of race as descent from common origin to banally plod along as a commonsensical way to categorize humanity. Germans were “a proud race,”⁴⁸ Austrians the “blood relations of Germans,”⁴⁹ and Jews the target of Nazi hatred “because of their racial origin.”⁵⁰ Of course, the contemporary discourse did, in fact, racialize Jews as inferior Others and non-Jewish Germans/Austrians as superior

⁴⁵ Ricker, Saywell, and Rose, *The Modern Era*, 46.

⁴⁶ Peart and Schaffter, *The Winds of Change: A History of Canada and Canadians in the Twentieth Century*, 268.

⁴⁷ Nicholson et al., *Three Nations: Canada - Great Britain - the United States of America in the Twentieth Century*, 254.

⁴⁸ Hodgetts, *Decisive Decades: A History of the Twentieth Century for Canadians*, 214.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 375.

⁵⁰ Gerald W.L. Nicholson et al., *Three Nations: Canada - Great Britain - the United States of America in the Twentieth Century* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1962), 303. See also, Hodgetts, *Decisive Decades: A History of the Twentieth Century for Canadians*, 439.

Selves. I am not disputing that history of racialized oppression. What I am pointing out, rather, is that the moral judgments against race hatred that were associated with all of these statements in the textbooks never called into question the existence of races or the consanguinity between them. By not making problematic the very idea of “race” as a natural category of humanity, an act which Arendt has suggested would be like questioning the existence of the world given the popular and commonsensical hold of the idea, these textbooks thus participated in, and reproduced, a banal tradition of race-thinking.⁵¹

The race-thinking that banally resided in these textbooks was consistent with ideas of inheritance, lineage, and descent, but the term “race” was used without much consistency at all. Rather, “race” was tangled with such notions of language, religion, and nation. For example, in *The Winds of Change*, when American imperialism in the Philippines was painted as a reluctant attempt to uplift a people truly unprepared to govern themselves, race appeared to approximate a cultural or ethnic group.

Initially, the United States had no intention of annexing the islands, and yet seven million Filipinos, divided into forty-three racial groups and speaking eighty-seven different languages and dialects, appeared unready for government.⁵²

There was nothing in this particular textbook to explain to the reader the basis for deciding that Filipino people could be divided into precisely “forty-three racial groups.” All that could be discerned from the passage itself was that language was not the determining factor (for if it were, there would have been eighty-seven racial groups). Perhaps the most evident muddling of the concept of “race” was in descriptions of the events that precipitated the First World War. Most

⁵¹ See Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 363. See also Stanley, “White Supremacy and the Rhetoric of Educational Indoctrination: A Canadian Case Study.”

⁵² Peart and Schaffter, *The Winds of Change: A History of Canada and Canadians in the Twentieth Century*, 98.

of the textbooks referred to central Europe and the Balkan Peninsula as having been comprised of “various racial groups” who aspired to freedom from the Austrian and Turkish empires. Magyars, Greeks, Serbs, Slavs, and Albanians are among the groups identified variously as “races” and “nations,” but the basis on which these groups of people were deemed to constitute a collectivity was left unsaid.⁵³ It was clear that cultural markers such as language and religion, as well as territorial markers such as geography helped to establish these collectivities and so the idea of culture certainly factored in, but race also appeared to be something more permanent since people across national and geographical boundaries (e.g., Slavs in Russia and Serbia) were deemed to be akin to one another in race.⁵⁴ It is worth noting that the oldest of the textbooks in this set differed significantly from the others insofar as it pointed out that the word “race” was “used much too freely and unwisely” and that it was “one of the most confused and confusing terms in the world today.”⁵⁵ This textbook, *Canada and the World*, which had invoked the authority of science to describe the “racial characteristics” of the “few basic divisions of mankind that really deserved the name ‘race,’”⁵⁶ complained that, “Many people use the term ‘race’ for a group with the same language, culture, religion, or geographic boundaries –when actually they mean ‘nation.’”⁵⁶ In this text, therefore, an important space of possibility was opened up for readers to engage with the idea of race. Nevertheless, this textbook was like the others insofar as it drew upon ideas of race as lineage, type, and population in which particular characteristics not only

⁵³ Hodgetts, *Decisive Decades: A History of the Twentieth Century for Canadians*, 86-89, 104, 237, Peart and Schaffter, *The Winds of Change: A History of Canada and Canadians in the Twentieth Century*, 98, 111, 20, 78, Ricker, Saywell, and Rose, *The Modern Era*, 98, 212.

⁵⁴ Ricker, Saywell, and Rose, *The Modern Era*, 98.

⁵⁵ Brown and Careless, *Canada and the World*, 72.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 70-72.

marked the peoples of the world, but also became characteristics “inherited by one generation after another.”⁵⁷

Blood mattered to these textbooks insofar as it could stand for the increasingly imprecise inheritance assumed to exist between types of people and across generations. The kin relationship between Canada and its “mother” country was one of these assumed relations. The younger and older nations were said to have shared an “indestructible bond of a common past, of common traditions of freedom and democratic government, and of past opposition to tyranny and despotism.”⁵⁸ In the logic of these textbooks, it was people arrived to Canada from Britain (e.g., “Anglo-Saxons”) who possessed these commonalities; new immigrants from elsewhere were portrayed as coming to Canada in search of them. In effect then, this was about race and ties of British blood to Canada.

The preoccupation with origin and the corresponding painstaking efforts to describe the types or units of people who arrived at Canada’s borders also attested to the idea that race had a quantifiable essence and degree of permanence. Newcomers into Canada were described as people of “many races” or “racial origins,” even when the textbooks referred only to people arriving from Europe.⁵⁹ As was the case in *The Twentieth Century*, the “new Canadians” typically highlighted in these textbooks were Ukrainians, Poles, Scandinavians, and Italians.⁶⁰ The sustained effort to precisely describe the origin of those people who entered into Canada (and who were said to have helped define the character of the nation) distinguished the textbooks of

⁵⁷ Banton, *Racial Theories*.

⁵⁸ Ricker, Saywell, and Rose, *The Modern Era*.

⁵⁹ Lambert, *The Twentieth Century*, Nicholson et al., *Three Nations: Canada - Great Britain - the United States of America in the Twentieth Century*, 71-72, Peart and Schaffter, *The Winds of Change: A History of Canada and Canadians in the Twentieth Century*, 60-61, Ricker, Saywell, and Rose, *The Modern Era*, 59.

⁶⁰ Lambert, *The Twentieth Century*.

this period. Nowhere was the attempt to define what peoples constituted a particular race more explicitly demonstrated than in *Decisive Decades*,

Galacia, Ruthenia and Bukovina were regions in the old Austro-Hungarian Empire. Before the First World War smashed it to pieces, this sprawling Empire contained over fifty million inhabitants from many different racial groups and was divided into a bewildering number of provinces. When a man claimed to be a Galacian, Ruthenian or Bukovinian he was merely stating where he had lived within the Empire and not giving his racial origin. It took some time for Canadians to learn that the people from these three provinces of the Austro-Hungarian Empire were really Slavs and that they belonged to the same race as the Little Russians from the Ukraine. Not until after the First World War were Galacians, Ruthenians, Bukovinians and Little Russians grouped together and called by their correct name, the "Ukrainians". Then it was seen that these people had become the fourth largest racial group in Canada, surpassed only by those of British, French or German origin.⁶¹

In this excerpt, the textbook itself declared that an immigrant claiming to be Galacian was "really" a Slav and of the "same race" as Ukrainians. Neither geography nor self-identification determined one's race, in other words; race was viewed as having an ancestral essence or permanence and no matter where one went, or what one claimed to be, one was always a "Slav."⁶²

"Race" in these textbooks authorized throughout the 1960s was real, quantifiable, scientifically sustainable, and readily observable. The world's population, and the nations containing them, were organized according to colour-coded categories that were depicted as mapping relatively neatly on to sets of "racial" and cultural characteristics passed on from one generation to the next via blood. In these nation-building narratives of the 1960s, the specification (and clarification) of the racial origins of new and old Canadians functioned to

⁶¹ Hodgetts, *Decisive Decades: A History of the Twentieth Century for Canadians*, 22-23.

⁶² C.f., Timothy J. Stanley, "'Chinamen, Wherever We Go': Chinese Nationalism and Guangdong Merchants in British Columbia, 1871-1911", *The Canadian Historical Review* 77, no. 4 (1996).

make evident the character and composition of the nation that was built. And the Canadian nation built was, in these textbooks, an unambiguously white one.

“Race” in Textbooks of the 1970s and 1980s

Of the textbooks approved for use in the late 1970s and early 1980s, it was those developed for the “Intermediate Division History” course entitled “Canada’s Multi-Cultural Heritage” that explicitly attempted to define race. Specifically, these textbooks attempted to explain “race” as that which referred to physical characteristics and to distinguish it from “culture”, which was said to refer to “a way of life – customs, beliefs, and values.”⁶³

The term “race” is sometimes used as a synonym for culture. This is not only inaccurate; it can be dangerous. Anthropologists have divided all people into races based on physical characteristics. The three largest, best known races are Negroid, Mongoloid, and Caucasoid. Members of the same race share inherited physical traits, which they pass on to their offspring. Racial differences do not reveal anything about a person’s culture. The term race is only relevant in our study of Canada’s many cultures and many heritages when it has affected the adjustment of a group to Canada.⁶⁴

Race, as emphasized in textbooks such as *Many Cultures Many Heritages*, was about real physical characteristics and it had scientific authority behind it (i.e., anthropologists) even if the differences between races were supposedly distinct from cultural differences.

Man belongs to a single species, Homo Sapiens. Homo Sapiens can be classified into, for the most part, three sub-species or races – Negroid, Caucasoid and Mongoloid – mainly based upon minor characteristics such as skin colour, hair texture, and head shape. The Japanese belong to the Mongoloid race. Cultural differences such as language, religion, and nationality should not be confused with racial differences. Racially, all men are basically the same. There is no evidence to indicate intellectual differences between races. Racial mixing in itself will not cause mental retardation or deformed children. It is true that the Japanese were of a different race but this should not be the cause for fear or hatred.⁶⁵

⁶³ Sheffe, *Many Cultures Many Heritages*, 4..

⁶⁴ Ibid., viii.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 298.

Could this be much more confusing? All humans were represented as the same, even if physical differences were significant enough to permit the classification of humans according to three categories - and not just any three categories. The three named by this and other textbooks of the era had a long history of use as categories that signified biologically distinct races, which were hierarchically positioned on the basis of this “fact” of difference between them.⁶⁶ Another textbook of this period, *Call Us Canadians*, similarly declared that there were “three main racial groups” and that these groups could be divided into three categories (“Caucasoid, Mongoloid, and Negroid”) on the basis of “certain physical features.”⁶⁷ These physical characteristics of each racial group were then presented in a table that followed a passage declaring that “practices of stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination” have been often “applied by one race of people against another or by one ethnic group against another.”⁶⁸ This textbook then conflated the explanation of race by grouping “geographical location” with each set of “physical characteristics” used to identify “the three main racial groups.” In the table, the “Caucasoid” race was indicated to have “white to dark brown” skin, “blond to black, curly to straight” hair, “blue to dark brown, oval shape” eyes, “narrow” noses, “thin to medium” mouths, and to live in “Europe, North America, near East, South America, India”. The “Mongoloid” race was indicated to have “yellowish-white to copper brown” skin, “black straight” hair, “dark brown, oval shape with skin fold over inner angle of eye opening” eyes, “medium” nose, “medium” mouth, and to live in “China, Southeast Asia [and] Japan.” The “Negroid” race was said to have “light brown to ebony black” skin, “black tightly curled” hair, “dark brown oval shape” eyes, “broad or flat”

⁶⁶ See, Banton, *Racial Theories*, Frederickson, *Racism: A Short History*, Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*.

⁶⁷ Martinello and Evans, *Call Us Canadians*, 46.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

noses, “thick” mouths, and to live in “Africa.”⁶⁹ These descriptions supported the view that the world could be divided into biologically relevant races even in spite of the claim having been made that “Social scientists have shown that there is no such thing as a ‘pure’” race. Over thousands of years, there has been much mixing of people of different races.”⁷⁰ Moreover, for all the efforts to distinguish race from culture and to condemn discrimination on the basis of race, race was still made to be essentially about blood and color and the references to race-mixing highlighted this. In *North American Neighbours*, for example,

In fact, the mountain men admired the Indians, and needed their help to survive. Many of them lived part of the year in Indian camps and married Indian women. Some of the second and third generation mountain men were of mixed blood – half Indian and half white.⁷¹

Similarly, *In Search of Canada* stated that,

At the time of Confederation, fewer than 12 000 resided in the vicinity of Red River. Most of these people were of mixed ancestry, descended from Indian and either French or British parentage. The French-speaking mixed bloods, or *Métis*, comprised half the total, and the rest were divided among a large group of English-speaking mixed bloods and small numbers of British, Americans and settlers recently arrived from Ontario.⁷²

The salience of colour was also evident in the still repetitive references to “white firsts” including the observations that “De Soto was probably the first white man to see and cross the Mississippi River”⁷³ and that among a group of Presbyterians led by reverend Marcus Whitman in 1836 there were “the first two white women to have crossed the Rocky Mountains.”⁷⁴ Similarly, there

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Allan S. Evans and Riley E. Moynes, *North American Neighbours* (Toronto & Montreal: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1977), 49.

⁷² Ronald C. Kirbyson, *In Search of Canada* (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall, 1977), 49. See also, Martinello and Evans, *Call Us Canadians*, 46, Sheffe, *Many Cultures Many Heritages*, 298.

⁷³ Evans and Moynes, *North American Neighbours*, 40.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 73.

remained a persistent tendency to refer to nations in terms of colour, as in the following excerpt from *In Search of Canada*:

Between the world wars, the so-called “white dominions”, including Canada, achieved full independence. Since World War II, the non-white colonies of Britain have become nations in their own right.⁷⁵

Thus, the idea of race as a natural or biological phenomenon reproduced through the blood of differently coloured people in the world was not contested, but rather floated along undisturbed excepting those observations that “pure races” no longer existed. Such race-thinking also pervaded the textbooks through references to historical quotations that used “race.” The textbook *In Search of Canada*, for example, began a description of a “European in 1907” with the following comment, “The workers have begun the work of organizing themselves according to American methods, but have been retarded greatly by all their differences of race, religion, etc.”⁷⁶ *Canada's Century* quoted from a 1914 edition of *La Patrie* when explaining that both French and English Canadians “rushed to Britain’s support” when war was declared on Germany in that year, “There are no longer French Canadians and English Canadians. Only one race now exists, united by the closest bonds in a common cause.”⁷⁷ *Canada Towards Tomorrow* observed that the following remark from an unidentified figure of the past would today “would win agreement from some Canadians, and bitter rejection by others”,

If the most influential and educated groups of the two races endeavored to associate more with each other, and to know each other better, our national future would be less precarious.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Kirbyson, *In Search of Canada*, 488.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 218.

⁷⁷ Evans and Martinello, *Canada's Century*, 154.

⁷⁸ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 134.

There was nothing remarkably insidious or overtly racist in these replications of past voices. Nevertheless, in these and other cases when race was used in a quotation from the past,⁷⁹ never was there any rejection of race-thinking in the present or an explanation or problematization of how race was being used in the period from which it was quoted.

It was not, however, merely these secondary quotations about race from the past that went unquestioned and hence contributed to the banal perpetuation of race-thinking in which “race as science” was conflated with “race as lineage”. Contemporary statements in these textbooks, such as those which described the activities of the United Nations, represented race in a similar manner, allowing it to persist as a legitimate and entirely unproblematic way to think of the world’s population and the nations that contained them.

Representing all of the world’s major and most of its minor countries and races, wearing a bewildering array of costumes and speaking a wide variety of languages, the delegates of the General Assembly create a fascinating, microcosmic image of humanity.⁸⁰

Humanity, according to the above excerpt, was constituted by major and minor “races” and these were well represented in the General Assembly of the UN. Again, these were not maliciously racist representations, but rather representations that permitted the reproduction of the idea of race as a naturally-occurring division of humanity. This banal replication of race-thinking was similarly evident in the many references to human rights declarations such as the Ontario Human Rights Code, the Canadian Bill of Rights, or the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of the Child, all of which were represented as having asserted fundamental rights “without distinction or

⁷⁹ For example, R.C. Kirbyson et al., *Discovering Canada, Book Two* (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall, 1983), 158.

⁸⁰ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 205. See also, Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 207.

discrimination on account of race.”⁸¹ That these documents did (and still do, for that matter) state it as such is not in question here. What I am pointing to is the fact that the wording in these declarations, reproduced verbatim in the textbooks and without critical reflection, promoted or sustained race-thinking even as it condemned discrimination on the basis of race. Indeed, the replication of that which resided in such authoritative documents as those produced by the United Nations doubled up the unassailability of the idea of race as a natural and normal way to think about divisions of humanity.

Race-thinking did not, however, get reproduced simply through the word “race”; it was also replicated, conflated, and sustained through representations of Canadian-ness. There was an obvious and intentional stress in the textbooks of this period on Canadian identity and particularly on the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural heritage aspects of it. For the purposes of the argument I am making, what was more important than the representation of Canada as essentially heterogeneous, was the explicit stress and salience given to this idea. It was not merely mentioned, but rather made the overarching theme. Moreover, it was extended back through time. That is, the history textbooks of this era were designed to develop “knowledge of Canada’s multicultural *tradition*.”⁸² For example, Canada was depicted as multi-cultured and multi-raced at the turn of the nineteenth century, long before official multiculturalism was even a consideration. *In Search of Canada* stated that while few thought of a “Canadian identity” in 1867, diversity of race, origin, and culture abounded the landscape.

There were fewer than 3.5 million Canadians; three out of every ten were French-speaking and their loyalty was to the family and the local parish; six of every ten came from British origins, and many, like Canada’s first prime minister,* had been born in the

⁸¹ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 239. See also, Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 280, Evans and Martinello, *Canada’s Century*, 86.

⁸² Roderick Stewart and Neil McLean, *Forming a Nation, Book 2* (Toronto: Gage, 1978), iii, Roderick Stewart and Neil McLean, *Forming a Nation: The Story of Canada and Canadians, Book 1* (Toronto: Gage, 1977), iii.

“Old Country”. *Diversity of origins, race, culture, church* all added to the dis-unifying factor of geography.⁸³

Call Us Canadians asserted that it was waves of early non-English-speaking immigrants “which would help sketch the outlines for our cultural mosaic of today” and also that “Canada was built and continues to grow by the contributions of people with many different heritages”⁸⁴ Narratives describing the influx of settlers in the 1890s from central and eastern Europe also depicted Canada as historically constituted by diversity, although in these cases the groups (e.g., “Slavic peoples”, “Poles”, “Russians”, and “Galacians”) were referred to as “different nationalities.”⁸⁵ In another textbook from approximately the same era, a cartoon was used to show “a view of Canadian society at the start of the century” and it identified the costumed people (all men) being directed by a Canadian Mountie as “Germans”, “Icelanders”, “Scotchmen”, “Belgians”, “Englishmen”, “Russians”, “Americans”, “Austrians”, “Irishmen”, “Frenchmen”, and “Scandinavians” before going on to ask students to imagine “what additional groups would be included” in a cartoon of Canada today.⁸⁶ Through such juxtapositioning of “before” and “after” it was made clear that Canada had always been constituted by people (males, in fact) of observable different origins; significantly however, the obvious differences of Canada then were not differences of colour. The focus on “tradition” took multiculturalism back into the distant past so that it no longer began with the adoption of official multiculturalism in 1971, but became something inherent to a Canadian identity that depended on the discourse of origin.

One of the most distinctive features of Canada is its *multi-cultural heritage*. This term refers to the fact that our country is composed of people of many different cultures. The

⁸³ Kirbyson, *In Search of Canada*. Italic emphasis added. The asterix points to a note saying “*John A. Macdonald was born in Glasgow, Scotland, in 1815.”

⁸⁴ Martinello and Evans, *Call Us Canadians*, 225 and 39.

⁸⁵ Kirbyson, *In Search of Canada*, 128.

⁸⁶ Kirbyson et al., *Discovering Canada, Book Two*, 244-45.

two most significant in our history are the French and English cultures. This is so for two basic reasons. Historically, these two peoples founded the nation of Canada. Numerically, they still remain the two largest ethnic groups in the country, since approximately 40 per cent of the Canadian population is of Anglo-Saxon origin, and 28 per cent is of French origin.⁸⁷

The terms had changed, but the above passage was remarkably similar to many in the textbooks published in the earlier eras. What were once called “races” became in this era “cultures” and “ethnic groups,” but they were still defined in terms of origins, especially “Anglo-Saxon” and “French.” What is more, these origins were depicted as quantifiable facts that could be “numerically” observed and tabulated. These textbooks were replete with charts and tables illustrating the percentage of various “ethnic groups” in Canada, the birthplace of the Canadian population, and the “cultural” or “ethnic origin” of the population.⁸⁸ Such verifiability of the composition of Canadian identity was also evident in those lists that documented its essential components. One textbook, for example, cited a list obtained from the Canadian Studies Foundation which identified six components that made up Canadian identity including “Canada is a multi-ethnic country with two predominant linguistic groups.”⁸⁹ A chapter discussing the performing arts in Canada was also said to have illustrated “elements of a Canadian identity” and these were specified as “our bilingual society, our multi-cultural heritage, [and] incidents in our history.”⁹⁰ Even efforts to promote changes that were more inclusive of difference worked from the premise that the population of the country was constituted by measurable difference and that the most salient aspect of this difference was people’s origins. “As a very high percentage of “New Canadians” do not have a British heritage and as the make-up of our population has

⁸⁷ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 134.

⁸⁸ Kirbyson et al., *Discovering Canada, Book Two*, Martinello and Evans, *Call Us Canadians*.

⁸⁹ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 83.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 105.

changed since 1945, should we not change the oath of allegiance to make it more representative of Canadians today?”⁹¹ The redundant use of tropes such as “heritage”, “roots”, “origin”, “ethnic background”, and “culture” posited a definite knowledge or a solid base of “truth” which was made to matter in the eventual shaping of the Canadian nation. The salience of origin resided in the purported distinctiveness of Canada as a happily heterogeneous place, a blissful mosaic sewn together with tangible “pieces” of difference to form a national fabric of rich intangibles that all could be proud of.⁹²

Each group of newcomers adds a piece to the mosaic that is Canada. Each contributes its traditions and culture, which help to make Canada a rich, multicultural society. The table below demonstrates the ethnic composition of Canada at various dates since Confederation. Obviously the dominance of British culture has waned. This, together with a greater influx of immigrants from many countries, has begun to change Canadian society and further strengthen the multicultural mosaic.⁹³

Although often described with terms such as “immigrants”, “ethnic group”, or “new Canadians”, the so-called “pieces” of the mosaic were deemed clearly observable and especially so in urban areas. Thus, it would seem, these textbooks were referring to racialized difference without always putting it in such terms. “Because it is to cities that most immigrants gravitate, the Canadian mosaic is seen most easily in the urban setting.”⁹⁴ This same textbook, *Forging a Destiny*, asked its readers to “discuss the statement that the Canadian mosaic is most clearly seen in an urban setting” and to answer several questions about the “pieces” of the mosaic including, “What pieces make up this thing sociologists call a “mosaic”?” and “What “pieces” of the mosaic are present in your community?”⁹⁵

⁹¹ Ibid., 284.

⁹² Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945*, 233.

⁹³ Ibid., 215.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 233.

The composition of this Canadian “ethnic mosaic”⁹⁶ was often described in terms of the contributions made by “New Canadians” who were neither of English or French “heritage”, but rather ethnic. “Quite apart from the French-Canadian heritage, many poets and writers with non-British, non-American cultural roots are today making their unique contributions to Canada’s literary arts.”⁹⁷ And while the ethnic composition of the population was important according to these textbooks, so too was the origin of the nation’s leaders. *In Search of Canada* noted that a combination of characteristics and training were common to those people who have held the post of Prime Minister and observed that having “Irish, Scottish or French ancestry” increased the chances of one who might want to obtain this position and that “all have been born into families that were either English or French in ethnic origin.”⁹⁸ Later, John Diefenbaker was said to have been “descended from “new” immigrants as well as from Scottish pioneers.”⁹⁹

In these textbooks culture was viewed as something retained and “passed from one generation to another” in a pseudo-inherited manner.¹⁰⁰ It was redundantly referred to as involving people of various ethnic origins who were distinct from a “we”, the narrator of the story, who thought about “how many cultures should we have.”¹⁰¹ The conflation of origin, ethnicity, and culture included race as well. Very often one of these terms was mentioned only in conjunction with one or more of the others. “Many different races and cultures belong to the Third World” declared *In Search of Canada*.¹⁰² In *Discovering Canada* the claim was made that “since World War II, there has been a great increase in the different races and nationalities of

⁹⁶ Kirbyson et al., *Discovering Canada, Book Two*, 193.

⁹⁷ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 109. See also, Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 102 and 294.

⁹⁸ Kirbyson, *In Search of Canada*, 320.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 333.

¹⁰⁰ Sheffe, *Many Cultures Many Heritages*, viii. See also, Martinello and Evans, *Call Us Canadians*, 55.

¹⁰¹ Kirbyson et al., *Discovering Canada, Book Two*, 503.

¹⁰² Kirbyson, *In Search of Canada*, 486.

people entering Canada.”¹⁰³ Even when critical of assimilative policies, these textbooks lumped culture and ethnicity in with race: “Assimilation is the process by which a distinct racial, cultural or ethnic group assumes the values and customs of a more dominant group.”¹⁰⁴ One textbook even defined “ethnic group” as “the racial and cultural group from which a person comes. An example of an ethnic group in Canada would be Italian or Polish Canadians.”¹⁰⁵

Race in these textbooks of the 1970s and 1980s was about real physical characteristics, including skin colour, hair texture, and head shape. It was explicitly distinguished from culture, nation, and ethnicity on one hand, but on the other hand, was persistently tied to these ideas which were similarly viewed as static and stable pieces of origin descended through the generations to fit into a mosaic of difference still dominated by white hegemonic assumptions.

“Race” in Textbooks since 2000

Largely because French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians are no longer described as races, the word “race” gets used far less frequently in the textbooks authorized since 2000 than it had in textbooks from the earlier eras. Nevertheless, a preoccupation with human type, origin, and lineage persists in narratives that resemble in form, if not content, those of the earlier textbooks. In particular, the moralizing that accompanies the narrativization of Canadian history in the current textbooks similarly depicts racist ideology and persecution as wrong without ever presenting the idea of “race” as anything but a natural and unproblematic way to think of humanity. For example, while all of the textbooks of this period refute the idea of “racial” superiority when Hitler’s conception of a master “Aryan race” is discussed, several of the textbooks substitute “Caucasian” for

¹⁰³ Kirbyson et al., *Discovering Canada, Book Two*, 496.

¹⁰⁴ Kirbyson, *In Search of Canada*, 134.

¹⁰⁵ Kirbyson et al., *Discovering Canada, Book Two*, 544.

“Aryan” as if the former were a legitimate and unproblematic way to write about racialized groups. *Spotlight Canada*, authorized for students of Grade 10 history soon after being published in early 2000, states that Hitler,

pronounced that Aryans (Caucasians not of Jewish descent and, for Hitler, particularly people of pure German descent) were the “**master race**.”¹⁰⁶

Similarly, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding* remarks that Hitler,

claimed that ‘Aryans’ (Caucasians of pure German descent) were a master race destined to rule over other races such as the Jews and Slavs of Eastern Europe, especially Poles, Czechs, and Russians.¹⁰⁷

In these passages, the textbooks have clarified the meaning of “Aryan” in two ways, both of which reinforce the idea that races exist as natural entities in the world. First, the substitution of Caucasian for Aryan refers back to Blumenbach’s 18th century “racial” classificatory system in which “Caucasian” was made to stand for a group of people deemed to be both the original human “race” and the most beautiful of all humans (i.e., the Europeans).¹⁰⁸ The second way the texts explain the meaning of Aryan is by appealing to “descent” as a way to understand the make-up of this “Caucasian race” of people. In this way, the texts give legitimacy to Hitler’s claim that an Aryan “race” exists (if only under a different name), even while making clear that its existence should not be taken to mean its superiority. In other words, the textbooks create an important space of antiracist opposition to the overtly racist notion that the so-called Caucasian “race” is the best of all “races,” but

¹⁰⁶ Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 216. Emphasis in original.

¹⁰⁷ Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 208. See also, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 158.

¹⁰⁸ Frederickson, *Racism: A Short History*, 56-58, Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, 390-412.

they nevertheless encode in a dominant manner too the idea that a “Caucasian race” does exist in the world alongside “other races such as the Jews and Slavs.”¹⁰⁹

In other textbooks, the word “Aryan” receives special clarification by being set off in bold-face type, a technique applied across the textbooks and one which directs students to look the word up in the glossary.¹¹⁰ While the glossary of *Canada: Face of a Nation* notes that it was a Nazi term for “non-Jewish persons of European descent,”¹¹¹ *Canada: Our Century, Our Story* specifies that Aryan means “the Nazi idealized race, a Caucasian gentile, especially of the Nordic type”¹¹² and so problematically perpetuates 18th century racial classifications. It is perhaps even more significant that through this bold-face technique of adding clarification to terminology, no textbook ever highlights “race” or otherwise directs students to look up or examine its meaning. That is to say, through all of these depictions of a Nazi racism that is clearly based on a belief in biologically determined races, and despite the sometimes explicit condemnation of such racisms by the textbooks, not once is the very idea of “race” made problematic or the notion of biological races refuted. To the contrary, races are promoted as objective realities that can be “correctly” identified according to scientific criterion (e.g., Aryans are actually Caucasians) and effectively explained in terms of descent. In this sense, far from being anti-racist, the current textbooks actually fix the idea of “race” more solidly than some earlier textbooks by representing it as a commonsensical way to divide people in the world.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 208.

¹¹⁰ Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 133-34. Emphasis in original. See also, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*.

¹¹¹ Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 421.

¹¹² Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 464.

¹¹³ Willinsky, *Learning to Divide the World: Education at Empire's End*.

These textbooks also represent culture as if it were “a precious genetic inheritance”¹¹⁴ transmitted through successive generations in the manner, say, of blood. Discussions about the “roots” of Canadian identity, for example, depict “ethnicity” as a natural and eternal aspect of the human condition closely correlated to descent or lineage.¹¹⁵ In *Making History*, Canadian identity is said to have been uniquely fashioned by people with different languages and religion while, in *Canada: Face of a Nation*, “ethnic background” is cited as one “predetermined” factor among several (including social class, place of birth, gender, and type of family) that helps to establish who “we” are.¹¹⁶ Whether “predetermined” should be taken to mean something like an essence is not especially clear, but it does imply a degree of immutability. Moreover, it is the amalgamation of many such predetermined identities into a diverse “ethnic composition” which is paraded as giving rise to a distinctive Canadian identity of many cultures, each of whom is “encouraged to preserve their original languages, their religions, and many of their beliefs and customs.”¹¹⁷ These cultural contributions of language, religion, and so forth seem to inhere in specific groups throughout all time. “Their” languages, “their” beliefs, and “their” customs are possessed by “them” and handed down from one generation of “them” to another throughout eternity so that “people could be Canadians and still keep some of their distinct cultural ways.”¹¹⁸

The resulting change for the implied “we” side of this equation (i.e., “non-ethnic” Canada and Canadians) is represented as both dramatic and, metaphorically, as a change to national phenotype. By this I mean that the migration of people of different “ethnic

¹¹⁴ Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, 71.

¹¹⁵ Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 28.

¹¹⁶ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 1, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*.

¹¹⁷ Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, x. See also, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 8.

¹¹⁸ Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 313.

origins,” (i.e., “of non-British and non-French settlers”¹¹⁹) into Canada is depicted as having changed the very facial structure of the nation.¹²⁰ Canada is thus represented as a living organism whose body has developed, from its simple Eurocentric beginnings, into a complex multicultural being. This emphasis on the “changing face of Canada”¹²¹ or “Canada’s Changing Population,” as graphically illustrated in *Making History* and *Spotlight Canada*,¹²² demonstrates once again a preoccupation with human type or origin not unlike that acutely obvious in textbooks from earlier generations. The textbook charts and graphs illustrate how Canada’s population, once dominated by people from Britain, France, Western Europe and the United States, came to include a greater distribution of people of “Asian”, “Central European”, or “Other” origin. At minimum, these depictions of a “radical change” to the “face” of the Canadian nation over the course of the twentieth century presuppose some pre-existing uniformity in the type of people populating Canada prior to the immigration waves and assert a substantive difference between the new arrivals and all those formerly arrived.

The immigrants who arrived in these years [1901-1914] radically changed the **ethnic composition** of the Canadian population. In the nineteenth century, most immigrants came from Great Britain and the United States. In the first decade of the twentieth century, this was no longer the case. Of the 3 000 000 immigrants who came to Canada between 1896 and 1914, almost one-half were neither British nor American in origin.¹²³

¹¹⁹ Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 9.

¹²⁰ Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 28.

¹²¹ Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 28.

¹²² Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 17, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 23.

¹²³ Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 20. Emphasis in original. See also, Bogle, D’Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 17, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 1, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 4-9.

Notions of “origin” are again highlighted as salient factors in differentiating between those who made up the old Canadian face and those responsible for changing it. But while there is an insistence on human types and human origins that parallels “old” race-thinking, the textbooks explicitly refer to these people of non-English and non-French origin who changed the face of Canada as “ethnic groups”, and not as “races.”¹²⁴ That is, “ethnic origin” has largely supplanted “racial origin.”

This is not to say that race is absent from these immigration narratives. Race is patently obvious in these narratives once it is acknowledged that “some” who attempted (but who, in large numbers failed) to enter into Canada encountered racism.

In some cases, however, there was more than intolerance – there was outright racism. As increasing numbers of non-White settlers came to Canada, many Canadians demanded that the government take action to “keep Canada White.” In the West, there was a clear government policy to exclude Black Americans from the general invitation to take up free land.¹²⁵

The idea of race is woven into these narratives about the people who were affected by racism and it is made to matter. Specifically, race is imposed upon people of colour such as African-Canadians, Aboriginals, and Asians, the primary groups deemed to be affected by racism.¹²⁶ People of colour constitute races in this sense because the textbooks present them as such in the narratives that recount their historic oppressions. It is by no means an explicit affirmation of natural or biological races, but in the absence of any discussion whatsoever about what the “race” idea might mean, it does act to naturalize race according to categories infused with biological assumptions (about skin colour and descent, for example).

¹²⁴ For example, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 10.

¹²⁵ Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 43.

¹²⁶ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 67, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 38-51, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 70.

Also, in these narratives that explicitly deal with historical racism, knowledge about race is often complicated by conflation. For example, the World War II internment of Japanese Canadians is the most discussed example of “racism at home” and clearly positions Japanese Canadians as a group conceived of as a race persecuted throughout Canadian history.¹²⁷ *Canada: A Nation Unfolding* recognizes that,

Even before the war, Japanese Canadians had been targets of anti-Asian rioting and were treated as second class citizens ... Japan’s attacks on Pearl Harbor and Hong Kong opened the floodgates of long-standing racial hostility against Japanese Canadians.¹²⁸

With nearly identical wording, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, acknowledges that “even before the war, Japanese Canadians had been targets of anti-Asian rioting and were treated as second-class citizens.”¹²⁹ In what appears to be a straightforward account of historical racism, “Japanese-Canadians” are represented as a “racial” group equated to “Asian” as though one term can indisputably stand for the other today just as it did earlier in the century. The point I am making here is not one about the limitations of language, but rather the taken-for-granted-ness of its use. The term “Asian” demands clarification, especially because it has been used historically to refer to a racialized category of people constituting a large percentage of the world’s population. None is given – as though “Asian” could not possibly be imagined as a problematic term in need of precision. Many references to historical instances of racism reflect a similarly imprecise or incoherent idea of “race.” The following excerpt from *Canada: Face of a Nation* is a good example of such muddled thinking.

¹²⁷ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 201-03, Bogle, D’Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 218-21, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 170-74, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 268-72, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 188-89, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 237-40, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 252-55.

¹²⁸ Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 252. Emphasis added.

¹²⁹ Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 189. See also, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 237.

Anti-Semitism, prejudice and hatred against Jews, and discrimination against *other racial and ethnic groups* grew dramatically [during the great depression]. These *minority groups* became targets and scapegoats; they were unfairly blamed for Canada's economic problems. Italians, Poles, and Asians were three of the *other groups* discriminated against in the workplace, being "last hired, first fired." Tensions between *various cultural groups* increased in the 1930s. Some Canadians pressured the government to stop immigration into Canada and to deport *immigrants* who were on relief. The federal government gave in to public pressure and changed the Immigration Act. Between 1930-1935, 30 000 *immigrants* were sent back to Europe.¹³⁰

It is unclear in the above passage whether "Jews" are a "racial" or an "ethnic" group and furthermore, whether other groups such as "Italians, Poles and Asians" constitute "racial" or "ethnic groups," "minority groups," "cultural groups," "immigrants," or all of the above. Who or what constitutes a "racial group" may not be obvious, but that "racial" groups generally exist is a banal given.

One new development in this latest crop of history textbooks is the formalization of a definition of racism. "Racism" is defined in the glossary of each of the textbooks authorized after 2000. "Race" is not. It simply appears as part of the definition for racism which is typically expressed as follows:

Prejudice or discrimination against a person or group because of race, culture, or ethnic difference; can also mean the belief in the superiority of one race over another.¹³¹

Racism is a form of stereotyping. A racist believes that people of one race or culture differ significantly in intelligence or ability from people of another race or culture. Racist acts occur when people punish other people because of race or culture.¹³²

¹³⁰ Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 121. Emphasis added.

¹³¹ Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 450.

¹³² Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 342. See also, Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 530, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 414.

These formal definitions of racism share some common-sense understanding about what “race” is and why it is important.¹³³ Clearly, they share an understanding that “race[s]” should not be discriminated against, nor be thought of in terms of superiority and inferiority, but they also take for granted that the reader knows what “race” is. There is, in other words, a banal quality to the term and its usage. “Race” is never highlighted as a contested idea having multiple meanings nor is it represented as a social construction. “Race” simply is. To be sure, in these textbooks, there is no obvious reason to suspect that “race” is anything different in the present from what it was in the past. “Race” is in the world and always has been. To put it differently, “race” is conceived as an objective reality, so entrenched in common-sense that it need not be defined or subjected to interrogation of any sort. In addition to representing “races” as unproblematic entities in the world, the definitions also suggest that “races” can be distinguished from such things as “ethnic difference” and “culture.” Each of these other concepts is represented as being related to “race” (since each is tied to “race” in a formal definition of racism), but also made distinct from “race” simply through the use of the conjunctions “and” and “or.” The pattern can also be observed in the textbooks’ definitions for terms other than racism. *Making History* offers “believing that one’s own race or culture is the best” as a definition for “ethnocentric”¹³⁴ and *Canada: Our Century, Our Story* defines “melting pot” as “a place where immigrants of different cultures or races form an integrated society.”¹³⁵ By defining discrimination as “unfavourable, or prejudiced treatment of an individual or group based on race, sex, appearance, income, etc.,”¹³⁶ *Canadian History* implies that “race” is one of many legitimate ways to think about human difference.

¹³³ C.f., Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, 63.

¹³⁴ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 427.

¹³⁵ Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 465.

¹³⁶ Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 446.

Thus, although the formal definitions give us a sense that race is at once related to culture, but not the same as culture (or nationality, ethnicity, colour, etc.), precisely what race *is* remains entirely overlooked. No textbook attempts to define race or to clarify what is meant when the word “race” is used.

A similar understanding is evident in the many referrals to Canadian or international human rights legislation. For example, in *Canadian History* Prime Minister Diefenbaker is said to have “brought in the Canadian *Bill of Rights*, which guaranteed all Canadians the basic freedoms of speech, worship, and assembly, regardless of race, ethnic origin, or sex.”¹³⁷ Other textbooks indicate that the 1948 United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights “speaks out against discrimination based on race, colour, sex, religion, and politics.”¹³⁸ The textbooks appear to be simply illustrating the development of civil and human rights legislation, but they also permit “race” to march along as a self-evident way of thinking about, and categorically organizing, humanity. In these narratives, races are patently obvious truths not in need of explanation or definition even if the prejudices and discriminatory actions based on them are worthy of moral condemnation and human rights legislation. Perhaps more importantly, the knowledge of “race” represented in these recent textbooks includes the idea that race is a natural fact and a legitimate and unproblematic way to distinguish humans through discourses of descent. Although nobody hollers with “blood-curdling” force about it anymore (as was the case in the 1949 textbook, *Our Canada*), blood still seems to matter.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Ibid., 272. Emphasis in original.

¹³⁸ Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 277. See also, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 294.

¹³⁹ Dorland, *Our Canada*, 128.

Old is New?: Bloody Entanglements of “Race” and Nation

Martin Barker, among others, has argued that the contestation of racism has become difficult in recent decades because old notions of biological determinism and crude ideas of racial superiority have been recoded in terms of more subtle discriminations based on cultural differences.¹⁴⁰ This analysis of state-sanctioned textbooks has found that notions of difference have indeed supplanted the crudest ideas of racialized supremacy, but also that so-called “old” ideas of race premised on ties on blood, descent, and kinship persist even in the new textbooks. Moreover, since at least the 1940s, significations of cultural difference (e.g., language, religion, and “way of life”) have been persistently linked to the inescapable determinants of descent and lineage in such a way that “race” is conceived as a hybrid formation of both culture and biology. So what is old and what is new? It would appear that the idea of an antithetical coupling positing a “new racism” functioning through culture and an “old racism” working through biological notions of inheritance is, as far as these Canadian history textbooks are concerned, a misleading distinction. The state, the Province of Ontario in this instance, has sanctioned and continues to sanction via Canadian history textbooks a kind of “race-thinking” that significantly resembles that influentially propounded in the 18th century and advanced during the heyday of European colonialism. Through a persistent and redundant emphasis on seemingly neutral categories such as origin, ethnicity, and descent, the textbooks preoccupy themselves with human typology and articulate a sense that blood matters in the constitution and construction of the Canadian nation. Race-thinking, in which blood functions as a symbol of immutable genealogical links distinguishing divisions of humanity, has pervaded the nationalist narratives of Canadian history textbooks to this day, although it has perhaps found cover under the banal camouflage of

¹⁴⁰ Martin Barker, “Biology and the New Racism,” in *Racism*, ed. Leonard Harris (Ahmerst, New York: Humanity Books, 1999).

multicultural conceptions of national identity. The resiliency of blood as a metaphor for national belonging is indicative of the persistent ties between race and nation, a situation which clearly contradicts the widely held view that the Canadian nation-state is a model of civic nationalism. That is to say, while the textbooks explicitly promote the idea of Canada as a “raceless” state in which civic rights and responsibilities define and shape the nation, in fact, race is implicitly, but pervasively, positioned as an essential and defining feature of Canada and its character. Moreover, despite it having been widely acknowledged for some time now that “race” is a social construction, these nationalist histories of Canada, defined, sanctioned, and replicated by the state as unproblematic knowledge to be transmitted to students, are riddled with representations of race as a fact of Nature.

CHAPTER 5

REPRESENTATIONS OF RACISM: "THIS IS NOT OUR CANADA"

A long-standing and pervasive feature in popular conceptions of Canadian national identity is the idealization of this country as one that is and has been uniquely tolerant, pluralistic, and free of systemic racism.¹ Racism, according to the dominant and preferred views that sustain such an enduring national mythology, does not represent a significant social problem in Canada, especially when one takes into consideration the way racism has impacted upon other nations such as the United States or when one considers the progressive steps taken by Canada to foster an identity based on the acceptance of diversity. In this respect, and somewhat ironically, the adoption in 1971 of an official policy of multiculturalism contributed significantly to upholding this myth since, from its very inception, the policy was promoted as an effective means to not only oppose racial discrimination, but to eliminate it.² Both this enduring national mythology of Canada as a land progressively and successfully ridding itself of racism and the idea that racism is stoppable were also prominently manifested in April 2004 when Canadian Prime Minister Paul Martin, in response to attacks on a Jewish school in Montreal, proclaimed shock and indignation that such a clearly racist incident could even occur. "This is not our Canada", an apparently "horror-struck" Prime Minister declared (and the national papers widely

¹ Constance Backhouse, *Colour-Coded: A Legal History of Racism in Canada, 1900-1950* (Toronto: Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History and the University of Toronto Press, 1999), 14, Bohdan Szuchewycz, "Re-Pressing Racism: The Denial of Racism in the Canadian Press", *Canadian Journal of Communication* 25, no. 4 (2000).

² See the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act*.

reported as front-page headline news).³ Racism is “unacceptable”, “un-Canadian” and “where it occurs, it should be stopped”, the Prime Minister was quoted as saying.⁴ His public statements against the crime, although certainly commendable, nevertheless situated racism as exceptional, outside the nation, and as stoppable. His message obscured both the everyday banality of racism and the salient links between the modern state and racism by sustaining the notion of racism as a practice of hatred both relatively easy to pick out and to stop. I highlight these pervasive messages about “stopping” or “eliminating” racism as an entry point into an examination of ways in which Canadian history textbooks have represented racism and, particularly, the ways in which racism has been represented in relation to the nation and national identity.

I will argue in this chapter that even though historical racisms have increasingly made their way into Canadian history textbooks as valid and important topics of study, and despite explicit efforts to clarify the meaning and consequences of racism by those responsible for the production of these textbooks, the knowledge of racism represented in these textbooks has not been dramatically altered since mid-century. That is to say, racism continues to be understood largely within a prejudice/discrimination framework that reduces racism to irrational and individualized problems of thought, behaviour, and assumption. Moreover, as I will show, through multiple techniques of containment, racism is imagined to exist within temporal and spatial locations, events, or incidents that are represented as either foreign to Canada or aberrations within Canada. The combined effect is to depict the space of contemporary Canada as one largely antithetical to racism.

³ Susan Delacourt, "Not Our Canada': Hard-Hitting Martin Condemns Racism and Racial Profiling," *Toronto Star*, Tuesday, April 6 2004, Gloria Galloway, "This Is Not Our Canada': Jewish Library Firebombed: Martin Leads Chorus of Condemnation after Anti-Semitic Attack in Montreal," *The Globe and Mail*, Tuesday, April 6 2004.

⁴ Delacourt, "Not Our Canada': Hard-Hitting Martin Condemns Racism and Racial Profiling."

In the 1940s, when the first set of textbooks analyzed in this paper were being produced, ideas about racial inequity were limited to systems of thought that adhered to theories of biological inferiority and superiority.⁵ During the 1950s and 1960s, the focus shifted to a model of prejudice and discrimination in which prejudice referred to feelings, beliefs, and assumptions about certain “racial” groups and discrimination meant the actions intended to do harm to these groups. As early as the mid-1960s, however, this model of prejudice and discrimination became viewed by many as overly focused on individuals, intentions, and subjective ideas. As the terms racism and racist entered into common parlance through the 1960s and 1970s, the explanatory emphasis began to encompass not only sets of individual and institutional attitudes and behaviours, but also institutionalized processes and practices that functioned to produce and reproduce systemic structures of race-based domination and subordination. Since that time, scholars have formulated conceptions of racism that illustrate it to be a multidimensional and normalized aspect of the everyday that is mediated through discursive formation and exclusionary/inclusionary power and which produces both domination and subjugation.⁶

In recent years, the concept of racialization has gained prominence as an analytical tool for making sense of the multiple and historically diverse ways that racisms function, by taking seriously the social construction of races and the manner in which they are subsequently included or excluded to produce consequences that deny human worth and potential.⁷ As Harris illustrates, racism and its consequences cannot be reduced to the affective domain: “It is not just

⁵ Bob Blauner, “White Radicals, White Liberals, and White People: Rebuilding the Anti-Racist Coalition,” in *Racism and Anti-Racism in World Perspective*, ed. Benjamin P. Bowser (London: Sage Publications, 1995), 126.

⁶ Dei, *Anti-Racism Education: Theory and Practice*, Philomena Essed and David Theo Goldberg, eds., *Race Critical Theories* (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), L. Harris, “What, Then, Is Racism?,” in *Racism*, ed. L. Harris (Amherst, NY: Humanity Books, 1999), Stephen May, ed., *Critical Multiculturalism: Rethinking Multicultural and Antiracist Education* (Philadelphia: Falmer Press, 1999), Miles, *Racism*.

⁷ Goldberg, *Racist Culture*, Miles, *Racism*. See also my discussion of this in chapter 1.

humiliations, stereotypes, and false forms of categorizing persons that define racism, it is the racial slavery of children, the hunger of the starving and the charred remains of racial populations designated for extermination.”⁸ By no means is there now consensus on what racism is or means, however, it is certainly widely understood that racism produces horrid social conditions and lived realities for its objects, and that it also empowers, bestows unfair advantage, and procures privilege for its benefactors through the “devaluation of the other.”⁹ The embeddedness of racism suggests that it cannot be reduced to the “hot” or “white-robed” varieties (i.e., racisms enacted by white-supremacists or neo-Nazis), but rather that it permeates the banal structures and taken-for-granted experiences that organize life.¹⁰ Racism, by such accounts, is not just a singular and extraordinary problem “in them” (i.e., racists), but a complex set of relations constituting “normal” everyday life in and around “us.” In chapter two, I referred to Hannah Arendt’s *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A report on the banality of evil* to illustrate that racism has long been theorized as more than simply an evil committed by monstrous individuals.¹¹ As evident in the textbooks examined here, however, the idea that racism is an exceptional event limited to the minds and behaviour of a few peculiar individuals and groups persists.

Racial Discrimination/Prejudice in Textbooks of the 140s and 1950s

Given that the textbooks authorized throughout the 1940s and 1950s were written and published in eras well before North American civil and human rights movements gained the sort of widespread attention that became evident by the 1960s, it should not be surprising that they

⁸ Harris, “What, Then, Is Racism?,” 437.

⁹ Memmi, *Racism*, 60.

¹⁰ Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, Montgomery, “Banal Race-Thinking: Ties of Blood, Canadian History Textbooks, and Ethnic Nationalism”.

¹¹ See the introduction to this thesis. See also, Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*, 276.

afforded minimal attention to problems centered on race or refrained altogether from using the term “racism.” However, while the exclusion of these terms was certainly understandable given the era, it was nevertheless significant that available terminology was not viewed as relevant or appropriate for inclusion.¹² In one sense then, these textbooks authorized for use during the 1940s and 1950s denied racism in the space of Canada by omission of the word itself even though related terminology such as “racial discord” and “race prejudice” were explicitly used in each of the textbooks. However, in these textbooks authorized for use from the end of WWII to 1959 only a very narrow range of historical events and issues invoked explicit discussion of race or elicited references to perceived problems associated with the notion of race. These problems of race prejudice were mentioned primarily in narratives about slavery, Nazism, and, especially, about the relations between English and French peoples in Canada.

The issue of slavery regularly appeared in history textbooks of this earliest period.¹³ None of the high school textbooks authorized during this period, however, mentioned that slavery was practiced in what was to become Canada. Rather the common emphasis was on slavery as a predominantly American institution against which Canadians fought and won. Indeed, slavery functioned as a trope sustaining the narrative representation of Canada as essentially just, particularly in contrast to the United States. The textbooks frequently emphasized that a large number of Canadians participated in what was deemed a war against slavery. In *Canada: A Nation and How it Came to Be* it was explained that “British North Americans were solidly

¹² In chapter 2, I discussed how the words racism and racist had been in use since the early 1930s.

¹³ See, for example, Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 480, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 309. Canadian history textbooks authorized for use in junior high school grades took up the topic of slavery in a similar way. Examples include, George Brown, W., E. Harman, and M. Jeanneret, *Canada in North America to 1800* (Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal: Copp Clark, 1960), 264, Dickie, *The Great Adventure*, 315, J.L. Field and Lloyd A. Dennis, *Land of Promise: The Story of Canada to 1800* (Toronto: House of Grant, 1960), 96, Aileen Garland, *Canada: Our Country, Part 1* (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, Ltd., 1960), 149-50, George E. Tait, *One Dominion: The Story of Canada from 1800 to 1900* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962), 249.

against slavery and thousands of their sons had enlisted in the armies of the North,”¹⁴ in *Building the Canadian Nation* the reader was told that “40,000 [“Canadians” were] said to have enlisted in the Northern army to fight against slavery,”¹⁵ and in *Our Canada* the claim was made that among British North Americans “human slavery appeared to be the main issue of the war, and anti-slavery feeling was quite strong.”¹⁶ While it may be true that “Canadian and British sympathies were aroused by the North’s fight against slavery”¹⁷, it was certainly not the case that the American Civil War was only or even primarily a fight against slavery. These textbooks perpetuated the myths that the war was one aimed at emancipation and that slavery was a short-lasting and benign institution in Canada or, even, an institution that had never even existed in the space that would become Canada. The consequences of this institution for the Canadian nation and the people living within its geographical borders were also unacknowledged. Indeed, as these textbooks would have it, the chief effect of “Canadian” support for and participation in the American Civil War did not even directly pertain to slavery or its racialized objects. The main consequence of Canadian involvement in the war, rather, was that the northern British colonies were pushed toward Confederation.¹⁸ In other words, the nationalist narrative of nation-building was primary.

The rise of German Nazism and the World War which followed also elicited references to race problems while similarly confining such problems to a foreign nation. The textbooks of this period were explicit about the racist intent and actions that were central to Nazi totalitarianism.

¹⁴ Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 309.

¹⁵ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 463. Junior high school textbooks gave a similar impression. For example, *The Great Adventure* claimed that “The people of the British provinces also believed slavery to be wrong and hundreds of our young men joined the North to fight for the freedom of the slaves.” See, Dickie, *The Great Adventure*, 315.

¹⁶ Dorland, *Our Canada*, 252.

¹⁷ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 384.

¹⁸ See especially, Dorland, *Our Canada*, 251-53.

Building the Canadian Nation, for example, mentioned that Nazi Germany declared for itself “a divine right to enslave the people of ‘inferior’ races” before going on to illustrate that this Nazi menace was something that the “freedom-loving peoples” of Canada and the rest of the world align themselves in stern opposition.¹⁹ Representations of this war, and Canada’s role in it, separated the racist evil of the world from the “freedom-loving” goodness within the growing national body of Canada. Containment of the race problem to Nazi Germany coincided with an omission of the salient consequences of Nazi racism. Indeed, many of the textbooks of the 1940s and 1950s spent much more attention on the military campaigns at Dieppe and Dunkirk than they did the murder of millions of Jews even though Nazi terror and inhumanity was paraded as the overarching factor in obliging Canada’s noble participation in the war.²⁰ The war functioned representationally to privilege the idea of Canada as a national body entrenched in morality and maturing into an important pillar of resistance with respect to problems elsewhere in the world.

Anti-Semitism in Canada was never broached as a topic in these textbooks. However, through references to twentieth century cruelties and uprootings that had created millions of refugees, an implicit link was made between twentieth-century Nazism and the forced expulsion of Acadians from Nova Scotia in 1755.²¹ The expulsion was generally regarded as an inevitable outcome of the war between France and Britain and Governor Lawrence was portrayed as having no other option but to carry it out. Often, the textbooks described the grief experienced by those

¹⁹ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 456. See also, Dickie, *The Great Adventure*, 411.

²⁰ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 456. See also, Garland, *Canada: Then and Now*, 388-90.

²¹ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 157, Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 101, Dorland, *Our Canada*, 98. Junior high textbooks authorized for this period were much more explicit. For example, the expulsion of the Acadians was called in *The Great Adventure*, “the same cruel deed as the Nazi expulsion of millions of people in World War II.” Dickie, *The Great Adventure*, 147. See also, Garland, *Canada: Our Country, Part 1*, 220, Garland, *Canada: Then and Now*, 144.

who were ordered to carry out the expulsion orders.²² The effect was to illustrate their humanity in a way that overshadowed the inhumane acts in which they were complicit. Indeed, this act of deportation was seemingly forgiven as a tragic yet anomalous occurrence in an otherwise flawless history. *Building the Canadian Nation* referred to the “distressing” expulsion as “the only such incident to mar the history of Canada.”²³ Other textbooks found a way to dissolve Canadian responsibility for the expulsion or reduce its overall significance through a wider historical comparison. *Our Canada*, for example, ensured that the event was read in relation to harsher uprootings carried out in other times.²⁴ *Canada: A Nation* claimed that Americans from New England were the “major offenders”, the British were not really responsible since a local official gave the expulsion orders, and that “The Canadians naturally had nothing to do with it.”²⁵ *Building the Canadian Nation* depicted the event as offering an explanation for present-day Canada’s “deep conviction” that “quarrel[s] between races” cannot be resolved “by the inhumane treatment of helpless people.”²⁶ The textbooks thus seemed to be a bit contradictory, on the one hand drawing comparisons between Nazism and the Acadian expulsion, but on the other hand, denying “Canadian” complicity in what was depicted as an anomalous event and privileging the view that the expulsion of Acadians was not an instance of oppression akin to “racial discrimination” (especially when viewed in light of the obvious race-based oppressions in Nazi Germany and slave-holding America). Such contradictions no doubt provided a potential critical space for student readers to fracture dominant representations of Canada as a nation free from histories of racial discrimination. Nevertheless, the redundant denials of racial discrimination in

²² An especially good example of this is found in *The Story of Canada* in which contemporary letters were highlighted as proof of such grief. See, Brown, *The Story of Canada*, 143.

²³ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 157, Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 101.

²⁴ Dorland, *Our Canada*, 98.

²⁵ Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 106.

²⁶ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 157, Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 101.

the space of British North America distanced the future state of Canada from the racialized oppressions that existed in that time. What is more, explicitly described race-based problems in the space that would become Canada were portrayed as involving not the oppression of one group by another, but as difficulties or troubles *between* groups.

It was this race-based and supposedly problematic *relationship between* the French and English of Canada that structured many of the narratives of this era of textbooks. Early in *Canada – A Nation and How it Came to Be* the following question was posed, “Throughout our history, French and British have differed fundamentally in outlook. What is the solution to the race question? Can we ever expect to be one people, with one language and culture?”²⁷ The authors wrote incessantly about the “two irreconcilable ways of life”²⁸, the “racial clash” within Lower Canada²⁹, the “racial cleavage” and “racial division” between the English and French leading up to Confederation³⁰, “the spectre of racial discord” centering on the issue of WWI conscription³¹, and the “narrow racialism” of the French and English in Canada during WWII.³² Throughout, the concern was for the nation and not necessarily the groups within it. That is, it was that the roads to nationhood and national harmony were jeopardized by the divisiveness of race, which was the redundant worry in these textbooks.³³ References to “race problems” that might involve groups other than the French and English were few and far between. There was some vague mention in *Building the Canadian Nation* about how contact between the Indian and white “races” had “a less happy side” for the Indian, but otherwise, problems about race prejudice

²⁷ Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 17.

²⁸ Ibid., 242.

²⁹ Ibid., 260.

³⁰ Ibid., 293.

³¹ Ibid., 413.

³² Ibid., 475.

³³ See my discussion of this in chapter 6. Also, Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 472, Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 422, 45, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 261, 96.

or racial discord were problems about French and English differences.³⁴ In other words, Canada's problem was one of race-based differences, not of race-based subjugation, and this denial of anything approximating "real" race prejudice or discrimination at home was consistent with the representations that contained such race problems to Germany and the USA.³⁵

In these textbooks authorized from 1945 to 1959, race problems in Canada were denied or obscured through geographical or national containment of these problems to places like Germany and the USA. In Canada, although problems between races were said to have existed, such problems were portrayed as existing all over the world and so as natural, or at least, not abnormal for the time.

Racial Discrimination/Prejudice in Textbooks of the 1960s

As with the first set of textbooks included as part of this analysis, these textbooks published in the 1960s and authorized throughout that decade and into the next used language that reflected the dominant tendency of the time to speak in terms of "racial discrimination" or "race prejudice." By and large, the textbooks of the 1960s represented racial discrimination/prejudice as exceptional ideas or occurrences contained to the distant past or to non-Canadian spaces. This exceptionality of racial discrimination/prejudice was represented primarily through narrative accounts of what were depicted as three isolated events of the twentieth century: the communist scare in the United States during the period from 1919 to 1921,

³⁴ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 64-65. Textbooks authorized for junior high school history also seldom spoke explicitly of race problems concerning groups other than the French and English. More typical was brief acknowledgment of certain unfair actions against certain groups, but these were never termed racisms or even race issues. See, for example, the acknowledgement in *The Great Adventure* that early European settlers greedily seized the resources and lands of the "New" world Dickie, *The Great Adventure*, 30.

³⁵ In a discussion of spying and treason during WWII, *Canada: A Nation and How it Came to Be* did observe that the Canadian government "Contrary to all our traditions ... arrested, detained, and examined various Canadian citizens without any charges being made against them" (Chafe and Lower, 1948, p.491). However, this was a "reminder that liberty can never be taken for granted", not a recognition of racial discrimination since no such terms were applied and, moreover, the citizens involved were not named in any way.

the pre-WWII rise of Nazi socialism in Germany, and the “problem of the colour bar” in America and South Africa. The textbooks of this era, when discussing the so-called “Red scare” that followed WWI, referred explicitly to discrimination made on the basis of race, but only so far as the United States was concerned. In America, an hysterical fear of Bolshevism was said to have produced extreme circumstances in which “racial and religious intolerance became part and parcel of the Big Red Scare”.³⁶ In this context, various minority and immigrant groups were said to have been targeted for racial persecution by certain organizations such as Hundred Per Cent Americans and the Ku Klux Klan, both of which sought an America that was purely “native-born, Protestant and white.”³⁷ Although the textbooks were critical of these “preposterous” organizations that were said to have terrorized “parts of the United States,”³⁸ and while they did acknowledge that other organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured Peoples fought for civil rights, sometimes more attention was given to images of white-robed Klan members and burning crosses than to the people terrorized by this organization and the consequences suffered by them.³⁹ Typically, it was explained that hooded and white-robed Klansmen burned fiery crosses at night, and baited, flogged or lynched “Negroes.”⁴⁰ Invariably, however, such sections of text as this were concluded with a redemptive indication that the popularity of the Klan had waned once “its aims and brutal methods became commonly known”⁴¹

³⁶ Hodgetts, *Decisive Decades: A History of the Twentieth Century for Canadians*, 267..

³⁷ Ricker, Saywell, and Rose, *The Modern Era*, 160.

³⁸ Hodgetts, *Decisive Decades: A History of the Twentieth Century for Canadians*, 268.

³⁹ See, for example, Nicholson et al., *Three Nations: Canada - Great Britain - the United States of America in the Twentieth Century*, 160-2. In this textbook, a photograph of a KKK rally occupied half a page and was underscored with a caption that included eight lines of text. In the text itself only two paragraphs (taking up less than half a page) described some of the consequences for “Negroes” of the KKK’s activities.

⁴⁰ E.g., Ricker, Saywell, and Rose, *The Modern Era*, 160.

⁴¹ Lambert, *The Twentieth Century*, 207.

or that, in spite of everything, “the United States was still essentially a free country.”⁴² Still, a clear picture was put forth in all the textbooks that racial intolerance, exemplified by these white supremacist organizations, was a fault inherent to America and one which made the United States prone to “periodic outbursts of extreme intolerance” during “times of great stress.”⁴³

All of this worked to stand America in very stark contrast to Canada since such “times of great stress” did not bring forth intolerant “outbursts” in this country. Neither the Ku Klux Klan nor any other white supremacist organization was said to have existed in Canada during the Red Scare. In fact, in these particular narratives there was no mention of any sort of racial intolerance or discrimination in Canada even though the discussion usually proceeded from the American Red Scare to what was happening in Canada during this same period. Rather, the textbooks created a sense that Canadians were less inclined to engage in intolerant persecution and unlikely to fall victim to the mass hysteria typified in the American reaction to Bolshevism. Canada was represented as having a series of labour strikes (e.g., the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919) which caused many people to “honestly worry” about socialism,⁴⁴ but, “much to the credit of Canada,” the “Big Red Scare” did not develop nearly to the extent that it did in the United States.⁴⁵ Unlike the intolerant outbursts in the United States, in other words, the reaction in Canada was depicted as a reasoned and level-headed response to difficult class (not race) matters.

The rise of Adolph Hitler and National Socialism in Germany and the subsequent genocide enacted by the Nazis brought forth the most in-depth discussion of racial theories within this set of textbooks. Although the textbooks criticized Hitler’s appeals to “race prejudice,” in doing so

⁴² Nicholson et al., *Three Nations: Canada - Great Britain - the United States of America in the Twentieth Century*, 162.

⁴³ Hodgetts, *Decisive Decades: A History of the Twentieth Century for Canadians*, 266-9.

⁴⁴ Ricker, Saywell, and Rose, *The Modern Era*, 173.

⁴⁵ Hodgetts, *Decisive Decades: A History of the Twentieth Century for Canadians*, 267.

they also consistently positioned Hitler and the Nazi theories and practices of racial supremacy in the realm of the mad. In *Winds of Change*, for example, “the Lunatic Fuhrer” was the title for a sub-heading in a section discussing the events of the Holocaust.⁴⁶ In *The Modern Era* the caption for a contemporary cartoon image of Hitler described him as “a madman bearing the firebrands of race hatred and repression.”⁴⁷ This emphasis on the irrationality of Nazi race prejudice in the space of Germany contrasted sharply with representations of Canada and Canadians as having been “horrificed and disgusted by Hitler’s systematic oppression and imprisonment of Jews.”⁴⁸

Racial discrimination did get displayed in discussions of the post-WWII context, and hence as a modern concern, but it was clearly perceived as an issue “there” (especially in America and South Africa) as opposed to “here” (in Canada). The so-called “problem of the colour bar” was cited as a symptom of a certain weakness in the American democracy and as a liability in efforts to promote the growth of democracy world-wide amongst the “uncommitted” nations.⁴⁹ When *Three Nations* took up this subject of “the racial problem in the United States,” Canada was said to have had a large group of sympathizers who marched in support of “negro rights.”⁵⁰ With respect to the “colour bar problem” in Africa, Canada or Canadians were sometimes represented as taking a moral stand against the brutal actions of white supremacist governments. In *Decisive Decades*, for example, “many Canadians” were indicated to have been “justifiably outraged by the resulting massacres and the brutal consequences of segregation” and to have “demanded that ‘South Africa should be thrown out of the Commonwealth.’”⁵¹ Only one

⁴⁶ Peart and Schaffter, *The Winds of Change: A History of Canada and Canadians in the Twentieth Century*, 353-54.

⁴⁷ Ricker, Saywell, and Rose, *The Modern Era*, 234.

⁴⁸ Peart and Schaffter, *The Winds of Change: A History of Canada and Canadians in the Twentieth Century*, 277-79.

⁴⁹ Hodgetts, *Decisive Decades: A History of the Twentieth Century for Canadians*, 542 Peart, 1961 #297, Lambert, *The Twentieth Century*, 379-80, Ricker, Saywell, and Rose, *The Modern Era*, 275-76.

⁵⁰ Nicholson et al., *Three Nations: Canada - Great Britain - the United States of America in the Twentieth Century*, 420.

⁵¹ Hodgetts, *Decisive Decades: A History of the Twentieth Century for Canadians*, 551-52.

of the textbooks of this era used the “colour bar” theme to introduce racial discrimination in, or rather, not quite in, Canada. This excerpt from *The Modern Era* began with the disavowal preface asserting that most Canadians opposed the violent apartheid of South Africa.

People in Canada, Britain and the United States for the most part disapprove of South Africa's policy. All over the world they are trying to establish friendly relations with the people of other races. Yet there is still colour prejudice within these three countries ... In Canada the problem is a slight one, because the coloured population is so small. The chief cause the coloured people have for resentment against Canada is that she allows only a limited number of non-white immigrants to enter the country. Incidents in which a Negro is insulted on grounds of his dark skin are rare, though they do sometimes occur. Yet if there is little colour bar inside Canada, there is a very sharp one at the ports of entry.⁵²

Significantly, the passage noted that a “colour bar” existed at the point of entry into Canada, but not actually in the space of Canada. It also asserted that Canada's racial prejudices were miniscule (especially in relation to the UK and US), implied that only the “coloured” objects of racial prejudice should resent Canadian policy, indicated that better relations between races was the cure for race prejudice, and suggested that verbal insults were the main manifestations of colour prejudice. Moreover, the logic presented through such narratives was that difference (i.e., “coloured people”) caused racial discrimination and since Canada had little difference (owing to its immigration restrictions which kept the door closed to multitudes of “coloured people”) Canada had little or no problem of racial discrimination. Like the limitations imposed upon non-whites at the point of entry into Canada, only a limited amount of knowledge about racial discrimination in Canada was permitted into the pages of this and the other 1960s textbooks.

To summarize, racial discrimination/prejudice in the textbooks authorized throughout the decade of the 1960s was marked by spatial and temporal containment. It was made recognizable

⁵² Ricker, Saywell, and Rose, *The Modern Era*, 373.

in the past through the activities of American white supremacist organizations and German National Socialists. In the present, it was consistently portrayed as “their” problem “over there” in such spaces as South Africa and the United States. Certainly, addressing matters of racial segregation and discrimination in other nation-states was a significant and critical development, yet, the silence about racial discrimination and segregation in Canada effectively denied the existence of a “color bar” problem inside the geo-political borders of Canada. In these textbooks moreover, racial discrimination, both past and present, was confined to a few flawed individuals (namely, Adolph Hitler) or irrational groups (e.g., Nazis, the KKK, and “Hundred Per Cent” Americans). The knowledge of racial discrimination/prejudice privileged by this set of textbooks was that it occurred in spaces outside of Canada and could be understood as irrational, caused by difference, and perpetrated by exceptional or abnormal individuals and groups during extreme circumstances or isolated conditions.

Racism in Textbooks of the 1970s and 1980s

Traces of those older discourses tying “racial problems” to French-English relations were still sometimes evident in these textbooks used by Ontario’s grade 10 students in the 1970s and 1980s and, like textbooks from earlier eras, they termed the “racial” tensions between French and English speaking Canadians to have threatened national cohesiveness over a long period of time. For example, following a section entitled “Violence at Red River”, *In Search of Canada* concluded by commenting that, “the tragedy of racial hatred that accompanied the establishment of Manitoba was to have long-lasting repercussions.”⁵³ Elsewhere the same text repeated those earlier representations of Prime Minister Laurier as one who carefully steered the nation through the divisive troubles of racial difference,

⁵³ Kirbyson, *In Search of Canada*, 70.

A French Canadian Prime Minister had led the country through controversies such as the Manitoba schools question and the South African War, where racial and religious differences had threatened to divide Canada.⁵⁴

“Racial and religious tensions decreased” according to *Canada's Century* simply with the election that brought Wilfrid Laurier to become the first French-Canadian Prime Minister.⁵⁵ Yet, despite this bit of continuity between these and the earlier textbooks, such explicit references to French and English tensions as “racial problems” were much less noticeable than they had been in textbooks from previous generations. Another contrast between the textbooks of the 1970s and 1980s and those that preceded them was the explicit use of “racial” to describe problems in Canada that were not necessarily problems in relations between French and English Canadians. That is, in this era of textbooks, and especially in narratives pertaining to immigration, “stereotyping”, “discrimination”, and “prejudice” were taken up explicitly as topics to be explained and comprehended as “racial” problems. In particular, there was a substantial emphasis on the relationship between immigration and prejudice in early twentieth-century Canada and then a focus on the “moderation in attitudes” that was deemed to have followed the Second World War.⁵⁶ In this way, the “racial” problems represented in the space of Canada were contained to the past by redemptive transformations that brought about a good and tolerant state in the present.

“Prejudice on the Prairies,”⁵⁷ and “The Growth of Prejudice and Discrimination” were examples of lengthy sections of text which highlighted how “Canadians” adapted to “foreigners” and “immigrants” who had arrived in Canada prior to WWII and who spoke neither French nor

⁵⁴ Ibid., 91.

⁵⁵ Evans and Martinello, *Canada's Century*, 138.

⁵⁶ Riddoch, *Our Cultural Heritage*, 362-63.

⁵⁷ Kirbyson et al., *Discovering Canada, Book Two*, 173.

English.⁵⁸ In addition to detailing the troubles caused by the arrival of these immigrant peoples during the first half of the twentieth century, these textbooks also represented Canadian immigration policy as having excluded certain groups of people from entry into Canada. The immigration restrictions imposed upon “Chinese” and “Black” immigrants were among those frequently mentioned within discussions of “prejudice” or “discrimination”, but quite often such inclusions were followed by redemptive explanations of some sort. In *Our Cultural Heritage*, for example, the recognition that immigration from “the Orient” was limited was followed immediately by explanations that made why it was done comprehensible and that depicted such “discrimination” as quite normal for the time.

One outcome of the growing prejudice and intolerance among Canadians was the demand to limit or abolish altogether immigration from southern and eastern Europe and from the Orient. This was necessary many felt in order to protect Canadian jobs and the Canadian way of life. The idea of protecting their culture from what they believed to be undesirable elements was not unique to Canadians. The Japanese themselves had thrown out all Christians and most Europeans from their shores in the seventeenth century when it seemed that Christian missionaries were threatening their Japanese values and way of life. The Chinese had tried unsuccessfully to limit to the Canton area the activities of European merchants. In Europe, various nations believed that their own particular cultures were superior to those of their neighbours.⁵⁹

Thus, in addition to positioning people from “the Orient” as clearly incongruent with things Canadian (e.g., jobs and way of life), this textbook excused Canada’s discriminatory practices as being typical for the period, even to the extent that those depicted as the objects of Canadian prejudice and intolerance were themselves practitioners of the same. Another textbook claimed that “immigrants from China faced discrimination when they applied to enter Canada as landed immigrants during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries” and went on to briefly mention such

⁵⁸ Ibid., 190-91, Riddoch, *Our Cultural Heritage*, 346.

⁵⁹ Riddoch, *Our Cultural Heritage*, 349.

restrictions as the “head tax” and the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923.⁶⁰ This example of discrimination in Canada under the heading “The Chinese – Immigration Discrimination” was, however, positioned directly above another section entitled “The Chinese – Welcome as Immigrants” in which “a change in attitude towards the Chinese” was highlighted by reference to a 1974 story about “Canadian and Chinese authorities” supporting a reunification program enabling “Chinese-Canadians to have their relatives [from China] join them in Canada.”⁶¹ By such representations, historical discrimination against the Chinese during nineteenth century up to repeal of Chinese Immigration Act of 1947 was offset and redeemed by a happy story of “some 300 Chinese” who were enabled by Canada to enter into the nation.⁶² Similarly, a “Canada then” section depicting “how Black immigrants were kept out” of Canada was juxtaposed with “Canada now” representations of Canada as more tolerant toward Blacks.⁶³ *Canada Towards Tomorrow* downplayed the fact that people racialized as “Black” and “Asiatic” were among those not welcomed into Canada by suggesting both that the immigration policy of the time really only excluded the sick and the deviant and that other sorts of discrimination occurred relatively infrequently.

During this period immigration into Canada was prohibited only to criminals, the diseased and those likely to require public support. However, regulations were manipulated *at times* to exclude non-agricultural workers, Black Americans and Asiatics.⁶⁴

According to the above excerpt, the Canadian immigration policy was manipulated by nameless entities or ghosts (for it remained unstated as to who did the manipulating) and only “at times” to exclude “Black Americans” and “Asiatics.” What is more, the apparently periodic discrimination

⁶⁰ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 289.

⁶¹ Ibid., 289-90.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Kirbyson et al., *Discovering Canada, Book Two*, 514.

⁶⁴ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 291. Emphasis added.

against these two groups was equated to that sometimes suffered by “non-agricultural workers.” Such equation of all sorts of discrimination was also evident in *Our Cultural Heritage* when, in a discussion of Sifton’s immigration policy, it was noted that “the trade union man” no matter his nationality, was not wanted,

Nor were the Asiatics wanted, whether Indian Sikhs, Japanese, Chinese or Southwest Asians. The Italian and other Mediterranean people were not officially welcome either, although the C.P.R. and other railways recruited them to work on the road beds. Blacks as well were undesirable. It was believed that they, like the Italians, were used to warm weather and would not be able to stand Canadian winters. Also they could not be as easily assimilated as the whites.⁶⁵

By this account, the discrimination experienced by “Blacks” and “Asiatics” was made equal to that of “Italians” and even union workers. It was, in other words, discriminatory, but not exclusively “racial” since class factored in as well. Additionally, the explanation about assimilation and climate tolerance worked to make sense of the exclusions as comprehensible in the age when “it was believed” by the unstated (and therefore ghostly) “norm” that such people would not be able to stand the Canadian climate nor to assimilate into whiteness.

Although much of the language used in these textbooks in reference to prejudice and discrimination was about “feelings”, “beliefs,” and “attitudes”, some texts went beyond to illustrate the material and institutional effects in particularly noteworthy ways. *Our Cultural Heritage*, for example, discussed discriminatory laws, head taxes, restrictions made upon occupations and citizenship, disenfranchisement, and violence all enacted against the “Asian population” in British Columbia and Saskatchewan.⁶⁶ Such inclusions were important insofar as they fractured the dominant reading of Canada as a racism-free place and also provided student readers with a space of radical potential to read against normalized conceptions of racism as a

⁶⁵ Riddoch, *Our Cultural Heritage*, 316. See also, Riddoch, *Our Cultural Heritage*, 347.

⁶⁶ Riddoch, *Our Cultural Heritage*, 349-50.

problem of attitude. Still, such representations minimized the complicity of Canada by containing racial prejudice to provinces within Canada. The legislations enacted by British Columbia was even noted to have been “disallowed by the federal government.”⁶⁷ Moreover, such narratives as these were sometimes concluded with indications that “Canadians” were reluctantly growing to accept newcomers and that this was beginning to shape a new and tolerant “multicultural society.”⁶⁸ I am not arguing that the historical actions of the nation were without merit, that the inclusions about the material consequences of historical racisms within the space of Canada were trivial, or that representations of a growing acceptance of diversity could not possibly have opened salient spaces of antiracist potential for student readers. Rather, I am suggesting that across these representations there was also a redundant pattern of redemptive narrativization in which Canada was positioned as a maturing multicultural body with a mind progressively tuned to doing the right (non-racist) thing.

Each of the textbooks spent a great deal of space discussing the immigration policies of the Laurier administration and the implications of this major migration of peoples into Canada in terms of putting into place the building blocks of a multicultural state. In these narrative spaces, difference in language and custom were frequently cited as the primary reason for these immigrants having met “with hostility and fear from others” and their having produced a “massive social problem” with “repercussions” that would “continue for generations.”⁶⁹

The immigration movement occurring between 1896 and 1914 differed from previous ones in Canada’s history because of the large numbers of people who came from very different cultural backgrounds. To residents of Canada, these newcomers spoke harsh-sounding languages, dressed differently, brought strange habits and customs. Thus the

⁶⁷ Ibid., 350.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Kirbyson, *In Search of Canada*, 130.

interaction between “old” and “new” Canadians proved to be confusing, difficult, and even painful for both sides.⁷⁰

There was, then, embedded in such explanations of difficulties in the interactions between “old” and “new” Canadians a clear sense that difference was the problem. Moreover, this problem was represented as one that produced consequences deemed painful not only for the new arrivals, but also to the previously established settlers who were represented as painstakingly adjusting to the newcomers.

All these newcomers were different. Their clothes, their foods, their unfamiliar smells, their languages and difficult names – all this required a lot of adjustment on the part of Canadians. One observer counted up to seventy different languages in the country. How could so many different people be blended into one? Even harder to accept than the food and dress were the unfamiliar customs of many of the immigrants.⁷¹

Not only were “old” Canadians depicted as suffering the consequences of this interaction with difference described under headings about “discrimination and prejudice”, they were themselves depicted as the objects of prejudice.

Fears and dislikes were expressed in the various uncomplimentary nicknames the ethnic groups were given. Even the British were sometimes faced with prejudice. There were many signs and advertisements for workers which warned “No British need apply” because farmers were fed up with British immigrants who did not work hard enough for the wages offered them.⁷²

Thus, while “racial prejudice” was documented as a serious problem faced by new immigrants in Canada during this period, it was also represented as having exerted serious consequences upon British immigrants. In addition, there were inclusions made that softened the effects of such historical problems upon the new immigrants insofar as they illuminated the words and actions of

⁷⁰ Ibid., 131.

⁷¹ Riddoch, *Our Cultural Heritage*, 347.

⁷² Ibid.

those previously established Canadians who stood against such prejudice.⁷³ One especially important example of this was the inclusion, under a heading entitled “Sifton Denounces Prejudice”, of a 1901 letter from Laurier’s Minister of Immigration quoting him as saying that appeals to “racial prejudice” were “ignorant”, “absurd” and “unpatriotic.”⁷⁴

The cry against the Doukhobors and Galacians is the most absolutely ignorant and absurd thing that I have ever known in my life... The policy of exciting racial prejudice is the most contemptible possible policy, because it does not depend upon reason. You can excite the prejudice of one nationality against another by simply keeping up an agitation... a more ignorant and unpatriotic policy could not be imagined.⁷⁵

Such inclusions as this had a salient role to play in opening up possibilities for student readers to engage with the absurdity and immorality of racism. However, the above excerpt also reaffirmed racial discrimination to be an irrational and ignorant matter that does “unpatriotic” damage to the state quite separate from the oppressive and dominating consequences of the “policy of exciting racial prejudice.” This quotation from Clifford Sifton could also be read as having discursively displaced immigrant experiences of racial prejudice with the noble representation of a prominent Canadian government official condemning such prejudices.

Another change from earlier textbooks was the inclusion of explicitly pedagogical narratives about racial prejudice and discrimination. These narrative sections and the various learning activities associated with them opened up the textbooks for potentially radical critique by positioning readers to engage with the historical significance of race and racism. *Our Cultural Heritage*, for example, in a section discussing “the impact of minority groups on Canadian culture,” noted that “stereotyping” was a problem faced by groups such as “Ukrainians,” “Jewish and Asian people”, “blacks”, “Germans”, and “Mennonites” and set out to explain that, in fact,

⁷³ Ibid., 357. I discuss this also in chapter 6.

⁷⁴ Kirbyson, *In Search of Canada*, 130.

⁷⁵ As cited in, Ibid.

within each of these groups there was “a variety of people who have come at different times and from different backgrounds.”⁷⁶ Another textbook conducted a “study in stereotyping” in which the words to a song were analyzed for the stereotypes they contained.⁷⁷ This “lesson” was placed in a section dealing with “Native peoples in Canada” and it concluded that “the song contain[ed] stereotypes of both Indians and non-Indians” (implicitly assuming therefore that the latter has been equally as harmful and persistent as the former). The definition offered by this text also trivialized the effects of stereotyping by equating all forms: “A stereotype is an oversimplified – and often misleading – image of people or a group; for example, the crabby teacher, the penny pinching Scotsman, the dumb athlete.”⁷⁸ *Call Us Canadians*, brought to the attention of the reader the real and potential violence resulting from the practice of stereotyping and did so explicitly by inserting the salience of race.

Unfortunately the practices of stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination against certain groups are present in many societies. Often it is applied by one race of people against another or by one ethnic group against another. This sometimes leads to conflict and violence. The racial problems of the United States in the past have been the results of prejudice and discrimination.⁷⁹

While the consequences of stereotyping on the basis of race were made clear by such an example of “racial problems,” and while “many societies” were deemed to experience such problems, only the United States was specifically identified as one such society and only “sometimes” were “conflict and violence” deemed to result from such racial stereotyping. Thus, in addition to creating a space of possibility for student readers, these pedagogical lessons about racial stereotyping also supported the logic that racial discrimination produced serious consequences

⁷⁶ Riddoch, *Our Cultural Heritage*, 370.

⁷⁷ Kirbyson et al., *Discovering Canada, Book Two*, 136.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Martinello and Evans, *Call Us Canadians*, 45-46.

only in extreme cases and, moreover, that problems of racial discrimination were significant only beyond the borders of Canada.

There was also in these textbooks greater pedagogical attention given to helping students understand the feelings of the supposedly different Other who was on the receiving end of discrimination. This was done often through stories such as one about Sandor Hunyadi, a Hungarian immigrant, who was scolded by his father for fighting those “English” kids who made fun of his “foreign” name and language.⁸⁰ The father criticized the other boys for calling his son a foreigner in a land in which “we are all foreigners”, but also admonished the son for not reasoning with the other boys and for exhibiting through words a “prejudice against the English.”⁸¹ Through such accounts, offensive language, name-calling in particular, was made the defining consequence of a racism that was represented as avoidable if only the object of that racist language were to reason with the name-callers. The textbooks likewise aimed to assist student readers in comprehending the attitudes of the apparently normal and not so different Self who did the discriminating. Evident in these representations of difficulties concerning difference was a taken-for-granted assumption that readers of the textbooks were a “we” fundamentally different from “new” cultures and, in addition, a dependence upon stereotypical images (e.g., large and noisy families) to depict these new cultures.

When we are faced with these differences in our personal lives ... conflicts may occur....If a family next door behaves differently than we have come to expect neighbours to behave, we will not perhaps be as tolerant of cultural differences as we would like to be. What if your immigrant neighbours like privacy and thus allow their shrubs and tress to grow bush-like around their house? What if they decide to allow other relatives to live with them and their house gets overcrowded and noisy? You might think that they should adapt to their new culture and act like the other neighbours do. Often we agree with the idea of a Canadian cultural mosaic more in theory than in practice.⁸²

⁸⁰ Kirbyson, *In Search of Canada*, 131-32. See also, Riddoch, *Our Cultural Heritage*, 369.

⁸¹ Kirbyson, *In Search of Canada*, 131-32.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 131.

The above excerpt positioned the reader as part of a Canadian, non-racist (i.e., tolerant), “we.”

As was the case in the textbooks from the 1960s, these texts of the 1970s and 1980s attended to three particular extreme variants of racial problems. In representations of the period of the 1920s and 1930s, for example, Canada was said to have had extremist groups who made “ethnic minorities” and “immigrants” the objects of their discrimination.⁸³ Though similar to the earlier textbooks insofar as the Ku Klux Klan was the most often mentioned of these extremist groups and poor economic times represented as the reason for their influence, these newer representations differed significantly since they illustrated that Canada, in fact, has such groups and, moreover, that some of the groups even originated in the space of Canada. As one textbook put it,

Organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan, an anti-immigrant group whose roots were in the United States, were also loud in opposition. So, too, was the National Association of Canada, an anti-immigrant group originating in the West. The arrival of the non-British people threatened the “purity” of the British stock.⁸⁴

Nazism too continued to receive treatment as a racially motivated and extreme evil in world history although, as it had been in textbooks from the previous decade, it was represented as somewhat removed from Canada excepting those instances where Canada’s role in fighting it was noted or references to the newly emerged topic of “the Holocaust” and what significance it held for Canada and Canadian immigration policy.⁸⁵ The other “extreme” variant of racism so evident in the 1960s textbooks (i.e., the “problem of the colour bar”) seemed to undergo a bit of a transformation since the “problem” was no longer referred to in such terms. It was, however, still

⁸³ Kirbyson et al., *Discovering Canada, Book Two*, 305.

⁸⁴ Riddoch, *Our Cultural Heritage*, 357.

⁸⁵ Kirbyson et al., *Discovering Canada, Book Two*, 383.

mentioned as a problem “there” in South Africa. In *Forging a Destiny*, for example, South Africa was stated to have had “its own problems, because of its policy of apartheid (racial segregation).”⁸⁶ *Canada’s Century* included four photographs illustrating “how non-whites suffer racial discrimination in South Africa.”⁸⁷ *Canada Towards Tomorrow* also noted that “white minority governments continue their rule over black majorities in Rhodesia and South Africa.”⁸⁸ These situations were depicted as posing a foreign policy dilemma for Canada in terms of how Canada was to engage in relations with the states that condoned such white supremacy. According to *Canada’s Century*,

Canada also faces some difficult decisions concerning racism. Two countries pose the biggest problem. These are Rhodesia and South Africa. In both countries, the majority of people are black. However, in each case the white minority rules. The blacks are denied basic rights, including an equal voice in their government. Canada has many ties with both countries. Most of these are economic, involving trade and investment.⁸⁹

In these textbooks of the 1970s and 1980s, the “treatment of Japanese Canadians” emerged as a representation of the worst incident of discrimination in Canada’s history.⁹⁰ It was referred to by *Canada Towards Tomorrow* as “One of the great scandals of Canadian history” and by *Canada’s Century* as “one of the most shameful acts in Canadian history.”⁹¹ *Discovering Canada* stated that “by far the most serious and shocking case of the violation of human rights involved Japanese-Canadians.”⁹² This example, or “case study” as one textbook put it,⁹³ of discrimination against “Japanese” was also used intentionally to “help [the student reader] understand some of the reasons behind people’s prejudices against those of another racial

⁸⁶ Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945*, 58.

⁸⁷ Evans and Martinello, *Canada’s Century*, 459.

⁸⁸ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 380.

⁸⁹ Evans and Martinello, *Canada’s Century*, 458.

⁹⁰ Riddoch, *Our Cultural Heritage*, 357-61.

⁹¹ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 294-6, Evans and Martinello, *Canada’s Century*, 182-84.

⁹² Kirbyson et al., *Discovering Canada, Book Two*, 390.

⁹³ Kirbyson, *In Search of Canada*, 306.

group.”⁹⁴ “Discrimination against Orientals” was also used to assist students in developing skills in historical methodology when students were asked to weigh the evidence, think through, and consider the “hypothesis” that “In their treatment of Japanese Canadians during World War II, Canadians panicked and acted on the basis of a racial stereotype.”⁹⁵ Significantly, it was merely a hypothesis, not a historical fact, that “racial stereotyp[ing]” played a fundamental role in shaping the actions directed against people racialized as Japanese during the war years. Even though *Our Cultural Heritage* made the material consequences of such “treatment” apparent by documenting the relocation of Japanese Canadians to internment camps, the forced labour they were subjected to, the confiscation of their property, and the deportation of Japanese Canadians, it nevertheless framed such important narratives with beginnings and endings that made such discrimination both comprehensible and justifiable in its time. For example, the documentation of discrimination against Japanese Canadians was preceded by a representation of the Japanese imperial army’s invasion of Hong Kong and an explanation that the Canadian government “responded quickly” to the Japanese having “killed or captured the two thousand man Canadian contingent stationed there.”⁹⁶ At the end of this section, it was explained that “during the war the Japanese were not the only ones who suffered” and examples were given to illustrate that German Canadians, Canadian Hutterites, Jehovah’s Witnesses, and Italian Canadians also were subjected to hardships by the Canadian state. While the textbook did acknowledge that “despite the very real hardships suffered by such groups as these, the treatment of the Japanese was by far the most unjust,” such techniques nevertheless worked to mitigate the explicit racism involved in the oppression experienced by Japanese-Canadians.

⁹⁴ Sheffe, *Many Cultures Many Heritages*, viii and 298.

⁹⁵ Kirbyson et al., *Discovering Canada, Book Two*, 37-42.

⁹⁶ Riddoch, *Our Cultural Heritage*, 358.

In representations of Canada since 1945, the main focus of this set of textbooks, Canada was depicted as maturing into a compassionate, just, and tolerant state. Immigration policy was depicted as a “reflection of [Canada’s] overall values and attitudes” and it was generally represented that the years following World War II brought about more moderate and tolerant attitudes.

In the post 1945 years, there were signs that Canadian society was becoming more open-minded and tolerant. Among Canadians generally there was an awareness that the “New Canadians” were people who worked hard and shared many of the same values as native-born citizens. The racial prejudice which had made life so miserable for Chinese and Japanese people began to die down... In this more tolerant atmosphere, changes took place in the immigration regulations... There was to be no more discrimination based on national origin or race.⁹⁷

It would seem, from these textbooks of the 1970s and 1980s, that the intentions of the new immigration regulations successfully rid all of Canada (and not just the immigration ministry) of any further discrimination since, in representations of Canada closer to the present, references to racial discrimination or racism were few and far between. In one example, *Canada Towards Tomorrow* noted that Joseph Drybones, “an Indian,” had been discriminated against on the basis of race in 1969, but did this only in the context of illustrating how the Supreme Court of Canada had overturned the conviction originally handed to Drybones two years earlier.⁹⁸ Thus, while perhaps not entirely void of representations of “Canadian” racism in the present, these textbooks were nonetheless inclined to depict Canada as relatively racism-free in the years following World War Two.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 365.

⁹⁸ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 281. A page later this same textbooks discussed how two unnamed “Sikhs” were “discriminated against because of their religion” in 1974 and how the Ontario Human Rights Commission successfully dealt with the case.

In these textbooks of the 1970s and 1980s, there was a de-emphasizing of French-English relations as explicitly “race-related” and a more substantial focus on historical incidents of prejudice and discrimination pertaining to matters of immigration. Stereotyping and discrimination on the basis of race were taken up explicitly as knowledge necessary to comprehend Canadian history. The word “racism” also entered into this set of textbooks and was described in ways consistent with the prejudice/discrimination framework. Racism was represented, that is, largely as a defect of attitude even when the material consequences were noted. The US, Nazi Germany, and South Africa remained the quintessential places “containing” racism, but Canada was recognized to have had its own experiences of racial discrimination, most notably concerning the internment of Japanese-Canadians during WWII. Such historical racisms as these, however, were consistently represented as trivial in the larger order of things and as long ago ended, redressed, or overcome by a post-WWII temperance in Canadian attitude.

Racism in Textbooks since 2000

One of the most striking differences between the older textbooks of the 1960s and the new ones authorized since 2000 is the prominence given to racism. For example, racism is now explicitly made the theme or topic of narrative sections⁹⁹ and included in the indices of each of the textbooks.¹⁰⁰ Each of these indices directs the reader to “see also” a number of other concepts, particularly “prejudice”, “discrimination”, and “inequality.” In one textbook, *Canadian History*, racism appears to be perceived as equivalent to “intolerance” since under the listing for “racism”

⁹⁹ E.g., Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 19.

¹⁰⁰ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 435, Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 540, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 434, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 529, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 470, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 459-65, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 426.

there are no page numbers, but rather only a direction to “see also intolerance.”¹⁰¹ Racism is also formally defined in these textbooks published in 2000. In the glossary of terms within *Canada: A Nation Unfolding*, “racism” is defined as “a belief in the innate superiority of one race to another race.”¹⁰² In, *Canadian History*, racism is declared to be, “prejudice or discrimination against a person or group because of race, culture, or ethnic difference; can also mean the belief in the superiority of one race over another.”¹⁰³ In *Continuity and Change* “racism” is defined in the glossary as “prejudice or hatred based on race, colour or nationality”¹⁰⁴ and explained within the text to be,

A form of stereotyping. A racist believes that people of one race or culture differ significantly in intelligence or ability from people of another race or culture. Racist acts occur when people punish other people because of race or culture.¹⁰⁵

These formal definitions privilege a view of racism as something residing within individuals, and more specifically, within individual attitudes and beliefs. Racism, by such accounts, is a singular and extraordinary problem in “them” (i.e., racists) that gets imposed upon certain groups (i.e., races, cultures, ethnicities, or nationalities - according to the definitions) presumably because of their differences from some unstated norm.

In the introductory pages of these textbooks, Aboriginal peoples are frequently the only group of people deemed affected by the racism in turn-of-the-nineteenth-century Canada. *Canada: A Nation Unfolding* claims that Aboriginal peoples “faced racism and exploitation and [became] the poorest group in a country whose wealth attracted immigrants from all over the

¹⁰¹ Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 464.

¹⁰² Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 414.

¹⁰³ Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 450.

¹⁰⁴ Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 530.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 342.

world.”¹⁰⁶ In *Canadian History*, conservative estimation or vagueness about the extent to which racism touches the lives of people in Canada similarly positions Aboriginals as the objects of racism.

Aboriginal peoples and women continued to live largely on the margins of Canadian society. Intolerance and racism affected the lives of *some* Canadians.¹⁰⁷

In fact, across the textbooks of this era, a pattern is obvious through which Aboriginals along with certain other groups of people (especially those identified as “Chinese”, “Japanese”, “Sikh”, and “Black”) are portrayed as having suffered the consequences of a racism that seemingly produced little in the way of privilege or power for anyone. Not only is the historical power and privilege of people racialized as white implicitly denied through such representations, these people are themselves said to have suffered from racism-like oppression. This is evident when the “pain of prejudice” encountered by the English and Ukrainians, “the Home Children,” or people from Scotland is juxtaposed with similarly represented experiences of immigrants from such places as Japan, China, and India.¹⁰⁸ For these textbooks either racism seems to stand for all sorts of discrimination, or all discriminations, including racism, are equal. When all immigrants are represented as having experienced prejudice or discrimination that is equated to racism, both the specificity and severity of racism experienced by people of colour is denied. These depictions of racism as something experienced by almost everyone entering into the country also make racism comprehensible as having occurred in an exceptional time. In other words, racism

¹⁰⁶ Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 6.

¹⁰⁷ Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 19, emphasis added.

¹⁰⁸ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 18, Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 22, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 24, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 22.

in Canada is contained to a period of the past in which discrimination of all sorts made life for all immigrants difficult.

In addition, the focus on immigration and the difficulties for immigrants illustrates this period to be one in which the roots of present-day Canadian multiculturalism were established and, in so doing, projects a glorified image of those responsible for the immigration policy (i.e., Wilfrid Laurier and Clifford Sifton) in ways that contain racist aspects of the policy to spaces beyond the state and its officials. Sifton, in particular, is cast as exceptionally tolerant and liberal-minded. For example, in *Canada: Our Century, Our Story* he is described as “bluntly indifferent to old immigration policies that favoured British and English-speaking immigrants” and in *Making History* he is said to have “condemn[ed] racial prejudice as contemptible ... ignorant and unpatriotic.”¹⁰⁹ In this way, Sifton is represented not as the instigator of so-called “open-door” immigration policies that actually preferred whites over others, but as someone on the side of justice and racial tolerance. Generally, the textbooks explain only that Sifton wanted immigrants who were hard-working farmers capable of withstanding extremes in climate and that he believed the people of eastern and northern Europe to be most desirable in meeting these qualifications.¹¹⁰ While the harsh reception that greeted the many immigrants who entered into Canada in the early years of the twentieth century is acknowledged in every textbook, it is often only after the textbooks note the openness of Minister of Immigration Clifford Sifton’s policy and declare that people were arriving from all over the world when it is divulged that not everyone, in fact, was welcomed by the policy.¹¹¹ In *Canada: Face of a Nation*

¹⁰⁹ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 18, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 10.

¹¹⁰ Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 4-5, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 22-23, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 23-24.

¹¹¹ E.g., Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 10.

acknowledgement that “not all were welcomed” by Canada comes only several pages after a lengthy discussion about how immigration was “encouraged” and, even then, refers to Sifton’s immigration policy as “his initial generous open-door policy.”¹¹² This pattern of describing the “openness” of the policy and referring to it in the language of the day (e.g., open-door) first, before any discussion of the restrictive nature of the policy, represents the policy as essentially tolerant and fair, although not without its faults. Only *Spotlight Canada* comes right out and declares this policy to have been “discriminatory”.¹¹³ Even this admission, however, comes four pages after the introduction of Sifton’s “open-door” policy and an explanation of how it permitted Europeans and Americans to establish large and successful farms, and to escape religious persecution, hunger, poverty, and other problems associated with industrialization.¹¹⁴

Another pattern is evident in representations of Canadian immigration policy: the positioning of all the wonderful opportunities (even the opportunity to escape from “racial persecution” according to *Canada: Face of a Nation*) in the foreground of these narratives while situating the discriminatory aspects of the policy as narrative tag-ons that blur only some of the gleam from the happy story that sees Canada as a sanctuary to many, if a bit intolerant to some.¹¹⁵ Moreover, this approach to tagging on the history of discriminatory immigration practices permits the textbooks to maintain the premise that this period in Canadian history sowed “the seeds of ethnic diversity.”¹¹⁶ Despite, then, some recognition that Sifton’s campaign had its faults, the immigration policies of Laurier and Sifton are consistently shown to have successfully filled the country with diverse peoples and to have so anchored the nation in diversity that the

¹¹² Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 4-9.

¹¹³ Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 26.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 22-23.

¹¹⁵ Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 12.

¹¹⁶ Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 26.

more strict and blatantly racist policies of the next immigration minister, Frank Oliver, could never really take root. For example, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding* follows a description of Olivier's restrictive immigration policy with a claim that implies none of it mattered anyway since Sifton's more generous policy won out.

In spite of Olivier's policies, non-English-speaking immigrants from many countries continued to flow into Canada until the outbreak of war in 1914. The Laurier years marked the real beginning of the Canadian **cultural mosaic**.¹¹⁷

The impression created by these depictions of a mosaic of peoples entering into Canada and coming eventually to live more or less harmoniously together so that "churches, synagogues, and temples soon became part of the Canadian urban landscape" is that these racisms were contained to a brief and exceptional period in time.¹¹⁸

The exceptional circumstances of war also elicit representations of racism in Canada. Each of the textbooks of this most modern period looks at the role of "wartime prejudice" in the war of 1914-1918.¹¹⁹ The focus is primarily on discriminatory practices that discouraged or prohibited enlistment or promotion. *Canada: Face of a Nation*, in referring to African-Canadian and Aboriginal efforts to participate in the war, explicitly utilizes the term "racism" to describe the barriers faced by these groups of people.

The Canadian government officially condemned racism but in practice did not actively recruit African Canadians ... African-Canadian soldiers were still not considered as equals and continued to be segregated, even in hospitals¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 24. Emphasis in original. As if to highlight the historical irrelevance of Oliver's policy, another textbook presents students with an opportunity to defend Olivier's clearly racist immigration policy, an exercise which is, to say the least, pedagogically problematic (see Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 28.)

¹¹⁸ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 21. See also, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 29, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 24. and compare with Hodgetts, *Decisive Decades: A History of the Twentieth Century for Canadians*, 24.

¹¹⁹ Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 41.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 51.

Making History speaks of prejudice and discrimination against Chinese and Japanese Canadians in addition to African-Canadians and Aboriginals.

Canadians of other origins were also eager to enlist. The record was held by Aboriginal men [but many] Japanese-Canadians ... also volunteered. Because of strong prejudice against them in their home province, however, many enlisted with units in Alberta... African-Canadians were barred from enlisting, but they pressed for the opportunity to serve in the armed forces. The military partially relented, forming the No. 2 Construction Battalion, a segregated work unit commanded by white officers ... Discrimination prevented most aboriginal, Asian, and African-Canadian recruits from becoming officers.¹²¹

The above passage acknowledges not only the existence of prejudice, but also of structural impediments to advancement in the military for these people and the Canadian military's reluctance to remove discriminatory barriers. Sometimes, however, these sections describing the racist barriers faced by minoritized peoples end with uplifting conclusions that illustrate a tolerant transformation on the part of the Canadian military such that First Nations and Black men were "allowed" to enlist by the end of the war.¹²² What is more, in these redemptive teleological narratives of the good white nation, it is emphasized that any racism occurring in Canada during WWI was also happening throughout the world.

In 1914, Canada was in many ways a racist society, officially and unofficially – *as was the rest of the world*. Most people had little understanding of prejudice, stereotyping, discrimination, and racism, despite the abolition of slavery in the nineteenth century. For Black Canadians, the first battle of WWI was for the right to enlist.¹²³

That most of the world was racist to some extent excuses the racism admitted to have existed in Canada during this era. Indeed, since the battles for these racially excluded groups were

¹²¹ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 67.

¹²² Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 53-57.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 57.

eventually won with their having gained permission to enlist in the Canadian military, Canada is represented as a much better place than the rest of that racist world.

The issue of prejudice also arises in narratives purporting to explain historical “transgressions at home” during WWI. One of these transgressions frequently cited is the internment of Germans, Ukrainians, and Austro-Hungarians. This internment is cast as a transgression based on fear and directed against certain minority groups who only recently were the desired targets of immigration policies.¹²⁴ The emphasis on “fear” and the irrational reversal in treatment toward once favorable groups, implies that war and its passions are the root cause of the injustices meted out toward these groups of people. It follows from this narrative logic that such prejudices would be unlikely in “normal” (i.e., non-war) times. *Continuity and Change* writes that Ukrainians were treated “with hatred and prejudice” despite their having “done nothing wrong”¹²⁵ and *Canada: A Nation Unfolding* refers to this internment as evidence of “the dark side of Canadian patriotism.”¹²⁶ The connecting of “patriotism and prejudice” suggests that overzealous concern for the nation’s well-being (and not necessarily a strategic organization of oppression against specified populations deemed problematic because of their putative difference from Canadian “norms”) was to blame for the transgressions. This has the effect of making the internment comprehensible, even forgivable or tolerable, given the unusual times in which the nation was thought to be threatened.

The representation of a particular individual within these depictions of the First World War, Sam Hughes, deserves attention here too. In each of the textbooks Hughes is pointed out to have

¹²⁴ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 100-01, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 52, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 87.

¹²⁵ Bogle, D’Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 36.

¹²⁶ Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 91. See also, Cruyton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 75-76.

been a significant World War I figure for Canada. Though particular oddities of character and certain inadequacies regarding his military leadership are discussed, generally his business skills and other favourable qualities are highlighted.¹²⁷ Unlike previous generations of textbooks that touted Hughes as a picture of intolerance, these textbooks seem inclined to represent him as misunderstood, and perhaps even more compassionate and tolerant than those around him. In *Canadian History*, for example, it is claimed that Hughes rejected the idea of enlisting Native peoples on the grounds that, if any were captured, they might not be treated compassionately by the Germans.¹²⁸ *Canada: Face of a Nation* most forcibly takes up the battle to redeem Sam Hughes.

[Sam] Hughes has been accused of being narrow-minded and racist. He presented a contradictory picture. He rebuked an officer who wrote to him and explained that a Mohawk officer seemed to be efficient but was resented by other troops because of his back ground. Hughes rejected such comments and several Aboriginal and Métis soldiers served as officers in the Canadian army. When a number of soldiers of colour asked to form their own regiment he refused, saying he would not organize regiments according to colour just as he would not organize a regiment of blue-eyed soldiers. Instead he ordered his officers to accept soldiers of colour into regular army regiments.¹²⁹

This is, first of all, consistent with the idea that racism is an individual moral failing, although it is an unusual reference in so far as it identifies, by name, a Canadian government official (as opposed to policies of the government, non-government individuals such as Adrien Arcand, or foreign individuals such as Adolph Hitler) as having been viewed as racist. It is also interesting to note, however, that there is no contradiction evident in the passage even though the passage itself claims such to be the case. That is, no examples are given to illustrate why many people have presumably thought Hughes to have been a racist. The examples given actually affirm in

¹²⁷ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 69, Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 92, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 66.

¹²⁸ Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 70.

¹²⁹ Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 38.

him some opposition to racism and to race-thinking. In this way, a redeemed Sam Hughes does not seem to present much of a contradictory picture at all, but rather appears even to be ahead of his time in pointing out the illogic and injustice of thinking, and acting, in terms of race. Here racism gets denied via a dissection of an extraordinary individual in an extraordinary time. That is, upon close inspection, these modern textbooks reveal that Hughes was not really a racist, but rather one deserving of representative redemption insofar as he “really” stood against discriminatory treatment on the basis of race in an era in which it was exceptional for one to do so.

Another form of temporal containment involves explicit associations of racism with poor economic times and this occurs especially through descriptions of the various disparities that accompanied the economic downturn following the end of the First World War. One textbook, *Canada: Face of a Nation*, titles a chapter section “Prejudice and Discrimination Increases” and explicitly ties a poor economy to an increase in racism.

Bad economic times are usually accompanied by an increase in prejudice, discrimination, and racism. During the prosperous times of the 1920s Canadians had been quite happy to let immigrants have the jobs that required hard physical labour, such as jobs in construction, or that were low paying, such as cleaning and factory jobs. But these attitudes changed dramatically with the Great Depression. Suddenly these jobs became very appealing to unemployed Canadians. Anti-Semitism, prejudice and hatred against Jews, and discrimination against other racial and ethnic groups grew dramatically.¹³⁰

This same textbook includes a “checkpoint” question that reaffirms the relationship between economy and discrimination by asking, “Why does prejudice and discrimination increase during bad economic times?”¹³¹ The question, framed as “why does it?” and not as “Does it,” precludes any argument against this linkage between economy and discrimination. In the activity section

¹³⁰ Ibid., 121.

¹³¹ Ibid., 122.

students are asked to use the textbook to take a position on the statement, “I agree with the idea that bad economic times increases prejudice and discrimination.”¹³² However, there is nothing explicit in the text to support an opposing viewpoint (i.e., that bad economic times do not increase intolerance) or to defend a position quite different than the binary proposed (for example, that racism exists in both good and bad economic times). Other textbooks similarly utilized the trope of economic impoverishment, particularly when the Depression of the 1930s becomes the focus of the narrative, to support the logic that racism is the abnormal condition. *Canadian History*, for example, writes of the activities of the Ku Klux Klan, anti-Semitism, and spreading hatred against Blacks and foreigners in the 1930s and claims that such practices demonstrate “how intolerance can grow in bad economic times.”¹³³ I do not want to be misunderstood here. I am not suggesting that impoverishment, economic or otherwise, is *not* a contributing factor or possible condition in the production of racisms. I am arguing, however, that these textbooks represent racism as if it were a disease that is enabled only (or primarily) when the national body’s immune system is weakened through impoverishment and that they do not conceive of racism as possible in the normal (healthy) Canadian body.

Within this period of the Canadian past, in which racism in the space of Canada is made comprehensible as a consequence of poor economic conditions, racism is further limited to its extreme forms. This is evident especially in representations of the post-WWI years when the activities of the Ku Klux Klan are highlighted. *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, for example, explains that in the 1920s, “extremist anti-immigration groups such as the Ku Klux Klan ...

¹³² Ibid., 128.

¹³³ Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 156.

opposed immigration of non-English speaking, non-Protestant, non-White peoples.”¹³⁴ *Canadian History* observes that ,

A few Canadians demonstrated their racist outlook in extreme and occasionally violent ways. The American White supremacist movement, the *Ku Klux Klan* (KKK), was active in Canada in the 1920s and 1930s.¹³⁵

The story of the “*American* White supremacist movement” in Canada ends here as if the KKK and other white supremacist organizations vanished from Canadian space by the end of the 1930s. Moreover, only “a few Canadians” are said to have carried their ideas beyond thought or the acceptance of “certain practices that we would not tolerate today – for example, the refusal of some restaurants to serve Blacks.”¹³⁶ This sort of representation privileges a view of racism as a problem “in the head” that only uncharacteristically and episodically manifests “in the world.”¹³⁷

The limitation of racism to an extreme form is most evident in depictions of the rise of fascism and anti-Semitism up to and throughout WWII. As in the textbooks of the 1960s, these representations of racism deal with Nazi Germany and focus largely on the person of Adolph Hitler, often through biographical descriptions that explain his long-held individual prejudices and his belief in the superiority of an Aryan race.¹³⁸ There are frequent observations that the Nazi party, as a whole, was racist. For example, *Canadian History* notes that Hitler’s “racism appealed to his supporters in the Nazi party,” *Canada: Face of a Nation* states that “the Nazis

¹³⁴ Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 98.

¹³⁵ Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 124-25.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Judith Lichtenberg, “Racism in the Head, Racism in the World,” in *Race, Class, Gender, and Sexuality: The Big Questions*, ed. Naomi Zack, Laurie Shrage, and Crispen Sartwell (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 1998).

¹³⁸ E.g., Bogle, D’Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 197, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 148, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 199. Note that the racisms of Fascist Italy and Benito Mussolini are largely ignored in *Making History* and *Canadian History* and glossed over in the other textbooks, thus, replicating Italian nationalistic denials of WWII racism. Ruth Ben-Ghiat, “[Review of the Film *Life Is Beautiful*],” *American Historical Review* 104 (1999).

preached racism,” and *Making History* puts it bluntly that “The Nazi Party was deeply racist.”¹³⁹

These statements about an entire group being racist perhaps move away slightly from the individualized notion of racism; however, they do this only by containing racism to a radical and morally-flawed collection of people and by reducing racism to its most extreme and obvious form. Thus, racism gets equated to Nazism and both exist only in the domain of irrational “hatred against others.”¹⁴⁰

The other important aspects to this representation of wartime racism have more to do with representations of Canada. One is the description of Canadian complicity in wartime anti-Semitism and another is the emphasis given to Canada’s role in defeating Hitler and the Nazis. In these textbooks, more than in any of the textbooks from previous generations, Canada’s complicity in the tragedy that befell Jews before and during WWII is taken up and condemned as shameful by the textbooks. Several of the textbooks even include entire sections examining topics entitled “anti-Semitism in Canada.”¹⁴¹ Some of the textbooks begin by explaining that Canada’s anti-Semitism was actually part of a widespread international phenomenon while others suggest that it was due to the economic hardships of the time.¹⁴² *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, for example, explains that,

There was massive unemployment and economic hardship, and people were looking for someone or something to blame. For some Canadians, such hardship made Hitler’s anti-Semitic views less offensive.¹⁴³

¹³⁹ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 163, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 133-34, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 199.

¹⁴⁰ Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 133-34, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 208.

¹⁴¹ E.g., Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 162. See also, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 199.

¹⁴² E.g., Bogle, D’Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 190, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 218.

¹⁴³ E.g., Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 175.

Canada's meager contribution with respect to accepting Jewish refugees is noted in most of the textbooks, often through the example of the *St Louis* being refused entry into a Canadian port.¹⁴⁴ In *Making History*, for example, mention is made that Canada was the refugees' last hope and that because of the refusal to permit these people to enter the country many of the refugees aboard the ship ultimately died in concentration camps.¹⁴⁵ This and other textbooks highlight the Canadian government's role in keeping Jewish immigration to a minimum and in so doing highlight Canadian complicity in the Jewish Holocaust.

Canada acted no differently from its allies in rejecting the *SS St. Louis* refugees. But Canada's overall record for helping Jewish refugees was much worse than theirs ... immigration bureaucrats who kept Jewish refugees out were complying with Ottawa's unspoken wishes.¹⁴⁶

While King recognized that the Nazis were persecuting Jews and other groups, he saw no need for Canada to become involved. Many Jews tried to escape from Germany in the 1930s. They looked for countries that would accept them as **refugees** – especially the United States, Canada, Britain, and Australia. In Canada, their applications were often turned down.¹⁴⁷

Nevertheless, and despite such recognition of Canadian complicity in the genocide, many of the examples used to illustrate anti-Semitism in Canada make reference to “some Canadians” having anti-Semitic “feelings” and only radical groups (e.g., the Swastika Club in Toronto) acting on these feelings.¹⁴⁸ In these textbooks there are also numerous efforts to point out that, despite the existence of anti-Semitism in Canada, not all Canadians held anti-Semitic views. In *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, for example, it is noted that “Canada had an unusually high level of anti-Semitism”, but then asserted that “Not all Canadians supported the federal government's policy

¹⁴⁴ E.g., Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 136, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 210.

¹⁴⁵ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 160.

¹⁴⁶ Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 161.

¹⁴⁷ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 164. Emphasis in original.

¹⁴⁸ E.g., Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 134.

of accepting anti-Semitism” and several examples of people who fought it are subsequently given.¹⁴⁹ Similarly, in *Making History*, the claim that not all Canadians were anti-Semitic is followed by an example of a newspaper, the Winnipeg Free Press, which “lashed out at the government” over its anti-Semitic policies.¹⁵⁰ Two of the textbooks use a technique of immediately off-setting the story of Adrian Arcand (who is described as a racist leader of a fascist organization that had the support of “some Canadians”) with the story of the “over 1200” heroic Canadian volunteers who fought against General Franco’s fascist regime in Spain.¹⁵¹ Such representations privilege a view of anti-Semitic racism in Canada as being contained within a numerically insignificant number of radical individuals and outweighed by that majority of people who would fight the antiracist battle. Some texts, such as *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, explain Canada’s racism as a product of an exceptional time and lessen its representative force by contrasting it with Nazi racism. “Most nations, including Canada,” this textbook asserts, “accepted racism. But for the Nazis, racism was a central belief.”¹⁵² Elsewhere, the caption for a photo showing a woman protesting an anti-Semitic march in Toronto reads, “Unlike those who lived under the Nazi regime, people in Canada were free to protest against anti-Semitism.”¹⁵³ Obviously, I do not want to contest the substance of the above claims in *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*. Relatively speaking, Canadians were much more free to express opposition to anti-Semitism than those subject to the rule of totalitarianism in Germany. There is an important historical reality in these depictions of Canada as a more tolerant place to live. Moreover, the textual and visual inclusion of people historically protesting against anti-Semitism may be an

¹⁴⁹ Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 161.

¹⁵⁰ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 166.

¹⁵¹ E.g., Bogle, D’Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 192-3, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*.

¹⁵² Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 170.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 163.

effective way to engage student readers in the politics of anti-oppression work. Nevertheless, explaining Canadian racism to be a largely the product of an era of impoverishment and juxtapositioning Canadian opposition to anti-Semitism with Nazi racism has the effect also of sustaining the pervasive narrative logic that holds Canada to be an exceptionally just space.

Also in these narratives of the Second World War, the trope of the non-white (male) soldier is utilized to affect representations of the Canadian nation as one progressively and actively developing into tolerant maturation. In stories such as those subtitled “Black Canadians are determined to enlist” or “Japanese Canadians fight and die for Canada,” particular individuals are named and indicated to have encountered and subsequently overcome systemic prejudice or overt racism.¹⁵⁴ Many times these people are represented in special highlighted sections of the textbooks and thus separated from the main narrative. Such narrative separation strategies obscure the histories of these individuals who simply appear, rather, as “firsts” in the history of the nation and its path toward inclusiveness. For example, Wilson Brooks is said in an “up close” section of *Making History* to have become “one of very few African-Canadians” to be given the rank of commissioner officer.¹⁵⁵ In a “hidden story” section of *Canada: Face of a Nation*, Gerald Bell is said to be “Canada’s first African-Canadian aviator.”¹⁵⁶ The absence of significant representation of historical precedent works to represent these non-white firsts as mere milestones in the growth of the national body. Often too, in these highlighted blocks of text, references to racism are rather oblique. That is, the perseverance and exceptionality of certain individuals is made the focus of the narrative, while the racism which is the precondition for their exceptionality is itself portrayed either of reduced significance or as something that would soon

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 184-86.

¹⁵⁵ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 170.

¹⁵⁶ Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 164.

disappear. For example, in a “more to the story” section of *Canadian History* that devotes two paragraphs to “Blacks and Aboriginal Peoples in the Second World War”, the following is noted:

When the war broke out, there was some prejudice against Black Canadians in recruitment practices. As the war progressed, however, Blacks were accepted into all branches of the Armed Forces. They served both in the ranks and as officers. The atmosphere was positive enough that some Black Americans volunteered to fight in the Canadian rather than the American Armed Forces.¹⁵⁷

This kind of representation of the Canadian military as more tolerant than its American counterpart is also evident in *Making History*.

At the start of the war, the Canadian army rejected African-Canadian volunteers, although not openly. By regulation, army officers had to be British subjects, and this was interpreted to mean “white.” As the war continued, however, African-Canadians were accepted as equals in the regular army and the officer corps. By 1941, African-Americans were volunteering to enter the Canadian army because it was believed to discriminate less than the US army.¹⁵⁸

On one hand, this representation is significant in that it contains a number of important inclusions not present in earlier generations of textbooks. That is, it actually names an Aboriginal soldier, notes the higher proportion of volunteers among Aboriginals, refers explicitly to Canadian systematic rejection of people of colour in the military, and acknowledges the contemporary equation of Britishness with whiteness. These inclusions are by no means trivial since they offer student readers important spaces from which to challenge otherwise dominating myths such as those that depict the Canadian nation as relatively free from racism. On the other hand, it is a redemptive narrative positioning Canada as eventually accepting African-Canadians and as a more tolerant place than the US.

¹⁵⁷ Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 235.

¹⁵⁸ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 171.

More than any other episode in Canada's wartime past, it is "the internment of Japanese Canadians" which is made to stand out as the primary example of "racism at home."¹⁵⁹ Each of the textbooks has a special section devoted to the "treatment" of Japanese Canadians during WWII.¹⁶⁰ In explaining the historical context which permitted the internment and persecution of Japanese Canadians, *Canada: Face of a Nation* observes that "Fear, prejudice, and discrimination against Asians has a long history in Canada."¹⁶¹ Indeed, a "long history of anti-Asian discrimination" is noted by several of the textbooks to have been behind what are described as the "hostile attitudes" and "shameful treatment" directed toward the Japanese Canadians.¹⁶² In the activity section of *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, following a chapter in which "the internment of Japanese Canadians" is described as an example of "racism at home," students are given an opportunity to defend actions that had been explicitly referred to as racism:

Write a letter to the Canadian government expressing your personal views of the treatment of Japanese-Canadians during the war. State what you think should be done in the way of compensation, and why. Then write the government's response in the form of a press release, defending the actions taken during wartime.¹⁶³

Racism, in such extreme circumstances, it would seem from this textbook is defensible. This activity for students is also troublesome in the way it obscures the fact that compensation actually was made in 1988, a fact which seems to have been overlooked in only this particular textbook. So we have the textbook displaying the internment of Japanese Canadians as the worst example

¹⁵⁹ Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 188-89.

¹⁶⁰ E.g., Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 237-40. See also, Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 201-03, Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 218-21, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 170-74, Cruyton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 268-72, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 252-55.

¹⁶¹ Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 170.

¹⁶² Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 201, Cruyton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 249, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 237.

¹⁶³ Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 205.

of racism in Canada during the war, encouraging students to argue in defense of this racism, and ignoring entirely one of Canada's most successful anti-racist campaigns.¹⁶⁴

Racism is commonly noted to have been a problem in the Canada of the 1960s typified by "events" such as the destruction of Africville in Halifax,¹⁶⁵ the "whirlwind of controversy" related to Prime Minister Trudeau's proposal to do away with the Indian Act in 1969,¹⁶⁶ or a student protest at Sir George Williams (now Concordia) University, described below in *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*,

Several Black students ... alleged that one of the professors had been racist in grading the assignments of Trinidadian students [Black] students *felt* that **systemic** racism was blocking their avenue to advancement. The university finally investigated the professor and exonerated him of any wrongdoing.¹⁶⁷

Notwithstanding the reference to systemic racism in the above excerpt, it is an individual (i.e., a single professor) who is alleged to have been racist. Additionally, there is nothing here to indicate that the students' feelings were justified. *Making History* similarly describes these Montreal students as protesting "about what they *believed to be* racial injustice in the government" rather than what was racism in fact.¹⁶⁸ In other words, this is not presented as a clear example of racism yet it is chosen by two textbooks to illustrate modern Canadian racism. There is no engagement with the obvious disparity between what the students claimed and what the university decided. Indeed, the texts permit the last word on the matter to rest with the university who exonerated the professor so that the decision about what constitutes racism is made first by the university and second by the textbooks. Those who experience racism are thus

¹⁶⁴ Most of the other textbooks acknowledge the 1988 redress settlement, but in an especially redemptive way. I discuss this more in the next chapter.

¹⁶⁵ E.g., Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 213.

¹⁶⁶ E.g., Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 384.

¹⁶⁷ Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 294, italic emphasis added.

¹⁶⁸ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 282, italic emphasis added.

twice denied calling it such; racism rather is made to appear to be all in the heads of some angry Black youth.

The “painful issues of racism and discrimination” in Canada nearer to present are often discussed as cases of human rights infringements.¹⁶⁹ In this context, they are limited to individuals such as Ernst Zundel or James Keegstra who were “prosecuted for expressing racist ideas,”¹⁷⁰ or to incidents of “discrimination” such as the “controversy” that “erupted” when RCMP constable Baltej Singh Dhillon sought the right to wear a turban,¹⁷¹ or the wrongful conviction for murder of Donald Marshall Jr.¹⁷² Each of these declared examples of racism is either individualized or depicted as an encapsulated event and each of these racist wrongs is eventually righted through decisions made by the Canadian legal system. Moreover, these representations are often juxtaposed with others illustrating the noble efforts of Canadians who fought for human rights. Examples of this include the condemnation of apartheid by Prime Ministers John Diefenbaker and Brian Mulroney¹⁷³ or mention of John Humphrey’s drafting of the United Nations’ Universal Declaration of Human Rights which is said to have spoken out “against discrimination based on race.”¹⁷⁴

More recent events in Rwanda, Yugoslavia, and Somalia are also represented as matters of human rights and they too elicit important references to racism, but in ways that obscure the effects of the racisms represented in favour of glorifying Canada or particular Canadians. Indeed, the genocides in Rwanda and Yugoslavia are eclipsed by individuals who gained prominence

¹⁶⁹ E.g., Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 342.

¹⁷⁰ E.g., Bogle, D’Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 345, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 401.

¹⁷¹ E.g., Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 15.

¹⁷² Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 342-43. Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 343-44.

¹⁷³ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 268, Bogle, D’Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 330.

¹⁷⁴ Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 277.

through them. So, for example, in *Making History*, Canadian Major-General Romeo Dallaire and the anguish he experienced become the focal points in an account of the Rwandan “ethnic rivalries” that fails even to mention Hutus or Tutsis.¹⁷⁵ While Hutus and Tutsis are mentioned in *Canada: Face of a Nation*, this text too eclipses the genocide with the failed efforts of Dallaire to prevent it and his personal traumatization.

Major-general Dallaire, like many UN and armed forces troops, suffered from waking nightmares, or post-traumatic stress disorder, from his experience in Rwanda.¹⁷⁶

Dallaire is a trope for Canadian purity and goodness. Similarly, the figure of Louise Arbour functions in narrative accounts of the “brutal warfare among ethnic groups” in Yugoslavia to mark the Canadian nation as one dedicated to the struggle for goodness.¹⁷⁷ For example, in *Canada: Continuity and Change*, the account of the atrocities carried out in Yugoslavia is contained to a biographical sketch of Arbour that highlights the international attention and praise she received for her determined efforts to bring war criminals to justice.¹⁷⁸ Similarly, in *Spotlight Canada*, the crimes against humanity that occurred in Yugoslavia are made to seem secondary to Arbour’s dogged pursuit of the criminals. One sentence refers to “genocide and massacre in the former Yugoslavia”, but the remainder of the story is devoted to discussing Arbour and her work.

Louise Arbour won high praise internationally and at home in Canada for her work on the war crimes tribunal. She stood up to Yugoslav authorities and turned the tribunal into a very effective court for international justice.¹⁷⁹

There are certainly important lessons for students here about standing up to and against racialized oppression, about the necessity of fighting such oppression across international borders, about the determination required to fight racisms that get propped up by the power of state apparatuses, and

¹⁷⁵ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 391.

¹⁷⁶ Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 353-54.

¹⁷⁷ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 391.

¹⁷⁸ Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 473.

¹⁷⁹ Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 506-07.

about the hopeful possibilities that exist when injustices are forcefully challenged; however, these representations also privilege a reading of Canada as a space productive of exceptional individuals who fight for humanity and as a space far removed from the racialized oppressions which they are depicted as fighting against. That is, these tellings of “Canadian history” separate Canada from the rest of the world, obscure Canadian complicity in the histories that made the genocides possible, and represent Hutus, Tutsis, and Yugoslavian Bosnians, Croats, Serbs, and Muslims as commonsensically non-Canadian or irrelevant to Canada excepting as scenery for particular figures of the nation to act out the story of national development and ethical maturation.

Another tragic event that unfolded during this same era, and which *Canadian History* identifies as “the Somali affair,”¹⁸⁰ also explicitly describes the event as an example of racism.

For Canada, the Somalia mission had another unfortunate result. One night, members of the Canadian Airborne Regiment arrested a Somali teenager found wandering in the Canadian base camp. During the night the teen was tortured and beaten to death. At first, a military inquiry found that only a few low-ranking officers had committed the terrible racist crime. As more evidence came to light, however, it became clear that there had been a high-level attempt to cover up the incident. Canadians were shocked by these events.¹⁸¹

On the one hand, this inclusion fractures the overarching narrative of Canada as a place constituted by goodness and progressing ever towards racism-free maturation. This tragedy, the textbook significantly acknowledges, was an act of racism carried out by a few soldiers but sustained by many more, even those in the upper echelons of command. However, and on the other hand, it is the “unfortunate” result of the mission and the shocking cover-up, not the murder of the “teen”, that is given prominence. The human killed by these Canadian soldiers is not even named in this particular textbook or in *Spotlight Canada*’s two-paragraph account of “the

¹⁸⁰ Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 411.

¹⁸¹ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 391.

incident [that] tarnished Canada's reputation as a benevolent peacekeeper.¹⁸² *Canadian History* is the only textbook to identify Shidane Abukar Arone by name.¹⁸³ Namelessness, that dehumanizing strategy of separation so integral to the process of racialization, helps to make this a story about Canada and the frightening possibility that its worth in the eyes of the world – and in the eyes of its own citizens – has faltered. In these textbooks Canadians are depicted as being “shocked” and “horrified” by the execution of this young man by Canadians.¹⁸⁴ However, the description of shock among Canadians configures this manifestation of systemic racism as an aberration. The ambiguity of the representation (e.g., systemic racism as anomaly) thus functions to position Canada's reputation as a tolerant and just nation renowned for peacekeeping as not necessarily or absolutely tarnished. Moreover, while the significance of an inclusion about Canadian responsibility for an “international” racism should not be dismissed (given the rarity of such a reference and its potential to critically engage students in reading against the grain), the representation of shock and horror among Canadian citizens when the event became known serves to depict the majority of Canadians in a good (non-racist) light and thus upholds the teleological narrative of national maturation and moral betterment.

Racism in the textbooks authorized since 2000 is openly discussed and formally defined as prejudicial hatred and discrimination directed against the Other. The new textbooks acknowledge many examples of racism in the space of Canada, but illustrate them to be isolated occurrences confined to exceptionally flawed individuals or to unusual times. By restricting racism to the realm of the abnormal and deviant, and by consistently depicting Canada and individual Canadians as fighting against racism (e.g., in the courts, in wars, and in the UN) or

¹⁸² Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 502.

¹⁸³ Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 411.

¹⁸⁴ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 391, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 433, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 411.

being appalled by it, the textbooks imply that racism does not *normally* exist in the space of Canada or among *normal* Canadians. Consequently, the idea that racism exists in “them”, over “there,” and potentially anywhere excepting in the midst of “we Canadians” is one that still permeates grade 10 nationalist histories.

The More Things Change ... : The Myth of the Racism-free State

The encapsulation of racism as abnormal event in exceptional circumstances denies the historical reality that racism was a “foundational fiction” of the modern state enacted through normalization processes that included technical and managerial regulation of populations and disciplinary society development.¹⁸⁵ In these Canadian history textbooks, racism does not structure the nation, only events within it. Such encapsulation also contributes to a pattern of denying the full consequences and objective conditions of racism. Racism, in the events highlighted, is largely about feelings, accusations, and beliefs held. On one side is the racist (e.g., Arcand or Hitler), the one making wrong-headed claims of racial inferiority based on misplaced beliefs or morals. On the other side is the “purported victim” who “feels”, “believes”, or “thinks” him/herself to be wronged (e.g., Montreal students). Racism by such accounts is only in the world because it resides in the heads of both racists and racialized groups. What is more, the representation of racism as exceptional event or occurrence, while it permits certain effects of racism to be acknowledged, allows little room for elaborating upon the effects or illustrating their lasting impact for the group or individuals wronged. The accumulation of taken-for-granted powers, privileges, and wealth of various kinds - as consequences of racism – barely manage to factor in to these representations. That is, while the textbooks do document that *some* people are

¹⁸⁵ Foucault, “*Society Must Be Defended*”: *Lectures at the College De France, 1975-1976*, Rattansi, “Racism, ‘Postmodernism’ and Reflexive Multiculturalism.”, Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault’s History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things*.

harmed by racisms, the harm does not extend much beyond the particular event and nobody seems to accrue benefits of any sort. Perhaps the one consequence of racism that does get represented consistently is the disgrace it brings to the nation (not the harm it brings to the object of said racism or the benefits accrued by those who are positioned out of harm's way) when those troublesome individuals or groups deviate from the imagined and mythological norms of Canadian civility and tolerance.

CHAPTER 6

REPRESENTATIONS OF OPPOSITION TO RACISM: "A BETTER PLACE TO LIVE"

Every year since 1990 the United Nations has commissioned a report intended to measure the progress of nations towards improving the living conditions of their citizens. This report, called the Human Development Index, but more commonly known as the "quality of life" index, attracts a great deal of attention worldwide. This is particularly true in Canada, where federal government leaders (and increasingly the broader public) have repeatedly touted Canada's standing at or near the top of this comparative index and celebrated the report as evidence that Canada is a better, or even the best, place in the world in which to live. After a long reign at number one, Canada has slipped to eighth place in these annual rankings and this has caused some public consternation since clearly the idea of Canada being a "better place to live" has entered into the national imaginary. For example, even when the United Nations declared that Canada was no longer the best country in the world in which to live, various surveys consistently indicated that most Canadians believed Canada to be the best nonetheless.¹ Versions of the phrase itself (i.e., "Canada is a better place to live") have even been replicated as official knowledge in the most recent Ontario history curriculum and throughout the history textbooks corresponding to this curriculum.² In this chapter, I illustrate that this necessarily mythical idea of Canada being "a better place to live" has been promoted in Canadian history textbooks

¹ For example, Sheldon Alberts, "Canadians Think Canada's No. 1, Even If Un Doesn't," *Edmonton Journal*, July 7 2003.

² Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, xi, 331, 62, 80, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 338, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 418, 38, Province of Ontario: Ministry of Education The Ontario Curriculum Grades 9 and 10: Canadian and World Studies, 37.

sanctioned for use in the high schools of Ontario since well before the inception of the United Nations Human Development Index and, moreover, that the idea has historically articulated closely with a mythical image of Canada as a nation-state blessed with an abundance of tolerance, compassion, and benevolence and a corresponding scarcity of race-related problems. That is to say, the mythical idea that Canada is a better place to live than all (or most) other places in the world has long been entangled with another national myth which views Canada as a place relatively free from racisms or other race-related oppressions and which, more recently, has posited that such an achievement is owed to the widespread acceptance of official multiculturalism both as an integral component of Canadian identity and as the nearly perfect antidote to racism.

In the previous chapters, I have extended the research lens beyond an examination of how a particular racialized group is represented (or ignored) to consider the ways in which the ordering of knowledge about race and racism has articulated with representations of the nation-state. With this chapter, I document the more explicit understandings about how, according to the textbooks, racism has been (and continues to be) challenged, opposed, and resisted (inside and/or outside of Canada). In other words, what I am looking at in this chapter is how the textbooks have historically represented the idea of being against racism (or for antiracism). In particular, I explore how the space of Canada has been reproduced discursively as “a better place to live” precisely because it has been imagined to be or to have become a space essentially antithetical to racism. The chapter considers the limitations of the textbooks’ representations of how racisms can be and have been opposed, the productive and reproductive effects of such representations, and the implications of this state-sanctioned collective imagining of Canada as a non-racist, or even antiracist, nation.

Opposing Racism

The goal of opposing racism is, of course, not a new one. Nor is it the product of a particular political tradition, the singular concern of any one philosophical approach, or the exclusive prerogative of any discipline or form of critique. It is neither an inherent quality of any individual nor the absolute condition of any cultural community, including any nation, religion, or ethnicity. The idea and practice of being against racism (i.e., being *anti-racist* or being *for* anti-racism) has diverse and frequently contradictory global histories.³ Among these diverse approaches, Bonnett has distinguished two general orientations of opposing racism (i.e., of practicing antiracism) that have been most prevalent.⁴ The first is a cultural relativist orientation which has posited that values, truths, and knowledge are socially and discursively constructed and, thus, situationally dependent. Opposition to racism in the form of cultural relativism has celebrated and affirmed individualistic values, emphasized discontinuities and heterogeneities, and asserted plurality, ideas of identity, and the returning to one's "roots."⁵ Accordingly, by such an approach, everybody is different and differences should be recognized and respected. A particular problem with this "colour conscious" orientation is that it can be used to affirm certain differences as representing the essence of particular groups of people, effectively creating divisions of "us" and "them."⁶ Such essentialized notions of identity can be utilized with politically progressive goals in mind, but are also easily appropriated by the conservative right who can slide from respecting difference to asserting (or implying) hierarchies of difference and

³ Bonnett, *Anti-Racism*.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Cathie Lloyd, "Universalism and Difference: The Crisis of Anti-Racism in the UK and France," in *Racism, Modernity and Identity on the Western Front*, ed. Ali Rattansi and Sallie Westwood (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), 236.

⁶ Gilroy, "The End of Antiracism," H. Winant, "Behind Blue Eyes: Whiteness in Contemporary U.S. Racial Politics," in *Off White: Readings on Race, Power, and Society*, ed. Michelle Fine, et al. (New York: Routledge, 1997).

then utilizing these hierarchies to justify exclusions, denigrations, or cultural exterminations.⁷ So too can the more liberal left problematically appropriate these ideas of identity by acknowledging differences in culture through multiculturalism whilst ignoring or denying differences in power.⁸ A related problem with this particular orientation is that the denial of any objectivity beyond that of the individual leaves little room for envisioning or justifying social justice.⁹

A second general orientation of opposing racism that has exerted a significant influence is a universalistic one asserting the validity of certain truths, values, and knowledges and making the claim that all humanity should be afforded the same rights and privileges.¹⁰ According to this “colour blind” orientation, human differences are superficial and thus race is deemed to be something that is or should be irrelevant and invisible.¹¹ The effect often is to ignore the consequences of racism¹² or, even to deny the existence of racisms altogether (e.g., as politicians and police representatives in Toronto have done when allegations of “racial profiling” are made). Additionally, an insistence on merit and an aversion to thinking in group terms typify this orientation and permit those privileged (e.g., white heterosexual males in Canada) to avoid marking themselves as privileged by such semiotic categories as race, gender, or sexuality.¹³ Moreover, this universalistic orientation has tended to define, disseminate, and prescribe the

⁷ Bonnett, *Anti-Racism*, 18, Stuart Hall, “New Ethnicities,” in *Race, Culture and Difference*, ed. James Donald and A. Rattansi (London: Sage Publications, 1992), Lloyd, “Universalism and Difference: The Crisis of Anti-Racism in the UK and France,” 236.

⁸ Bannerji, *The Dark Side of the Nation: Essays on Multiculturalism, Nationalism and Gender*.

⁹ Mohanty, *Literary Theory and the Claims of History: Postmodernism, Objectivity, Multicultural Politics*.

¹⁰ Bonnett, *Anti-Racism*, 19.

¹¹ Blauner, “White Radicals, White Liberals, and White People: Rebuilding the Anti-Racist Coalition,” 23, Audrey Thompson, “For: Anti-Racist Education,” *Curriculum Inquiry* 27, no. 1 (1997).

¹² Rattansi and Westwood, eds., *Racism, Modernity and Identity on the Western Front*, 63.

¹³ N. Zane, “Interrupting Historical Patterns: Bridging Race and Gender Gaps between Senior White Men and Other Organizational Groups,” in *Off White: Readings on Race, Power, and Society*, ed. Michelle Fine, et al. (London: Routledge, 1997), 351.

ideals and norms for humanity from a single civilized and thoroughly masculinist centre: that of so-called "Western Man."¹⁴

In the most recent decades, a broad field of study has emerged, in part, as a critical response to the perceived inadequacy of both the universalist and differentialist orientations (including, particularly, multicultural strategies) toward "stopping" racism. Those working in this broad field against racism have advocated critical interrogation into how unequal and institutionalized relations of power are produced, argued against essentialism and theoretical reductionism, promoted approaches that take into account multiple and contingent identities and diverse ways of knowing, stressed the necessity of analyzing multiple forms of interlocking and intersecting social oppression (including multiple racisms), urged for links to be made between theory and practice, and championed politics and pedagogy with transformative and emancipatory goals.¹⁵ For these and numerous other theorists of racism, opposing racism involves a critical engagement with the complex dilemmas and contradictions that articulate with issues and experiences of social oppression and, moreover, necessitates "wading in" to these complexities and contradictions, not placidly, but with a certain "intent to disturb."¹⁶ As Hall puts it, there is nothing easy about opposing racism and no simple way to "stop" racisms because

¹⁴ Bonnett, *Anti-Racism*, 24, Rattansi and Westwood, eds., *Racism, Modernity and Identity on the Western Front*, 4.

¹⁵ Anthias and Lloyd, *Rethinking Anti-Racism : From Theory to Practice*, Bannerji, *The Dark Side of the Nation: Essays on Multiculturalism, Nationalism and Gender*, P. Batur-VanderLippe, "On the Necessity of Antiracist Praxis: An Experience in Teaching and Learning", *Teaching Sociology* 27, no. July (1999), Dei, *Anti-Racism Education: Theory and Practice*, Essed and Goldberg, eds., *Race Critical Theories*, Fine et al., eds., *Off White: Readings on Race, Power, and Society*, Gilroy, *Against Race: Imagining Political Culture Beyond the Color Line*, Goldberg, *Racist Culture*, Cameron McCarthy, "Multicultural Discourses and Curriculum Reform: A Critical Perspective", *Educational Theory* 44, no. 1 (1994), McCarthy and Chrichlow, eds., *Race, Identity and Representation in Education*, Judith P. Robertson, ed., *Teaching for a Tolerant World, Grades K-6: Essays and Resources* (Urbana, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1999), Roman and Eyre, *Dangerous Territories: Struggles for Difference and Equality in Education*, Stanley, "Why I Killed Canadian History: Towards an Anti-Racist History in Canada", Taguieff, "On Antiracism: Ideal Type, Ideological Corruption, Perverse Effects.", Thompson, "For: Anti-Racist Education".

¹⁶ E. Taylor, "Toward a Coherent Theory of Race in the Education of School Leaders: Fly Fishing across the Racial Divide", *Race, Ethnicity and Education* 1, no. 2 (1998): 237.

there is nothing particularly simple about their structures and dynamics.¹⁷ In spite of such theoretical advancements that attest to the ambiguities and contradictions inherent to the act of resisting or fighting against racism and which therefore make it problematic to reduce “antiracism” to any one thing or strategy,¹⁸ the representations in the history textbooks analyzed here suggest that racism can be stopped rather easily and that Canada has been particularly brilliant in doing just that.

Opposition to Racial Discrimination/Prejudice in Textbooks of the 1940s and 1950s

In these textbooks authorized for use from the end of WWII to 1959, slavery, Nazism, and relations between English and French peoples functioned as tropes of the ideal (non-racist) Canadian nation. That is to say, each of these historical issues invoked references to race-related problems and each marked Canada and Canadians as successfully finding resolutions to such problems or as actively fighting on behalf of the racially oppressed.

Discussions about slavery made use of quantification as a warrant for claims that endorsed a narrative logic about the good and tolerant spirit of Canada and Canadians. The textbooks frequently emphasized, for example, that a large number of Canadians participated in what was deemed a war against slavery, the American Civil War. So, in *Canada: A Nation and How it Came to Be* it was explained that “British North Americans were solidly against slavery and thousands of their sons had enlisted in the armies of the North.”¹⁹ In *Building the Canadian Nation* the reader was told that “Canadian and British sympathies were aroused by the North’s fight against slavery”²⁰ and that “40,000 [“Canadians”] enlisted in the Northern army to fight

¹⁷ Stuart Hall, “Race, Culture, and Communications,” in *What Is Cultural Studies?: A Reader*, ed. J. Storey (London: Arnold, 1996), 341.

¹⁸ Phil Cohen, “‘It’s Racism What Dunit’: Hidden Narratives in Theories of Racism,” in *‘Race’, Culture and Difference*, ed. James Donald and Ali Rattansi (London: Sage Publications, 1992).

¹⁹ Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 309.

²⁰ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 384.

against slavery.”²¹ Similarly, in *Our Canada* the claim was made that among British North Americans “human slavery appeared to be the main issue of the war, and anti-slavery feeling was quite strong.”²² These representations of slavery, therefore, functioned to uphold the narrative understanding of Canada as a national body maturing into a distinctive, ethical, and tolerant creature.

Nazism too functioned as a trope sustaining the notion of Canada as national body devoted to the struggle for tolerance and goodness. Canada was depicted as honourably marching into battle against the evil and terrorizing forces of the Nazi menace based on a conviction to bring freedom to the world.²³

Nazi Germany had declared *her* deadly hatred of the ideals of democracy. Wherever *she* extended *her* power, *she* destroyed parliamentary government and the liberties of the individual. Glorifying war as a good thing in itself, *she* boasted that democracy was outworn, that the democratic nations were decadent, and that Germany had a divine right to enslave the people of “inferior” races. With growing concern Canadians had watched the menace of Nazi violence and terrorism sweeping across Europe; and when the storm broke, they had come to the deep conviction that nothing could withstand it but the united resistance of freedom-loving peoples throughout the world.²⁴

In the above excerpt, the deadly Nazi menace was personified as female, a significant contrast with the many markings of Canada as male, and such gendered reification of national bodies helped to sustain a logic of distinction or separation between bad places (i.e., evil, destructive, deadly, undemocratic, and racist Nazi Germany) and good places (i.e., peaceful, democratic, tolerant, and Christian Canada). Canada was marked as shouldering its burden to defend all

²¹ Ibid., 463. Junior high school textbooks gave a similar impression. For example, *The Great Adventure* claimed that “The people of the British provinces also believed slavery to be wrong and hundreds of our young men joined the North to fight for the freedom of the slaves.” See, Dickie, *The Great Adventure*, 315.

²² Dorland, *Our Canada*, 252.

²³ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 456. See also, Garland, *Canada: Then and Now*, 388-90.

²⁴ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 456. Italic emphasis added. See also, Dickie, *The Great Adventure*, 411.

“freedom-loving” countries from Nazi brutality and as resigned to suffer the costs of a war deemed necessary save those races enslaved by the Nazis and to protect democratic way of life proudly marked as Christian.

A job had to be done, that was all. It had become increasingly impossible for freedom-loving countries to live in the same world with the brutalities of Hitlerism. Canadians again, it is true, fought because of the call of the blood, they fought to prevent the conquest of western Europe, they fought because science had so shrunk distances that they felt Canada itself to be in danger. But all this meant that they fought for their traditional institutions of government, for their liberties, for the basic principles of their religion, for that way of life which may be properly called Christian democracy.²⁵

Blood as a metaphor for kinship with Great Britain operated to re-produce the narrative logic that Canada was a child of the “Mother Country” now stepping boldly into masculinized adulthood by preparing to endure self-sacrifice for the betterment of humanity. Not only was Canada’s future or Canada’s “Christian democracy” at stake, “but the future of the entire world.”²⁶ Nazism, and the oppositional representation of Canada next to it, marked the Canadian national body as relatively untainted by brutality, but also as principally determined to keep it so.

One historical blemish represented as having marred Canadian history, the forced expulsion of Acadians from Nova Scotia in 1755, was mentioned in contrast to twentieth-century Nazi cruelty.²⁷ *Building the Canadian Nation* stated that this unusual incident had “strengthened the deep conviction which Canadians hold today that no quarrel between races or nations can be permanently settled by the inhumane treatment of helpless people.”²⁸ As such, the expulsion of Acadians worked as a trope for the developmental saga of the Canadian national body. As Canada grew, by trial and error, it learned its lessons and became, with maturing wisdom,

²⁵ Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 470.

²⁶ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 546.

²⁷ Ibid., 157, Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 101.

²⁸ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 157, Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 101.

convinced of the need for racial harmony. Moreover, racial strife, by such accounts, was a matter of difficulties or troubles between groups that could not be resolved in any long-term way by “inhumane treatment” of one group by another, but rather could be alleviated only through attaining harmony between groups. The “vast majority of Canadians, French and English” were said in *Canada – A Nation and How it Came to Be* to have joined together in the struggle against Nazi Germany, but this same text went on to lament the racial discord that soon followed. “Unfortunately the harmony generated in Canada by the common danger was not to last: later on, as hope of victory reappeared, narrow racialism again asserted itself.”²⁹ Harmony between different races was key and such harmony could be achieved, according to these textbooks by forging partnerships or blending cultures and peoples into one unified nation. Finding the solution to the “race question” was central to these textbooks and without fail the desired resolution rested on assimilative assumptions. *Canada – A Nation and How it Came to Be*, for example, opened with the questions “What is the solution to the race question? Can we ever expect to be one people, with one language and culture?”³⁰ and then went on to represent Confederation as “a *partnership* between the two races”³¹ which would work as the remedy for “racial and political prejudices” and people’s hates and fears.³² This textbook heaped praise upon those “handful of English Canadians [who] were to see the picture more clearly and ... show that the races could work together.”³³ This burying of “the wounding hatchet of racial strife” was what garnered other white males (e.g., John A. Macdonald and George Brown) particular commendation.³⁴ These paternal figures of the nation were signified as having been successful in

²⁹ Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 475.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 17.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 319.

³² *Ibid.*, 279.

³³ *Ibid.*, 261.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 296.

their efforts to overcome “racial bitterness” by keeping the adolescent nation intact and on the road toward mature nationhood.³⁵ *Building the Canadian Nation* similarly positioned another white male, Wilfrid Laurier, as the quintessentially generous and tolerant Canadian who exemplified such a harmonious approach toward nationalism by highlighting the fact that he “urged that Canadians of different races and creeds should understand each other, and should emphasize not the things which divided them but those they had in common.”³⁶ The final paragraph from *Canada – A Nation and How it Came to Be* likewise drew attention to the salience of harmony and homogeneity as key to a strong nation and did so by explicitly recognizing the possibility of overcoming the divisiveness of race. Situated above and below an illustration entitled, “the different races from which Canadians have sprung,” this paragraph read in part,

We have built Canada into a strong economic unit among the nations, one capable, if we conduct ourselves wisely, or providing in abundance for us all. We have worked out the form of government that suits our conditions and we govern ourselves as successfully as other nations do, and more successfully than most.... Yet we must ask ourselves one earnest question: have the people who live in Canada become the Canadian people? Have we, in other words, become a people for whom the term *Canadian* outweighs differences in race, creed or province? Can we bury our differences in our common loyalty to our common country? ... No country ever reaches a perfect inner harmony, naturally, but can we come close to it?³⁷

The Canada which had been built stood out among nations as better “than most” in governing itself and in providing in abundance for its citizens. Eradicating racial difference by becoming one people harmonized through a patriotic and loyal commitment to a single nation was positioned as the ideal goal and lest it appear as unattainable the text followed up with a representation of the nation as having begun to realize its assimilative potential,

³⁵ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 422, 45, 72.

³⁶ Ibid., 447.

³⁷ Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*.

As we realize its promise, our country is coming to mean more and more to all of us, and upon this common ground, French and English, “new” Canadians and “old” Canadians, farmers from the prairies and industrialists from the great cities, are finding it easier to meet. We are all Canadians together and as this book draws to a close, we are making our new-found unity by conferring on ourselves the proud new status of *Canadian citizens*.³⁸

Such narratives positioned Canada as having matured and outgrown racial strife through the erasure of difference and the elevation of unified similarity in the form of a national identity. Based on its apparently successful resolution of race problems at home through emphasis on commonality, Canada, moreover, was positioned as especially well suited to solving problems pertaining to “racial and political prejudices” abroad.³⁹ Canada, *Building the Canadian Nation* insisted, “may be able to contribute something in solving the world’s problems of language and race which are becoming increasingly difficult.”⁴⁰ Indeed, Canada was positioned frequently as having an important role in world affairs, particularly those that pertained to human rights. Following an excerpt from the United Nations charter expressing world-wide determination to, among other things, reaffirm fundamental human rights, promote better standards of life, to practice tolerance, and to achieve widespread peace, *Our Canada* concluded with the following hopeful message:

Perhaps in this new Atomic Age, the only answer to the split atom is a united humanity. For there is a victory yet to be won in the moral and spiritual realm – a victory over man himself. Canada can make an important contribution to this achievement. Equipped by the caliber of her people, by the greatness of her resources, by her experience in the ways of democracy, Canada can face this new era unafraid.⁴¹

³⁸ Ibid., 493. Emphasis in original.

³⁹ Ibid., 279. See also, Chafe and Lower, *Canada - a Nation and How It Came to Be*, 296.

⁴⁰ Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 472.

⁴¹ Dorland, *Our Canada*, 526.

The above excerpt personified Canada as a maturing female, not, as was the case with many other representations in these textbooks, as a growing boy. Nevertheless, the trope of “united humanity” did function to support the narrative logic that, based on the “caliber of her people” (who were marked explicitly as white throughout this set of textbooks) and by its particular form and history of democracy (variously defined as Christian and British), the Canadian national body was developed to the point that it contribute significantly to overcome the world’s problems.

In these textbooks authorized from 1945 to 1959, Canada was depicted as continually working toward enhancing the relationship *between* the so-called French and English races and by more civilized and humane means than anywhere else. The apparent success of such efforts, along with Canada’s depicted enthusiasm for fighting against Nazism and American slavery, configured Canada as essentially and honorably opposed to racial problems and as a nation-state well situated and properly motivated to help others, in places especially like Germany and the United States, with “their” race problems. In these early textbooks, racial problems were matters of prejudice that could be overcome, and even ended, by the noble efforts of great white men standing for Canada (such as Macdonald, Laurier, and Brown) to shape an harmonious nation and national identity.

Opposition to Racial Discrimination/Prejudice in Textbooks of the 1960s

The second set of textbooks in this analysis (those authorized during the 1960s), like the first set, were produced during an era when words such as “racism” and “antiracism” had not yet entered into common usage. Rather, the language used reflected the dominant tendency of time to speak in terms of “race problems” or racial discrimination and prejudice. There were two spatial dimensions to the represented racial problems; those problems concerning race in Canada

and those problems beyond its borders. With both, Canada was deemed successful in opposing the problem and working toward a resolution.

Like a sickness besetting the national body and requiring a cure, the race problem in Canada was one depicted as an irrational one for English and French Canadians that flared up from time to time and best resolved through a rational commitment to national harmony.⁴² Invariably, the cure for this sickness, or the rational guidance through this “natural” problem of growing pain, was provided by a paternal-type custodian of the national body. Prime Minister Laurier, in particular, was represented as the embodiment of tolerance and said to have stood for “racial and religious harmony.”⁴³ In *Winds of Change* Laurier was quoted as saying, “We want to be a nation, but we cannot be a nation unless we fairly put before the people ideals which will appeal to all men, whatever their religion or their race.”⁴⁴ In these obviously gendered representations of Laurier as the exemplar of rational moderation, there was a universalistic understanding that the coming together in unison was the key to alleviating racial tension, or to put it differently, that racial prejudice could be overcome through an assimilation of racial difference. Such harmony was good for the nation. So it was in the service of the nation that action against racial prejudice need be taken. That is, the race problem in Canada was depicted as a problem of national unity not one of social justice or equality. The controversial Naval Services Bill, which proposed that the British fleet be supported by the colonies, was said to have “revived every racial and religious passion in Quebec and sowed the seeds for bitter dissension during the war years”⁴⁵ and revealed “the extremes [s] of British and French racial pride” to be

⁴² Hodgetts, *Decisive Decades: A History of the Twentieth Century for Canadians*, 208, Ricker, Saywell, and Rose, *The Modern Era*, 128.

⁴³ Peart and Schaffter, *The Winds of Change: A History of Canada and Canadians in the Twentieth Century*, 55-56.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 55.

⁴⁵ Hodgetts, *Decisive Decades: A History of the Twentieth Century for Canadians*, 144.

obstacles in the search for “a true unifying national spirit.”⁴⁶ The subsequent defeat of the Laurier federal government was tied to this disintegration of national unity and represented as a key to understanding the “legacy of racial hatred too deep to be soon forgotten.”⁴⁷ Laurier was the voice of reason, and once removed from office, it would seem, there was little to prevent the irrational prejudices of race from tearing the national body apart. But soon these racial prejudices that threatened the nation after Laurier’s departure were undone by the “surge of patriotism” which followed Canada’s entry into the war.⁴⁸ Patriotism in the form of a collective and unified nationalism was posited as a successful strategy in the resolution of this race problem at home. “Racial and political differences disappeared as prominent figures across the country pledged support for the Motherland in her hour of need.”⁴⁹ Here again, Canada was reified as a child of mother Britain. Significant too in the preceding quotation was the equation of Canadian patriotism to British Imperialism as a strategy for overcoming racial differences, an equation that obscured the historical racisms of both the Canadian nation-state and the British Empire.

Often, the textbooks took great care to outline essential differences between English and French Canadians as a step toward understanding the crises around War Time Election Act and the Military Services Bill. Whereas English-speaking Canadians were generally regarded as having some naturally occurring pro-British sentiment or loyalty to Queen and Empire; French-speaking Canadians were frequently referred to as a people “devoted to their own race”⁵⁰ or “brought up to cherish and safeguard their culture and their racial and religious heritage.”⁵¹ In *Decisive Decades* one cause of this supposed racial insularity was posited to be that the French,

⁴⁶ Ibid., 146.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Peart and Schaffter, *The Winds of Change: A History of Canada and Canadians in the Twentieth Century*, 133.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Hodgetts, *Decisive Decades: A History of the Twentieth Century for Canadians*, 212.

⁵¹ Peart and Schaffter, *The Winds of Change: A History of Canada and Canadians in the Twentieth Century*, 156.

unlike good Englishmen, “had not been steeped in the textbook romance of British history and the glory of the Empire.”⁵² Racial insularity, or attention to one’s own difference or perceived difference from some norm, was conceived as problematic. Thus, difference again was made the cause of race problems. Those who accepted the normalizing terms of empire and nation, and who steeped themselves in the common and universal glory of empire and its history, that is to say those who rationally accepted the superiority of English imperialism and who avoided adhering to “their” own narrow loyalties, served the nation’s best interests while countering racial prejudice and strife.

The erasure of difference through assimilation and the acceptance of Nation and Empire as a way to reduce or prevent race problems was also evident in narratives about immigrants and immigration. All of the textbooks devoted significant attention to detailing the troubles posed by the various immigrant populations. Frequently, it was these newcomers’ desire to retain their different languages, cultures and traditions and to settle together in separate communities which were cited as the reasons for the undisclosed troubles. For example, in *The Modern Era* it was stated that “they settled in small colonies, isolated from the rest of the community, and posed difficult problems of adjustment to the Canadian scene.”⁵³ Similarly, *Three Nations* explained that,

some groups tended to settle by themselves in compact communities in order to retain their own language, their religion and their customs, and this made it more difficult to assimilate them. In some cases, as with the Doukhobors, who came from Russia to settle on the prairies and later moved to British Columbia, trouble arose over non-compliance with school attendance regulations and other infringements of the law. These factors influenced the Canadian government to adopt a policy of restricting the immigration of certain groups⁵⁴

⁵² Hodgetts, *Decisive Decades: A History of the Twentieth Century for Canadians*, 212.

⁵³ Ricker, Saywell, and Rose, *The Modern Era*, 59.

⁵⁴ Nicholson et al., *Three Nations: Canada - Great Britain - the United States of America in the Twentieth Century*, 71-72.

Implicit, but obvious in these accounts of the troubled and troublesome immigrant was the idea that only if these immigrants shed their difference and became like the “founding peoples” (who, by these depictions, apparently never tended to “settle by themselves in compact communities”) could Canada become tranquil. There was also a sense of duty too, on the part of the Canadian government, to limit the difficulties by refusing entry to those who would likely trouble the Canadian scene. The logic, in other words, was that since assimilation was the key, those who were deemed incapable of being assimilated contributed to the problem (or were the problem) and so therefore must be kept out.

Some difference was acceptable and permissible and could be let in without necessarily leading to racial strife. This, largely, was European difference. The reasons made apparent for the eventual acceptance of these European “people of many races”⁵⁵ included that they exhibited a number of characteristics compatible with Canadian citizenship. They were hardy, unafraid of hard work, industrious, enthusiastic, and patriotic toward their adopted home.⁵⁶ Thus, the bringing in of people who presumably possessed traits that matched the imagined character of the nation, lessened the potential for racial prejudice. Here then, opposition to racial discrimination and prejudice resided in government immigration policy (since the keeping out of difference prevented race problems), but also in those Others deemed by the government to be compatible with Canadian-ness/whiteness (since it was they who must put forth the effort to fit in without disrupting the Canadian scene). Opposing racial discrimination and prejudice in Canada, by such accounts, implicitly required hard work on the part of the state (to keep the difference that caused

⁵⁵ Ibid., 71.

⁵⁶ Peart and Schaffter, *The Winds of Change: A History of Canada and Canadians in the Twentieth Century*, 61.

race problems out) and hard work on the part of those not-so different others to assimilate to accepted norms that enabled tranquility for the nation.

The representation of racial discrimination and prejudice *outside* of Canada was achieved in these textbooks primarily through the narrativization of three exceptional events or contexts. The first had to do with the communist scare following WWI which was said to have generated the “hysteria” necessary for white supremacist organizations such as the KKK to flourish in America.⁵⁷ The United States was said to have been prone to such “periodic outbursts of extreme intolerance” and this kind of representation worked to stand America in very stark contrast to Canada.⁵⁸ There was no mention of any white supremacist organization in Canada, nor any mention of racial discrimination in Canada during this historical period even though the narratives usually proceeded from the communist scare in the US to what was happening in Canada at the same time. Rather, there was a sense that Canadians were not only less inclined to engage in intolerant persecution, but that they were less likely to fall victim to a certain irrationality apparently evident in the American reaction to Communism. Canada was represented as having a series of labour strikes, and the Winnipeg General Strike in particular, which caused many people to “honestly worry” about socialism.⁵⁹ But, “much to the credit of Canada,” claimed *Decisive Decades*, the “Big Red Scare” did not develop nearly to the extent that it did in the United States.⁶⁰ Unlike that which occurred in the United States, the textbooks collectively suggested, Canada exhibited a reasoned and level-headed response to what were

⁵⁷ Hodgetts, *Decisive Decades: A History of the Twentieth Century for Canadians*, 267, Lambert, *The Twentieth Century*, 207, Nicholson et al., *Three Nations: Canada - Great Britain - the United States of America in the Twentieth Century*, 161, Ricker, Saywell, and Rose, *The Modern Era*, 160.

⁵⁸ Hodgetts, *Decisive Decades: A History of the Twentieth Century for Canadians*, 26. See also, Peart and Schaffter, *The Winds of Change: A History of Canada and Canadians in the Twentieth Century*, 237.

⁵⁹ Ricker, Saywell, and Rose, *The Modern Era*, 173.

⁶⁰ Hodgetts, *Decisive Decades: A History of the Twentieth Century for Canadians*, 267. See also, Ricker, Saywell, and Rose, *The Modern Era*, 173.

viewed as legitimate concerns regarding class conditions, not racialized conditions. Implicitly, it was the rationality of Canada that enabled tolerance of the Other and therefore supposed avoidance of such white supremacist problems.

A second example of how racial discrimination was discussed as an exceptional event was the rise of Adolph Hitler and the Nazis in Germany. The textbooks explicitly criticized Hitler's appeals to "race prejudice," but they also consistently positioned Nazi racial discrimination in the realm of the irrational (for example, with references to Hitler as, "the Lunatic *Fuhrer*" and as "a madman bearing the firebrands of race hatred").⁶¹ This emphasis on the irrationality of Nazi race prejudice in the space of Germany contrasted sharply with representations of Canadians as being "horrificed and disgusted by Hitler's systematic oppression and imprisonment of Jews" and of the Canadian Parliament as the very antithesis to Nazi tyranny.⁶²

The third main example of how racial discrimination and prejudice were discussed brought these issues into the present. This was the so-called "problem of the color bar" deemed to exist in South Africa and the United States, but not, it would seem, in the space of Canada.⁶³ One textbook noted that a "colour bar" existed at the point of entry into Canada, but that the problem within Canada was "a slight one because the coloured population is so small."⁶⁴ The implicit logic of such representations was that the mere presence of difference (i.e., colour) caused racial problems and since Canada had little difference (owing to its immigration restrictions which kept "coloured people" out), Canada had little or no problem of racial

⁶¹ Peart and Schaffter, *The Winds of Change: A History of Canada and Canadians in the Twentieth Century*, 353-4, Ricker, Saywell, and Rose, *The Modern Era*, 234.

⁶² Peart and Schaffter, *The Winds of Change: A History of Canada and Canadians in the Twentieth Century*, 277-9.

⁶³ Hodgetts, *Decisive Decades: A History of the Twentieth Century for Canadians*, 542, Lambert, *The Twentieth Century*, 379-80, Nicholson et al., *Three Nations: Canada - Great Britain - the United States of America in the Twentieth Century*, 420, Peart and Schaffter, *The Winds of Change: A History of Canada and Canadians in the Twentieth Century*, 405.

⁶⁴ Ricker, Saywell, and Rose, *The Modern Era*, 373.

discrimination. But not only did the textbooks effectively represent Canada as quite free of colour discrimination, they depicted Canada as a nation morally opposed to segregation based on skin colour. One textbook claimed, for example, that Canadians were “justifiably outraged by ... segregation” and pointed out that Canada “demanded that South Africa should be thrown out of the Commonwealth.”⁶⁵ Through such accounts, Canada was positioned as actively opposing racial discrimination throughout the world. Canada was also frequently mentioned as having participated in organizations that featured racial equality and tolerance as prominent objectives amongst others that revolve around freedom and opposition to tyranny. These were the Imperial conferences of the 1920s⁶⁶, N.A.T.O.⁶⁷, and the United Nations.⁶⁸ Representations of the Commonwealth in particular depicted Canada as active in the fight against racial discrimination. The Commonwealth was presented as an organization that had undergone a metamorphosis from a relic of the imperialist past into a modern and “free association of peoples drawn from all the major divisions of the human race.”⁶⁹ “Equal rights for all races” and putting an end to the subjection of colonial peoples were posited as important tasks of the Commonwealth and Canada was pictured as having taken a leading role in this shaping of this organization into “a union of equal nations ... bound together by a tradition of free co-operation and friendly discussion, without binding treaties and without the narrow loyalties to one race or one tribe.”⁷⁰ Broad affiliations that emphasized sameness and universality, or racial egalitarianism, were thus depicted as the key to resolving the problem of the colour bar. The implicit message was a

⁶⁵ Hodgetts, *Decisive Decades: A History of the Twentieth Century for Canadians*, 551-2.

⁶⁶ Peart and Schaffter, *The Winds of Change: A History of Canada and Canadians in the Twentieth Century*, 227.

⁶⁷ Ricker, Saywell, and Rose, *The Modern Era*, 340-42.

⁶⁸ Peart and Schaffter, *The Winds of Change: A History of Canada and Canadians in the Twentieth Century*. See also, Ricker, Saywell, and Rose, *The Modern Era*, 326.

⁶⁹ Ricker, Saywell, and Rose, *The Modern Era*, 357.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 356.

universalistic one: “treat everyone the same (like Canada did) and the problem of racial discrimination would be resolved (as it supposedly had been in Canada).”

By way of a summary, in the textbooks authorized for use throughout the 1960s “race problems” in Canada were deemed to be best resolved through an assimilative nationalism. Opposition to racial troubles was done by French and English statesmen and politicians, notably Wilfrid Laurier, and done for the good of the nation. That is, eliminating the “race problem” in Canada was primarily about fostering a strong and patriotic nation and not necessarily about such ideals as justice or equality. The supposed irrational passions of “race” were to be met with the rationality of a unified and homogeneous patriotism. The avoidance of racial insularity, that is the shedding of difference and the assimilation of peoples according to British norms of Empire and Nation, was seen as key to eliminating race problems within the borders of Canada. Others within Canada were viewed as having to work hard to conform to the rational norms of assimilative nationalism and the state itself was viewed as having to work hard to keep those implicitly deemed un-assimilable out. Having apparently achieved a state of tranquility through accomplishing all of this, Canada was depicted as well-placed to assist the rest of the world in dealing with racial disruptions that involved skin colour. Thus it can be argued that nationalism/patriotism, rationality, the assimilation of certain racial difference and the keeping out of colour were implied to be the keys to alleviating race problems in Canada – and, since Canada was deemed to have been largely successful in these respects, it was well-positioned as an “antiracist” exemplar, tolerant of the difference it let in and a model for alleviating the race problems (i.e., the colour bar) outside its borders.

Opposition to Racism in Textbooks from 1970s and 1980s

As was the case with the generations of textbooks that preceded them, these history texts of the 1970s and 1980s commented on French-English “racial strife” in Canada from the time of Confederation until the first decades of the twentieth century. Prime Minister John A. Macdonald was deemed by these texts to have played a significant role in easing these “racial” problems. In *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, it was stated that “Macdonald promoted English-French harmony by co-operating closely with the leaders of French-Canadian society.”⁷¹ Implied by such examples as this was the idea of “fixing” race problems by changing something within the “Other.” Macdonald it would seem did not have to co-operate with English-society for the problem of racial strife did not reside there. Rather, the problem resided with the French and the onus of responsibility for fixing said problems resided with the great (white male) leaders of English-society. This changed somewhat when Wilfrid Laurier became Prime Minister. Still it was white male figures who acted in the name of Canada and toward resolving problems of racial tension, but the textbooks represented as key to the process of overcoming the racial discord of the time the imperative that French and English people think of themselves first as “Canadians.” According to these textbooks, putting aside personal, regional, and racial differences and putting national interests first, would develop “a stronger Canadian spirit and national identity” which would, in turn, alleviate racial problems.⁷² These three aspects (i.e., that the problem of “racial strife” resided in the Other and their thinking, that white males were responsible for fixing the problem, and that this problem of race could be solved by retaining difference within a national frame of homogeneity) carried through this set of textbooks.

⁷¹ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 9.

⁷² Kirbyson et al., *Discovering Canada, Book Two*, 249.

There was also in this era of textbooks produced in the 1970s and 1980s a more explicit sense that the Canadian nation was committed to assisting the entire world with respect to race-related oppressions. Accounts of the Second World War, in particular, depicted Canada as having participated first and foremost on the basis of a commitment to ending Nazi tyranny and as having made “an enormous contribution to the defeat of Hitler and his supporters.”⁷³ A chapter in the textbook *In Search for Canada* was entitled “Canada and World War II” and was introduced with the following quotation from Ross Munro’s *Gauntlet to Overlord: The Story of the Canadian Army*:

World War II was a war that our soldiers, sailors and airmen believed in – that people at home supported to the full. The issue was black and white, with no grey areas. Hitler’s Nazi regime was a tyranny that had to be destroyed or we would be engulfed by it ... this Canadian volunteer army that swelled from one division to five was bound together out of a conviction that it was a war that had to be waged and had to be won.⁷⁴

In these narrative accounts, Canadians fought out of “conviction” that the world needed to be saved from the tyranny and aggression of Nazism and they did so voluntarily. This spirit of determined and altruistic voluntarism was pointed out as well in a depiction of the Mackenzie-Papineau battalion “who fought in the Spanish Civil War,” a depiction that immediately preceded a section entitled “Canada and Nazi aggression.”⁷⁵ The effect was to mark a clear division between the tyranny of fascism/Nazism and the heroic conviction of Canadian voluntarism to combat such tyranny. This trope of Canadians as superheroes nobly fighting for a better world sustained narrative reasoning about Canada’s essential goodness and its desire to both enhance this quality and spread it widely. *In Search of Canada* provided a particularly illustrative

⁷³ Ibid., 430.

⁷⁴ Kirbyson, *In Search of Canada*, 275. See also Ross Munro, *Gauntlet to Overlord: The Story of the Canadian Army* (Edmonton, Hurtig Publishers, 1972, p.1x).

⁷⁵ Ibid., 195.

example of this trope when it prominently displayed a “Johnny Canuck” comic depicting the muscular male figure, whose gendered and perfectly proportioned body stood for the Canada, smashing the Nazi swastika. The caption described Canuck as attempting to rescue his female “concentration camp acquaintance [named Etta]” who had been “sentenced to die on the guillotine at dawn.”⁷⁶

For the period after the war and through the 1960s, Canada was said to have changed, in part through various “reform movements” such as those involving women and aboriginal peoples who fought for “an equal place in Canadian society.”⁷⁷ Yet, these peoples were seldom mentioned (in terms of what they did to challenge injustices and inequalities) and instead took a back seat to the state itself and to male representatives of the state who were represented as having made important decisions and to have taken significant actions in dealing with issues of racial discrimination and inequality. The conservative government of John Diefenbaker, for example, was repetitively marked as initiating progressive legislation or taking steps, of its own accord, to ensure tolerance, justice, and equality for multiple cultures within Canada. “A particular Diefenbaker concern”, according to *Forging a Destiny*, was “a Canadian Bill of Rights guaranteeing inalienable rights to citizens.”⁷⁸ This Canadian Bill of Rights “was introduced to define and help protect the liberties of all Canadians” pointed out *Canada Towards Tomorrow*.⁷⁹ Passed in the summer of 1960, the bill was according to *In Search of Canada* “a step in the direction of a more just society.”⁸⁰ Elsewhere it was claimed that “the Diefenbaker government reinforced the idea that it was for *all* the people by appointing a Ukrainian to the Cabinet, by

⁷⁶ Ibid., 303.

⁷⁷ Kirbyson et al., *Discovering Canada, Book Two*, 457. See also, Kirbyson et al., *Discovering Canada, Book Two*, 511-14.

⁷⁸ Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945*, 148.

⁷⁹ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 11. See also, Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 280.

⁸⁰ Kirbyson, *In Search of Canada*, 333.

elevating an Indian to the Senate, and by choosing a Chinese-Canadian as President of their Young People's Organization."⁸¹

"Canada then, Canada now" juxtapositions in which past injustices were acknowledged alongside reforms and changes that illustrated contemporary justice were also evident in these textbooks. In particular, revisions made to federal immigration policies were highlighted as indications that Canada had become a better, much more tolerant, nation. Sometimes, however, these were worded in such a way as to camouflage the racialized dimension of the bias inherent to the restrictions. In *Forging a Destiny*, for example, "regional bias" was the language used to describe the problematic aspect of the immigration system in need of reform.

The 1967 revisions introduced the "points" system of assessing a prospective immigrant's acceptability. This was an attempt to remove the regional bias of Canada's immigration policy that favoured applicants from Western Europe.⁸²

What was certainly made clear was that people came to Canada precisely because it was "known as one of the best countries in the world in which to live" since it had "opened its doors" (unlike other nations).⁸³ "In the 1970s, when other nations were beginning to limit the numbers of immigrants, Canada's doors remained open," read *Forging a Destiny*.⁸⁴ The progressive changes made to Canada's immigration policy were represented as reflective of a broader sense of justice and egalitarianism in all aspects of the Canadian nation, especially in comparison to other nations such as the United States. Also, the influx of new peoples was said to have resulted for Canada and Canadians in an even "richer, more varied, way of life."⁸⁵

⁸¹ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 11.

⁸² Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945*, 219.

⁸³ Kirbyson et al., *Discovering Canada, Book Two*, 417.

⁸⁴ Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945*, 219.

⁸⁵ Kirbyson et al., *Discovering Canada, Book Two*, 417.

Matters of immigration often preceded narrative sections that made mention of Canada's multicultural policy. Here too the problems faced by immigrants who came to constitute minoritized groups were problems residing in the minds (i.e., beliefs) of these minoritized people.

Within Canadian society, it has been the *belief* of minority cultural groups that if they wished to become influential in Canadian society they would have to become more closely identified with the majority cultural group; they would have to adopt many of the customs and values of the majority group. The majority group in Canada has been made of those of British descent, or, in the case of Quebec, of French descent. In 1971, the introduction of the government policy of *multiculturalism* was designed to encourage minority cultural groups to retain their heritage while participating fully in Canadian society.⁸⁶

Thus, while new immigrants who came to form minority cultural groups thought it necessary to assimilate, the text constructed this to be an illusion in the face of the "truth" that, in fact, government policy encouraged precisely the opposite. Moreover, since the majority groups (i.e., those of British and French descent) apparently did not hold the belief that minority groups would have to "become more closely identified with" themselves, and since the text implicitly claimed majority groups to have been already and always "influential in Canadian society", the Canadian majority was represented through this passage as unquestionably tolerant and the policy of multiculturalism as owned or procured by them.

The encouragement by the majority of "old" Canadians for "new Canadians" to retain their unique heritage in a nationalist mosaic was represented not only as the "official" line, but also as a historical essence or even a pseudo-natural element of Canadian identity that worked to make Canada a place very much unlike "other countries".

If the land itself is diverse, the people are even more so. We are a nation of many cultures. Most anthropologists agree that even our first people, the Native Peoples, emigrated from Asia over a long-submerged land bridge. While new Canadians eventually discard many aspects of their cultural heritage, they are encouraged, *both officially and by the very*

⁸⁶ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 293. Italic emphasis added to "belief."

nature of our society, to retain much of what they brought from their homelands. Recently, we have come to use the term “Canadian mosaic” to describe our society. The “pieces” of a mosaic contribute to the colour, variety and richness of the whole, but remain distinct. Many other countries have become melting-pots which mix together the varied elements and produce a distinct people and culture. The “pieces” in such case are no longer identifiable.⁸⁷

The federal government was itself “quoted” responding to the report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism as claiming that, “we believe that cultural pluralism is the very essence of Canadian identity.”⁸⁸ The “we” in the federal government, already discursively established as French and English cultural majorities, was thus reinscribed with the redeeming characteristics of tolerance and acceptance of diversity. Indeed, these textbooks proclaimed redundantly that the essence of Canada and Canadian identity was cultural pluralism and that such diversity arose out of a distant past (i.e., that Canada had a long tradition of uniting on the basis of respecting difference) and even out of the land itself.

Since there was no single shared language, tradition, or culture, the strongest common denominator Canadians seemed to have was the land itself ... Out of this land of physical diversity, out of a Confederation founded on the concept of diversity, we have gradually found “common ground” in the realization that this very diversity is the unique unity of Canada.⁸⁹

As a result of it apparently already having found “common ground” on which to unite, Canada was positioned by textbooks such as *Forging a Destiny* as being well placed to assist other nations in their unification efforts. “Out of our common experience in trying to achieve unity through diversity, we may be able to play an international role in helping the nations of the world find common ground on which to unite, common aspirations to share.”⁹⁰ That this unity through

⁸⁷ Ibid., 392. Italic emphasis added.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945*, 296-7.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 306.

diversity had to do with “racial” diversity was made more explicit in reference to the foreign policy of the new Trudeau government when it was claimed that “Canada’s foreign policy should be an extension and reflection of conditions within Canada itself, especially our need to maintain racial harmony and national unity.”⁹¹

Canada was marked as having a role abroad as a “helper fixer”⁹² on the basis of lessons learned from creating “racial harmony” within the space of Canada and on the basis that the Canadian national body was constituted by a unique “pride in the spirit of tolerance.”⁹³ The trope of helper fixer converged with the trope of distinctiveness (for Canada was distinguished by its mosaic model from places like the United States where the assimilative “melting pot” was represented as paramount) to sustain narratives that suggested Canada to be a better national model for the world.⁹⁴ This pride in its tolerance toward difference was also captured in depictions of Canada’s historical tradition of altruistic voluntarism, on the international stage, in resolving problems related to racial difference.

Historic ties are of great significance in Canada’s relations with the Third World. Canada is a member of the Commonwealth, a voluntary, multi-racial and multi-cultural association of nations, all of which were formerly part of the British Empire... Canada has played a major role in trying to convert the Commonwealth into an association for overcoming the problems and differences that divide nations in the present day.⁹⁵

Elsewhere, the role of another white male figure of the Canadian nation working through the United Nations on problems related to racial differences was highlighted. “The Universal

⁹¹ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 371.

⁹² Kirbyson, *In Search of Canada*, 485-86.

⁹³ Kirbyson et al., *Discovering Canada, Book Two*, 517.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Kirbyson, *In Search of Canada*, 486.

Declaration of Human Rights was drafted by Professor J.P. Humphrey of McGill University” proudly proclaimed *Forging a Destiny*.⁹⁶

Consistently, Canada was represented as contributing to the resolution of racialized problems “out there” in part because it had become “one of the richest, most prosperous countries in the world.”⁹⁷ Although the same textbook also pointed out that a prosperous life was “not shared by all of our citizens” since some twenty percent of the population was said to live below the poverty line, it did not address the salient questions about who comprised this impoverished group, who made up the enriched group, and why they did. Canada’s “race problems”, it would seem from these textbooks, were a thing of the past and so Canada and Canadians, supposedly in the possession of guaranteed human rights, could go forth to uplift the rest of the world. The earlier narratives mentioning “racial strife” within Canada of the past had been overridden by hopeful narratives of Canada now in which the adoption of official multiculturalism was posited as that which would enable Canada to further “intercultural understanding and racial harmony” across the planet.⁹⁸

In the textbook *In Search of Canada*, when explaining why the problems of the Third World were important to Canada, it was explained that Canada was obliged to support these “other” places because of its high standards of living and because of its determined, and implicitly successful, efforts to create a just society.

The problems of the Third World are important to Canada for many reasons. A growing number of Canadians believe that a country with so many advantages and one of the world’s highest living standards bears a social and humanitarian responsibility to those less fortunate. As Canadians strive to create amore just society within their own borders, so they must support the principle for greater justice for people elsewhere⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Mitchner et al., *Forging a Destiny: Canada since 1945*, 29.

⁹⁷ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 35.

⁹⁸ Kirbyson et al., *Discovering Canada, Book Two*, 511.

⁹⁹ Kirbyson, *In Search of Canada*, 486.

Canada, according to such representations nobly pursued justice for the world by “helping” and “fixing” racialized problems beyond its own borders. It also was represented as having firmly entrenched legislation and laws at home that were indicated to have been brought into place to ensure protection from multiple discriminations. “The Canada Act guarantees certain rights to all citizens ... regardless of sex or ethnic group” asserted *Discovering Canada*.¹⁰⁰ Similarly, in *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, the “Ontario Human Rights Code protects Ontario residents from discrimination on the basis of race, creed, colour, sex, marital status, nationality, ancestry, place of origin and age.”¹⁰¹ This same textbook also suggested that such rights were obtained by British people, thus somehow managing to obscure the efforts of those historically deprived of their rights to obtain such rights for themselves and thereby privileging the idea that British colonizers have not only been un-oppressive, but long-time fighters for human rights.

Canadians enjoy many rights and freedoms which are stated in Parliamentary laws and protected by the courts. They were derived from the rights and freedoms won by the British people, over hundreds of years.¹⁰²

This notion prevailed that the British (and to a lesser extent the French) have been primarily responsible for the progressive developments that counter racial discrimination. While multiculturalism was explicitly deemed to be the essential identity of Canada and the fundamental component necessary to both unify the nation and keep under control problems of racial divisiveness, it was nevertheless still the French and English who were deemed responsible for all of this and, ultimately, for setting that good example about how to deal with diversity which the rest of the world might emulate.

¹⁰⁰ Kirbyson et al., *Discovering Canada, Book Two*, 525.

¹⁰¹ Evans and Diachun, *Canada Towards Tomorrow*, 282.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 278.

Because of their importance to Canada, it is essential that the two founding peoples get along well together. By co-operating with, and respecting one another, they can build a richer, stronger Canada. They also can set an example of unity for other governments around the world which are struggling to keep peoples of various cultures together within one nation. On the other hand, by refusing to help, understand or tolerate each other, the English and French can tear Canada apart. The pieces left behind would never know “what might have been” the destiny of a free, united Canada. Perhaps they would experience the fate they have resisted for two hundred years – absorption by the United States.¹⁰³

According to this textbook, the ultimate cost of not respecting one another, of not co-operating, or keeping multiple cultures together was one that resembled an “American” invasion. Thus, it would seem, the often-stated imperative to work against “racial strife” had more to do with preserving the sanctity of the national body (i.e., keeping the organism alive, well, and functioning harmoniously) than it did with such noble concepts as tolerance, justice, or equality.

Thus, to summarize this period of the 1970s and 1980s, patriotic nationalism was both the means by which racial problems could be overcome and the goal for overcoming them. Relations of gender and race intersected since it was only white male leaders such as Macdonald and Laurier who were positioned as capable of resolving racial bitterness in Canada by changing the mindset of the Other (where the problem of race implicitly resided) to foster racial harmony through a spirit of national identity. Cooperation, getting along well together, understanding, respecting, and tolerating difference - these were the things needed to keep multiply-cultured nations intact. Canada was represented as having an altruistic will and sense of duty that had arisen from a history of overcoming race problems within its borders, combating tyranny beyond its borders, establishing in law rights for all its citizens, and revising immigration policies to permit more than western Europeans to take advantage of Canada’s increasingly richer and culturally pluralistic way of life. These characteristics in the soul of the Canadian national body

¹⁰³ Ibid., 134.

were deemed fundamental to promoting racial harmony in a world apparently “struggling to keep peoples of various cultures together within one nation.”¹⁰⁴

Opposition to Racism in Textbooks since 2000

I mentioned at the beginning of the previous chapter that racism in the currently authorized textbooks is explicitly noted to be integral to the telling of Canadian history, is made a theme and topic of narrative sections, is used as a chapter sub-heading, is included in the index, and is even defined in the glossary of most every textbook of this period. Opposition to racism meanwhile is depicted as an integral and essential component of the “Canadian” struggle for a just and tolerant society. In *Canada: Face of a Nation*, for example, it is claimed that prejudice and discrimination have long been a problem for Canadians.

There has always been some discrimination against newly arrived immigrants. Many immigrants find it difficult to be fully accepted into Canadian society. Getting rid of prejudice and discrimination is a major challenge for Canadians.¹⁰⁵

While such a statement positions racism as a real part of Canada’s past and present, it also represents the fight against prejudice and discrimination as an essential Canadian quality or spirit. What is more, the textbooks commonly imply (especially by the use of the past tense) that the nation as a whole has moved progressively toward ideals of tolerance and justice by overcoming histories of racism. Aboriginal peoples in particular are noted in the introductory pages of many of the textbooks to have “faced racism” early in the twentieth century, as if racism were no longer an issue, or merely less of an issue, in the lives of Aboriginal peoples now.¹⁰⁶ Canada is represented as having succeeded in creating a space of fair and just treatment and the implication

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, xi.

¹⁰⁶ Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 19, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 6.

is that the forthcoming story of the nation will illustrate how opposition to racism can be carried out in exemplary fashion.

The story of Canada's Aboriginal peoples in the twentieth century will unfold throughout the text, leaving you to consider how fair and just treatment can be achieved in light of the past centuries of mistreatment¹⁰⁷

By such accounts, opposition to racism can be successfully “achieved” and Canada is a good example of this success. Indeed, pervading the texts are the ideas that Canada exists as a successfully redeemed and repentant egalitarian nation and that Canadian identity rests upon a foundation of tolerance and justice.

The current Ontario Grade 10 History Curriculum dictates that students be able, by the end of the course, to “demonstrate an understanding of the elements of Canadian identity.”¹⁰⁸ This document also outlines four specific expectations as part of this overall goal. Students are expected to learn how to explain the extent to which certain symbols represent Canada and Canadians, to evaluate the contributions to Canadian society of its communities, to demonstrate how artistic expression reflects Canadian identity, and to articulate why the Canadian government promotes a common Canadian identity through its various agencies. The teacher resource books designed to accompany the approved textbooks repeat these expectations verbatim.¹⁰⁹ This noticeably explicit curricular stress on Canadian identity is reflected in the new crop of textbooks as well which textbooks collectively provide an answer to “why the Canadian government promotes a common Canadian identity” by parading Canada’s diverse “ethnic composition” as having given rise to a distinctive Canadian identity and suggesting that the promotion of such a

¹⁰⁷ Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 6. Emphasis added.

¹⁰⁸ Province of Ontario: Ministry of Education *The Ontario Curriculum Grades 9 and 10: Canadian and World Studies*, 28.

¹⁰⁹ As one example, for the text *Spotlight Canada*, see, Godfrey, *Teacher's Resource: Spotlight Canada (4th Edition)*.

common “multicultural” identity is the key to a tranquil and harmonious nation-state free of racisms.¹¹⁰ Each of the textbooks asserts that a unique Canadian identity and culture exists despite the influence of American culture and each repeats the idea that Canada is one of the best countries in the world in which to live, often citing UN rankings placing Canada at the top of the list year after year.¹¹¹ *Canadian History*, for example, reads,

Living in Canada today we are not free of worries and concerns. We have political and constitutional problems regarding power-sharing between levels of government. We have problems with the equitable sharing of wealth and with outside influences on our economy. We have incidents of discrimination and intolerance despite guarantees to our rights. Yet Statistics Canada surveys show that most Canadians feel a physical sense of well-being, and most would agree with the UN that Canada is the best place in the world to live.¹¹²

This same text goes on to suggest that Canada is such a good place to live that “some people are prepared to jeopardize their lives by trying to enter Canada illegally” and does this alongside a photograph of “boat people” from China being led off by Canadian immigration officials.¹¹³

Another textbook, *Canada: Our Century Our Story*, boasts that “In 1973, London’s prestigious magazine, the *Economist*, rated Canada the best country in the world in which to live.”¹¹⁴

What makes Canada so wonderful, according to these textbooks, is the multicultural aspect of its identity, which permits tolerance of difference. Canada is made of many peoples with different heritages happily sharing in the shaping of Canadian society. As put in *Canada: Face of a Nation*,

¹¹⁰ Examples include, Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 1, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, ix, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 12.

¹¹¹ Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 331, 62, 80, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 418.

¹¹² Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 438. See also, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, xi.

¹¹³ Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 439.

¹¹⁴ Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 338.

Canada has a multicultural society where people from different cultures are encouraged to preserve their original languages, their religions, and many of their beliefs and customs, as they join and contribute to Canadian society ...interaction among these groups also creates more tolerance of differences and makes Canada a *better place to live*¹¹⁵

Canada is better than elsewhere, according to these textbooks, because it is tolerant of difference, and it is tolerant of difference because it is multicultural. Not only is Canada imagined to be better than other places in this regard (and celebrated as such), but it is also depicted as being better than its older self. The textbooks of this period discuss numerous racisms of the past, but inevitably these racisms are overcome – and usually through the actions of one state apparatus or another, if only retroactively. That is, these textbooks occasionally reduce the severity of acknowledged racisms and depict them as redressed or undone over time. One way this is done is through the insertion of the present into or alongside these narratives of the past. A good example of what might be called representations of “nationalist retroactive antiracism” is found in a *Canadian History* “more to the story” factoid entitled “changing times,” which is placed below a two sentence account of the voyage of the *Komagata Maru*. Here it is claimed that G.K. Singh, a would-be immigrant aboard the ship, and Fred Taylor, an immigration officer at the time, met years later (after Singh had “successfully immigrated”) and “both men agreed that attitudes about immigrants from India and policies regarding immigration had changed substantially.”¹¹⁶ Another example of such nationalist retroactive antiracism is evident when *Spotlight Canada* describes the Aboriginal political movements that arose in response to the forced assimilation policies of the Canadian government. This textbook breaks the chronological narrative with a

¹¹⁵ Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, x. Emphasis added.

¹¹⁶ Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 43. See also, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 124.

“fast forward” section of text declaring that “In 1998, the Canadian government made a formal apology to Aboriginal peoples for the treatment they received in residential schools.”¹¹⁷

Similarly redemptive representations of the nation are also evident in descriptions of the many “racist” barriers faced by communities of people who wished to enlist in the Canadian military during the First World War. These descriptions are often followed by statements that positively reaffirm Canadian tolerance or moral progress. *Canada: Our Century, Our Story* explains that “during the early days of the war, the Borden government discouraged aboriginal Canadians from enlisting” and concludes this passage by stating that “by the end of WWI, one in three able-bodied First Nations men had enlisted.”¹¹⁸ It is not the truthfulness of such a statement that is in question here, but rather the semiotic effects of the way war is used to represent the nation as becoming more tolerant than it once was or more tolerant than its neighbours, friends, and enemies. In this sense, World War I is a trope functioning to re-produce a narrative logic about the Canadian nation maturing into a wiser and more tolerant being.

Sometimes, too, acknowledged oppression gets at least partially displaced through reaffirming depictions of care and concern for those oppressed such that the benevolent concern is presented as partial justification for the oppression itself. *Canada: Continuity and Change*, for example, mentions that “officials at first discouraged the recruitment of Aboriginal Canadians partly because of racist views and partly because they felt Aboriginals might be mistreated if captured.”¹¹⁹ This depiction of Canada as at once caring for the well-being of aboriginal peoples and, at the same time, subjecting these people to racialized oppression, fashions a textual

¹¹⁷ Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 145.

¹¹⁸ Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 57.

¹¹⁹ Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 92. See also, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 52.

ambiguity whereby the seriousness of the latter is at least partially subsumed or displaced by the pride in the former.

Canada: Our Century, Our Story leads into the discussion of the barriers to enlistment for Black Canadians by, first of all, indicating on a timeline that “Black Canadians are allowed to enlist,”¹²⁰ thereby setting up the reader for an uplifting conclusion, and secondly, by explaining that, not only Canada, but most of the world was racist in the years leading up to WWI.

In 1914, Canada was in many ways a racist society, officially and unofficially – as was the rest of the world. Most people had little understanding of prejudice, stereotyping, discrimination, and racism, despite the abolition of slavery in the nineteenth century. For Black Canadians, the first battle of WWI was for the right to enlist.¹²¹

While the admission of racism existing in Canada is a significant step forward from outright or implicit denial, these particular representational strategies (i.e., highlighting the facts that Blacks were “allowed” to enlist and that most of the world was racist) depict the nation, even in advance of any explanatory narrative, as having triumphed over a racism that was perfectly understandable given the times. In this way, the nation’s moral reformation is narratively centered while the issue of racism and the experiences of those people made objects of racialized exclusions are marginalized.

Though acknowledged, little in the way of detail is given to describe the historical efforts of oppressed groups of people to enlist in the Canadian military (as if these efforts are somehow less critical to the story than, say, the fact that Canada eventually removed many of the barriers facing those from minority groups who wished to enlist). Nor is there much information about the duration or specific make-up of the contestation carried out by the very groups adversely affected by the discriminatory policy, or about the specific barriers and hurdles organized by

¹²⁰ Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 53.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 57.

various levels of government and perpetuated by powerful structures such as the media and school system. One exception, a brief comment in *Canada: Face of a Nation* that “African Canadians organized their own patriotic groups” on the home front, nevertheless omits explanation of why it was necessary for African Canadians to organize “their own” groups, and moreover, discursively situates “African Canadians” as a “them” in relation to an invisible and patriotic “us.”¹²² There is, in other words, a marginalization of the histories of how minoritized communities opposed racism during the period of WWI.

A particularly key moment for Canada during WWI, according to these textbooks, was the enactment of The Wartime Elections Act which is represented, misleadingly, as having awarded the right to vote to all Canadian women. In fact, the vote was extended to *certain* women in *certain* provinces and the persistent denial to include *all* women was based, across the provinces, on race.¹²³ Moreover, these narratives represent the State and its male figures as having bestowed the gift of enfranchisement upon women. *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, for example, claims that “[Prime Minister] Borden extended the vote to all Canadian women on May 24, 1918.”¹²⁴ *Canada: Continuity and Change* makes the following statement,

[The Wartime Elections Act] gave the vote to women – but not all women. Only army nurses and close relatives of soldiers were allowed to vote... Obviously this act was unfair to other women. In 1918, all women were given the right to vote, but they still could not be elected to Parliament. That right did not come until 1920.¹²⁵

These two textbooks fail to mention that Aboriginal women were not extended the franchise until 1960 or that women of Japanese and Chinese ancestry were not permitted to vote until 1949. Those textbooks which do acknowledge that certain groups of people were

¹²² Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 58.

¹²³ Backhouse, *Colour-Coded: A Legal History of Racism in Canada, 1900-1950*.

¹²⁴ Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 101.

¹²⁵ Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 110-11.

denied provincial and federal voting rights on the basis both of race and gender, often do this as an aside to the main narrative or in odd juxtaposition with statements that are wholly contradictory. An example of both is contained in *Making History*. First, in a “did you know” factoid, it is explained that,

Although women won the vote, both men and women of some other groups were denied voting rights. Chinese- and Japanese-Canadians were denied voting rights until 1947, and status Indians could not vote until 1960.¹²⁶

Only two pages later the matter-of-fact claim is made that, “*All Canadian women* won the right to vote in federal elections in 1918.”¹²⁷ This incomprehensible placement of an affirmation of the extension of the franchise alongside acknowledgement of its persistent restriction is accomplished in successive sentences in *Canadian History*.

By the end of the war, the right to vote in most provincial elections was extended to most women (Fig. 3.8e). Native and Asian women, like Native and Asian men, still did not have the right to vote.¹²⁸

From a purely statistical viewpoint, there is probably little to argue here since, numerically, “most” women were enfranchised by the Act. However, the above passage does not recognize the salience of racism in the history of extension and restriction of the right to vote. Such representations reduce all women (in this case, “most women”) to white women, while denying racism by not making reference to “whiteness” nor to the power of people regarded as white to enact restrictions upon non-white others. They also perpetuate the naturalization of racial categories such as “Native” and “Asian” by failing to draw critical attention to the categories themselves and instead using them as though they were natural and unproblematic ways to

¹²⁶ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 96.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 98. Emphasis added.

¹²⁸ Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 93.

represent humanity.¹²⁹ Beyond all of this, such representations depict Canada as a much better (i.e., less sexist and less racist) place by the end of the war than at the beginning and certainly much better now. Although this progressive development is attributed in part to the important actions of white women such as Emily Murphy (women of colour are not represented as having acted in significant ways to gain the franchise), it is primarily the generous gesture of the masculinized state itself in extending the franchise that is credited with this maturation toward becoming a more just place.

In representations of the post-WWI period of Canadian history, these textbooks counter the popularized idea that the 1920s were roaring boom times by indicating that historically-specific intolerance was experienced by women, immigrants, and Aboriginal peoples.¹³⁰ Typical is the lead-in question posed by *Making History* asking “Did the twenties really roar?” and the subsequent discussion addressing the experiences of these three groups.¹³¹ With respect to “Aboriginal Nations,” most of the textbooks attempt to illustrate the hardships and discriminatory barriers faced by aboriginal peoples, cite the role of the government in attempting to forcibly assimilate Native peoples, highlight the use of residential schools as an especially damaging component of this attempt at assimilation, and, significantly, illustrate that Aboriginal peoples resisted the government’s efforts to assimilate them.¹³² In these representations of resistance, the textbooks name Aboriginal organizations (e.g., Native Brotherhood of British Columbia) created to work against the injustices that infringed upon their cultures, traditions, land and human rights.

¹²⁹ A simple re-wording of the passage would have provided a minimal recognition of the salience of race in this case, “By the end of the war, the right to vote was extended only to women deemed to be white and not to those deemed to be “Native” or “Asian.”

¹³⁰ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 120-22, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 103, 25, 56.

¹³¹ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 120-22.

¹³² Ibid., 122-23, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 76-77, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 145-47, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 98-100, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 186-87.

They also name certain individual Aboriginals like Six Nations chief Deskadeh or Cree leader Edward Ahenakew, but most often it is Mohawk chief F.O. Loft who is named and made to stand for the category of “Aboriginal people” during representations of this era.”¹³³ These Aboriginal organizations and its male leaders are represented as having begun an “Aboriginal activism that would blossom in the 1960s” and that would lead to great changes (e.g., Nisga’a Treaty) by the end of the century.¹³⁴ Such representations obscure the unbroken line of activism (e.g., by Nisga’a peoples, both male and female) regarding their land rights by positioning these mid-twentieth century males Aboriginal activists as the founders of change, but they also suggest that progressive transformation was inevitably on its way. Put differently, while the federal government’s actions are clearly portrayed in a negative and oppressive light, they are also represented as somehow confined to an era in which the groundwork for improved relations between Aboriginal nations and the Canadian government was already being set. Not every inclusion, however, depicted Canada or the Canadian government as racist, either implicitly or explicitly. The following extract from *Canadian History*, for example, might merit description as an antiracist intervention on the part of an organization with obvious “Canadian” links, the Royal Canadian Legion.

Many [injured and disabled soldiers] received free land and money to start farms through the *Soldier Settlement Act*. Aboriginal veterans, on the other hand, were excluded from these standard benefits. The Royal Canadian Legion acknowledged the unfairness experienced by Aboriginal veterans. It passed the following resolution: “That the Indian War Veteran be placed on the same footing and receive the same benefits as his other Canadian comrades, especially in regard to the Last Post Fund, Pensioners’ Relief, and Veterans’ Allowances, and that the Canadian Legion, British Empire Service League, do everything in their power to bring this about.”¹³⁵

¹³³ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 122, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 77, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 146-47, Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 186.

¹³⁴ Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 187.

¹³⁵ Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 101.

The inclusion of this noble action on the part of the Royal Canadian Legion is significant, but so too is the absence of any follow-up about whether or not the resolution had any effect in bringing justice to the Aboriginal war veterans. Indeed, the story seems to end here. It is as though the fact that there were those among the Royal Canadian Legion who were willing to speak out against unfairness is more salient than the fact of the unfairness itself. The Canadian nation is redeemed by the few representatives who fought unfairness toward Aboriginal people at the time and by time itself which leads Canada toward a better place in its relations with Aboriginals.

Although numerous examples of WWII-era racisms specific to Canada (e.g., the restrictions placed upon people of colour who wished to enlist in the military) and others in which Canada was complicit (e.g., world-wide anti-Semitism) are recognized throughout these new textbooks, the Second World War itself is represented as a turning point for Canada insofar as it moved the nation more promptly and convincingly toward the protection of human rights at home and across the world. *Making History* includes a letter written by a Canadian soldier at Bergen-Belsen revealing the effect upon him of witnessing the horrors of the death camp and then declares that, "Discoveries like this helped to form a new resolve in Canada and many other countries that human rights must in future be protected."¹³⁶ Through this war Canada became, according to these textbooks, resolved to challenge racism. *Canada: Our Century, Our Story* reads,

The discovery of death camps in Europe and the aftermath of the atomic bomb in Japan also drove home to Canadians just how destructive racism and uncontrolled arms buildups could be. This would have far-reaching effects throughout the rest of the country. As Canadians became aware of the human costs of racism and armed confrontation, they began to challenge their acceptance much more vigorously.¹³⁷

¹³⁶ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 190.

¹³⁷ Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 204.

Even the Holocaust is represented with a redemptive sort of conclusion that depicts Canada as unique in its efforts to oppose anti-Semitism, racism, and other social oppressions. *Canada: Our Century, Our Story* moves to the present to declare that,

Canadians struggle with the value we place on free speech when it collides with hate messages. We have chosen to limit this freedom in favour of compassion and have objected to people such as ... Keegstra ... and Zundel.¹³⁸

This represents Canada as now honourably struggling to oppose racism and anti-Semitism and implies that other countries which support free speech (e.g., US) do not. Moreover, by not acknowledging that both Keegstra and Zundel had substantial followings in Canada, this passage gives the impression that all Canadians act in this compassionate way. Another type of redemptive conclusion to a description of the Holocaust can be seen in *Canada: Continuity and Change* which closes its narrative with acknowledgement that “the Canadian Parliament passed a law allowing the arrest and trial of war criminals living in Canada” and recognition that “a Canadian, Edgar Bronfman, has fought long and hard to recapture for Jewish families their wealth, which was stolen by the Nazis.”¹³⁹ Elsewhere, as in a “parallels through time” section of *Making History* that disrupts the chronological coherence of the narrative, Canadians in the 1980s are depicted as being “shocked to discover” that Canada had permitted some people accused of war crimes to immigrate to Canada after the war. This situation is deemed to have resulted in “the federal government pass[ing] legislation allowing for the deportation of suspected Nazi war criminals.”¹⁴⁰ By such accounts, the State and male figures standing for Canada (e.g., Bronfman) redeem the nation by acting promptly and willingly to fix racist problems.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 201.

¹³⁹ Bogle, D'Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 238.

¹⁴⁰ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 165.

As I pointed out in the previous chapter, the internment of Japanese Canadians during WWII is represented as one of the most shameful incidents of racism in Canadian history. It is, however, one which gets used by the textbooks to illustrate Canada's redemptive progression. Most of the textbooks conclude narrative sections dealing with the experiences of Japanese Canadians during World War II by tagging on a sentence or short paragraph indicating that the Canadian government apologized to Japanese Canadians for past injustices and offered financial compensation to individual survivors.¹⁴¹ One textbook, *Canadian History*, reprinted the government advertisement placed in newspapers to announce the redress settlement.¹⁴² More typical is the following excerpt from *Canada: Face of a Nation*,

In 1988 Parliament acknowledged that the treatment of Japanese Canadians was "unjust" and gave the survivors money to help compensate them for their losses. Family members were given \$21 000 each.¹⁴³

There is little to explain what was involved in getting this acknowledgement and financial compensation. The lifetime of hard work carried out by Canadian citizens interned during the war and others who viewed this as an injustice in need of redress is entirely obscured along with the long history of successive politicians' reluctance and outright refusal to agree to such a redress settlement. Redress, in these narratives, functions to sustain the national imaginary of Canada as a just society, even as one that would undo the racist injustice of the past by voluntarily making reparations in the present.

Like the failure to describe the history behind the achievement of a redress agreement by and for Japanese Canadians, the textbooks generally fail to describe in any substantive way the

¹⁴¹ For example, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 172, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 239.

¹⁴² Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 239.

¹⁴³ Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 172.

efforts of the racially excluded to fight against racism during the Second World War. *Canadian History* mentions that,

By the war's end, there were committees to fight racial intolerance in Vancouver, Calgary, Winnipeg, Toronto, Hamilton, Windsor, and Sydney. In Halifax, the *Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People* was formed in the last year of the war.¹⁴⁴

This is an indication both that racism was prevalent across the entire nation and that it was being politically contested all through the nation. That these committees were being formed thus seems quite significant and in need of further elaboration, but none is provided. *Spotlight Canada* has a similar inclusion and one which makes a rare mention of the word “anti-racist,”

Black Canadians, especially those in Nova Scotia, had been active in human and civil rights long before the 1960s. Groups had succeeded in helping to get anti-racist legislation passed in the 1940s. In the 1950s, organizations such as the Negro Citizenship Association and the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Coloured People lobbied successfully for improved civil rights.¹⁴⁵

A similar passage in *Canadian History* also identifies the existence of what might now be termed anti-racist initiatives,

the wartime contributions of Blacks, Aboriginal peoples, and other minorities advanced the cause of civil rights after the war. By 1945, Ontario and Alberta had legislated against racial and religious discrimination in hiring and housing – the first provinces to do so. Over the second half of the century, the rights of Canadians were extended in provincial and federal human rights legislation.¹⁴⁶

However, the historical contributions of those involved in advancing the cause of civil rights and the effort of those in successfully bringing in legislation to combat racial discrimination are secondary to the main point of such passages, that is, that Canada has made significant progress in extending human rights. This is also evident in depictions of prominent Black Canadians in

¹⁴⁴ Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 235.

¹⁴⁵ Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 357.

¹⁴⁶ Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 245.

the post-WWII period who are said to have actively opposed racism. For example, in *Canada: Face of a Nation*, Carrie Best is described as “lifelong champion of human rights” whose stories “of unfair incidents ultimately forced the Nova Scotia government to take action against racist laws in the province.”¹⁴⁷ But in this textbook, Carrie Best is segregated to a highlighted section of text called “hidden story.” Certainly, Best’s lifelong work was not hidden from those who read her paper *The Clarion* or from many Black Canadians. Is this knowledge of Best therefore hidden or ignored and if the latter, what are the implications of it being called the former? In *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, Best is also made the focus of a highlighted page of text, separate from the main narrative, when it is claimed that,

Best’s editorials helped change anti-racism strategies in Canada. Many people began to realize that fighting individual cases, like [Viola] Desmond’s, was ineffective. Outlawing racial discrimination was the only solution.¹⁴⁸

Given the stated significance of her work, one wonders why it is not made an integral part of the narrative of Canadian history. What is implied is that her work is of more relevance to African Canadians than it is to all residents of Canada – suggesting a perception of racism which ignores the fact that privilege is accrued by some (i.e., whites) even as others (e.g., Black Canadians) are subjected to the consequences of racism. Moreover, while Best’s efforts are represented as impacting upon governments and “anti-racism strategies in Canada,” the “only solution” (i.e., “outlawing racial discrimination”) is one made by the subject Canada. In other words, Carrie Best, one of the few women of colour represented with much detail at all, functions in these narratives as a trope for the maturation into goodness and tolerance of a masculinized national body. With redundancy, the changes made to provincial and federal laws are highlighted

¹⁴⁷ Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 192. See also, Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 285, Cruyton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 311, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 301, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 405.

¹⁴⁸ Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 228-29.

throughout these textbooks and while some acknowledgement is directed toward the efforts of Black Canadians like Dan Hill, Wilson Head, Rosemary Brown, or Lincoln Alexander in lobbying for such changes, certain (white male) political leaders standing for the nation are the ones who are portrayed as having been instrumental in bringing about important changes to the nation based on human rights, equality, and justice that have presumably made it a better place to live.¹⁴⁹ Prime Ministers Diefenbaker, Pearson, and Trudeau are foremost among them, but it is to Diefenbaker that I will look most closely.

Diefenbaker is described in *Canada: Our Century, Our Story* as “a lifelong champion of human rights” and the person responsible for the 1960 Bill of Rights.¹⁵⁰ In *Canadian History*, he is said to have “brought in the Canadian *Bill of Rights*, which guaranteed all Canadians the basic freedoms of speech, worship, and assembly, regardless of race, ethnic origin, or sex.”¹⁵¹ *Making History* contains the following depiction of Diefenbaker,

John Diefenbaker was the first Canadian prime minister whose father was of neither English nor French background ... a man of principle, passionately committed to what he called “unhyphenated Canadianism” – a belief in the equality of all Canadians, whatever their heritage. At the same time, he believed in preserving Canada’s British connections, and was determined to stand up to the Americans ... he championed human rights. He was the first prime minister to include a woman in his cabinet and to appoint an Aboriginal senator. He gave Canada’s status Indians, living on reserves, the right to vote in federal elections. He introduced the **Canadian Bill of Rights** designed to protect our “heritage of freedoms”¹⁵²

Diefenbaker, the son of a non-French and non-English father, is the embodiment of the Canadian mosaic. He is marked as principled, committed to equality and human rights, determined to stand up for Canadian autonomy, proud of Canada’s British heritage, and generous toward women and

¹⁴⁹ Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 285-89, 321, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 275, 345.

¹⁵⁰ Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 244.

¹⁵¹ Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 272.

¹⁵² Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 248. Emphasis in original.

Aboriginal peoples. This powerful white (but ethnic) male figure of the nation bestows the gift of a cabinet position to a woman, appoints an Aboriginal senator, and gives the right to vote to “status Indians.” Such representations obscure the efforts and agency of those very individuals who rose to such governmental positions or who fought for the right to vote. This, and the failure to name the Aboriginal senator appointed by Diefenbaker suggest that it is Diefenbaker’s image (and, by extension, the image of Canada) that matters most here. A similar portrayal is evident in *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*,

Once in power, Diefenbaker revolutionized parliament by bringing in a Chinese member, a Ukrainian Minister of Labour, and the first woman Cabinet minister, Ellen Fairclough.¹⁵³

In this excerpt, the “Chinese” and “Ukrainian” members, in fact Canadian citizens probably more aptly described as Chinese-Canadians and Ukrainian-Canadians, remain unnamed (in contrast to the white woman who is) and are implicitly represented as important exclusively in virtue of their race. The implication of this failure to name and of Diefenbaker’s positioning as the one who revolutionized parliament is that these two people somehow had little to do with their own arrival in parliament. Their history, and the fact that they were in a position to become Cabinet ministers only because the people voted them in, is made irrelevant within a narrative aimed at constructing a noble and just image of both Diefenbaker and the Canadian nation. Changes made by Canada to its immigration policy in 1967 are deemed by *Spotlight Canada* to have followed from Diefenbaker’s Bill of Rights “that rejected discrimination on the basis of race” and to have been “designed to eliminate the discriminatory policies of the past.”¹⁵⁴ This noble image of Diefenbaker and the Canadian nation is made evident too in depictions of his vocal opposition against South African apartheid.

¹⁵³ Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 244. See also, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 350.

¹⁵⁴ Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 309.

At Commonwealth meetings, Canada spoke out for justice and human rights in the world. South Africa, a Commonwealth member up to 1961, practices apartheid. Blacks, the largest part of the population, were denied basic human rights by the White minority, which controlled the government and economy. Prime Minister Diefenbaker condemned apartheid and urged the Commonwealth to do so too. He told the South African foreign minister, “Your policies are not only wrong, but dangerous.” While it would be decades before South Africa changed, Diefenbaker’s stand won Canada the respect of other nations in Africa and Asia.”¹⁵⁵

Diefenbaker is represented as having left a legacy for Canadians based on the idea of human rights, but through his efforts in spearheading a process to force South Africa out of the Commonwealth, Canada is represented as having gained international prestige and claimed to have helped to “usher in a new dawn” eventually leading to the dismantling of *apartheid* and Nelson Mandela becoming President of South Africa.¹⁵⁶ There is in these textbooks, in other words, a strong emphasis on illustrating not only that matters of social justice and human rights had led to addressing racial discrimination within Canada, but also that these concerns had led to Canada assuming greater responsibility in promoting human rights beyond its borders.¹⁵⁷ The United Nations, in particular, is cited as “the forum for the next phase of Canada’s growth as a nation – actively sharing in the responsibilities of a changing world.”¹⁵⁸ Most noted in these representations of Canada’s role in the United Nations is the role of Canadian John Humphrey, in drafting out the original United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which explicitly “speaks out against discrimination based on race, colour, sex, religion, and politics.”¹⁵⁹ Together with the emphasis on Diefenbaker’s Bill of Rights, this portrayal of a Canadian being instrumental

¹⁵⁵ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 268. See also, Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 155, Cruxton and Wilson, *Spotlight Canada*, 302.

¹⁵⁶ Bain et al., *Making History - the Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century*, 155, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 427.

¹⁵⁷ Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 277, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 294.

¹⁵⁸ Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 273.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 273-74.

in preparing the United Nations declaration supports the representation of Canada progressively transforming itself into a just and tolerant, human-rights oriented, nation. This representation of Canada as a nation moving well along a path toward justice and equality for all is reinforced through contrast with its southern neighbour. For example, in *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, when noting the fact that many draft dodgers and deserters remained in Canada following the war, it is claimed that, “They saw Canada as a peaceful country where racial hatred did not exist.”¹⁶⁰

This path toward developing human rights in Canada and promoting them aggressively with action emanating from Canada is one represented as continuing beyond the Diefenbaker era into the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s when Pearson and especially Trudeau get highlighted for passing legislation “to end racial discrimination within Canada ... [and] to eliminate similar biases in immigration policy.”¹⁶¹ Moreover, the “painful issues of racism and discrimination” are indicated to have been opposed by “many Canadians” who “struggled to make Canada and the world a better place through the promotion of human rights.”¹⁶²

Canadians were active in vigorous debates .. regarding human rights during the 1970s and 1980s. There were many political battles in response to the basic question, “How could Canada become an *even better place to live?*”¹⁶³

Closer to the present, the cases of Holocaust deniers Keegstra and Zundel and the wrongful conviction of Mi'kmaq Donald Marshall Jr. are among other human rights matters explicitly identified as examples of racism. In each case, the actions of one state apparatus or another (e.g.,

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 279. See also, Hundey, Magarrey, and Pettit, *Canadian History: 1900-2000*, 307, 13. Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 290.

¹⁶¹ Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 290.

¹⁶² Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 342.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 289. Emphasis added.

the Supreme Court, Parliament, a Royal Commission) resolves, redresses, or brings justice to the violation.¹⁶⁴ Canada, consequently, is represented as a redeemed and just nation, a representation enhanced by persistent references to the spirit of tolerance deemed to characterize the Canadian identity. In *Canada: A Nation Unfolding*, under a section entitled “A Canadian Identity”, it is proposed that,

One possible answer to the riddle of Canadian identity lies in the relative harmony in which its citizens have come to live. The way in which Canadians from coast to coast have embraced the world within their borders may define the essence of Canada at the dawn of the new millennium¹⁶⁵

The multicultural perfection of the present redeems the racism of the past in these textbooks, since Canadians have, with some exceptions, supposedly become quite capable of tolerating one another. These new textbooks frequently make clear that things have not always been harmonious in Canada’s historical path toward multiculturalism, but they also privilege the view that the present is predominantly a picture of multicultural bliss. As *Canada: Canada: A Nation Unfolding* puts it, “the development of a cosmopolitan society tolerant of cultural and religious differences has been one of Canada’s great accomplishments in the second half of the twentieth century.”¹⁶⁶ Canadians are represented as living in harmony today and a generally tolerant, compromising, and welcoming approach toward diverse groups of people has come to define Canada. In *Canada: Face of a Nation*, the view is advanced that “Canada’s cultural diversity” together with “a strong prevailing Canadian culture” and “uniquely Canadian identity” contributed toward “transforming Canada into a principal power now recognized internationally

¹⁶⁴ See as examples, Bogle, D’Orazio, and Quinlan, *Canada: Continuity and Change*, 345, Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 342-3, Fielding and Evans, *Canada: Our Century, Our Story*, 15, Garfield Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 2000), 401.

¹⁶⁵ Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding, Ontario Edition*, 8.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

as the “best country.”¹⁶⁷ It is not merely that the mosaic model has been accepted in Canada, but that such a model has been effective in creating a just and tolerant nation no longer substantially troubled by racisms or other social oppressions. It is, in other words, *successful* multiculturalism that is heralded as the essence of Canadian identity and as key to understanding both Canadian distinctiveness and the perceived lack of influence and pervasiveness of racism in Canadian society. Canadian society is defended (from racists and racisms, but also from that which fractures society – namely difference) by multiculturalism, which controls, limits, and manages difference in part by encapsulating it within a multicultural bubble of homogeneity deemed Canadian identity, which paradoxically depends upon the rhetoric of heterogeneity.

In the most recent textbooks, which make explicit the racisms of Canada’s past and present and the various actions taken to overcome them, the idea of being against racism is clearly attached to the state itself while the antiracist struggles of oppressed groups and their dominant allies are obscured or marginalized. That is to say, the latest texts make clear that Canada has been “antiracist” or at least instrumental in stopping racism. Difference is now tolerated and even promoted by the Canadian government as that which is integral to Canadian identity. Opposition to a racism that is conceived as prejudice and discrimination is also central to Canadian identity and is, moreover, deemed to have become an achieved reality of the current Canada through commitments to justice and tolerance as part of official multiculturalism. There is in these new textbooks a forceful assertion that the essential and unifying trait of Canadian society must be defended by respecting and tolerating differences. This differentialist assertion is paradoxically juxtaposed with an assimilative goal of unifying everyone and all difference under

¹⁶⁷ Bolotta et al., *Canada: Face of a Nation*, 397.

the nationalist umbrella of Canadian identity.¹⁶⁸ In the logic of these new textbooks, this “better place to live” is better because of its supposed dearth of racism and corresponding wealth of “antiracism” (or minimally its conviction to redress, repair, and refrain from racisms) and it is multiculturalism that ensures this.

Against the Ends of Antiracism

A common thread running through the various generations of state-sanctioned textbooks is that Canada is somehow better than elsewhere and better than it once was – in large part because it has found harmonious ways to tolerate the Other (i.e., those different from an English/French Self). Canada is depicted as better in part because those few acknowledged racisms attributed to the space of Canada have been overcome through the formation of a tolerant multicultural nation. That is to say, multiculturalism is envisioned both as the essence of Canadian identity and as that which stops racism in its tracks. Imagined as having matured to a perfected state of tolerance and multiculturalism, and imagined as having a long history rooted in multicultural beginnings, Canada gets depicted both as a nation redeemed and as a model for other nations to emulate, even as one that can redeem others. This imagined representation of Canada of course hinges on a redemption of the nation that obscures, denies, forgets, and minimizes the racism of past and present and the violence inherent to it, that is, those denials of humanity that take their toll in lives, life chances, and life fulfillments.¹⁶⁹ Canada is redeemed by these depictions of it having done antiracism to make up for the bits of racism in its past, but also

¹⁶⁸ For a similar argument, see Richard J.F. Day, *Multiculturalism and the History of Canadian Diversity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

¹⁶⁹ See, Foucault, *"Society Must Be Defended": Lectures at the College De France, 1975-1976*, 256, Harris, "What, Then, Is Racism?," 437.).

gloriously positioned as “a better place to live” in which state-sanctioned multiculturalism ensures that racism never becomes “here” what it surely is “there”.

Moreover, despite the prevalence in recent years of antiracist educational research and theory that conceptualizes racism as a pervasive and multi-faceted phenomena tied to the reproduction of exclusionary institutional power, even the most recent state-sanctioned textbooks continue to adhere to, and are dominated by, differentialist (i.e., “color-conscious”) and universalist (i.e., “color-blind”) orientations to opposing racism.¹⁷⁰ That is, racisms (or race problems in the earlier textbooks) are deemed to be best dealt with by recognizing, tolerating, celebrating and even respecting certain differences, on the one hand, but, on the other hand to do this only within a nationalist framework that assimilates these very differences (and excludes others) into a universalistic category of “Canadian” under which all should be treated equally. There is a strong sense too that the textbooks conceive of racism as that which can be eliminated or stopped, in part because it is conceived as “readily extricable from everything else,” and most particularly extricable from the nation-state itself.¹⁷¹ The textbook depictions of Canada as a successful model for other nations to emulate (that is, as a space of antiracist achievement) obscure the always present entanglements between racism and antiracism and those between race and state formation. A dangerous complacency is thus permitted with respect to racisms by perpetuating myths about the essential tolerance of Canada and the dearth of racisms within it.

¹⁷⁰ Bonnett, *Anti-Racism*.

¹⁷¹ Gilroy, “The End of Antiracism,” 251.

CHAPTER 7

TOWARDS A DISMANTLING OF THE RACIAL STATE

Against the Normalized Arrogance and Mythologies of Nationalist Narrativization

I have shown through the preceding analysis that Canadian history textbooks have been and continue to be problematic in the way they reproduce certain myths about race, racism, and nation, as mandated knowledge for high school students. These myths continue to be fostered in even the most recent textbooks and despite explicit (and perhaps well-intentioned) efforts by those responsible for textbook and curricular production to make learning materials more inclusive, less biased, more historically accurate, and even anti-racist. I have argued in this thesis that the combined effect of the representations of race, racism, and opposition to racism has been to depict the space of contemporary Canada as one largely antithetical to racism. Moreover, the very concepts of race, racism, and antiracism, through such representations, work to racialize the nation of Canada and Canadian national identity (especially in opposition to other nations and national identities) in ways that uphold white supremacist state formation by depicting the Canadian nation as a model of racelessness and one morally superior to all others. In this concluding chapter, I will discuss the pedagogical implications of such findings and propose frameworks that call for some reconfiguration of antiracism approaches by raising questions about what forms of antiracism might even be possible within the nation-state and how nationalist white mythologies of a “racial state” like Canada might be disrupted or dismantled.

Among the mythologies attached to the Canadian nation-state through the Canadian history textbooks analyzed here is that in which blood functions as a symbol of immutable genealogical links distinguishing divisions of humanity. This race-thinking has been sown

through the nationalist narratives of Canadian history textbooks and it continues to be so. These nationalist histories of Canada, defined, sanctioned, and replicated by the state as unproblematic knowledge to be transmitted to students, therefore rest upon a well-known fallacy, a superstition, or a myth of epic proportions. It has been widely acknowledged for some time now among academic theorists, that “race” is a social construction and not a fact of Nature. Yet, this is a point passed over in even the most recent of these textbooks. Evident instead is a persistent race-thinking that views naturally existing divisions of humanity linked via relations of blood. What might be the explanation for this apparent incongruity between educational theory and the practice of developing suitable textbooks for students? Have those accountable for the production of quality educational learning resources lost their nerve when it comes to writing “against race”?¹ Has the idea of race as blood become so entrenched in the banal everyday of the world, even in the world of those actively opposing racism, that to challenge or renounce it would be to question the very existence of the world?² As Foucault has illustrated, power operates through forms of classification, categorization, and knowledge production that come to constitute the world as taken-for-granted components of existence and so questioning these existing and “commonsensical” knowledges (e.g., “race”) is critical to understanding and hence changing the world. And it does require change, for the banal reproduction of race-thinking is not benign in any sense. When “races” are thought to exist naturally, it is but a small step to imagining that conflict between them is inevitable, that domination and oppression on the basis of “race” is instinctive, or that inherent differences justify unequal relations of power. Humanity is thus absolved from responsibility in creating the categories of oppression, a situation which makes it

¹ Gilroy, *Against Race: Imagining Political Culture Beyond the Color Line*.

² On questioning the existence of the world see Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 363. See also Stanley, “White Supremacy and the Rhetoric of Educational Indoctrination: A Canadian Case Study.”

far too easy to throw one's hands up and say that nothing can be done. When, on the other hand, "races" are understood to be products of human thought, belief and action, and the categories themselves are seen as instruments of oppressive exclusions and inclusions, it is easier to comprehend the obligation humanity has to undo its own labour. I stated near the outset of chapter four that history textbooks do not set out to teach about "race." It seems to me that this is part of the problem. Courses of social study, such as history, are pedagogically sound places to examine a social construct such as "race," to teach against race-thinking, or to teach with "race" strategically in order to undermine the hegemonic hold of white supremacy. The strategic use of "race" has the potential to disrupt racisms by elevating subjected knowledges or enfranchising epistemological standpoints.³ Moreover, and as Guimaraes points out, there are contexts in which a political imperative to use "race" exist because it is all that is available to restoring "a sense of pride, dignity, and self-reliance, largely destroyed by a century of invisibility, universalist, enlightened racism."⁴ The historical and contemporary realities of racisms and their material consequences thus may make it necessary to employ race (in learning resources, for example), but any gains made in disrupting racism through such strategies must be measured against the losses in sustaining it.⁵ A salient way to minimize the racism-sustaining effects through any strategy employed to oppose racism is to displace race-thinking with conceptions such as racialization that de-naturalize "race" and make obvious its banal tendencies without eliding the devastating realities that past and present race-thinking has brought about.

³ Alexander and Mohanty, eds., *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures*, xvii, Bonnett, *Anti-Racism*, 145, Dei, "The Denial of Difference: Reframing Anti-Racist Praxis", Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things*, 199, S. Westwood, "Racism, Mental Illness and the Politics of Identity," in *Racism, Modernity and Identity on the Western Front*, ed. Ali Rattansi and Sallie Westwood (Cambridge: Popity Press, 1994), 247.

⁴ Guimaraes, "Racism and Anti-Racism in Brazil: A Postmodern Perspective," 328.

⁵ C.f., Cohen, "'It's Racism What Dunit': Hidden Narratives in Theories of Racism."

Canada is heralded explicitly in these textbooks as a reified entity born of European (British/French) “heritage” but dependent upon diversity for a sense of its own self and purpose amongst a world of nations. It is proclaimed to have grown into a matured state of tolerance and pluralism and to have become so thoroughly governed by state multiculturalism that racelessness has come to rule over matters of race in a country deemed to exemplify civic, not ethnic, nationalism. Yet, as I have documented, the resiliency of blood as a metaphor for national belonging attests to a lingering circulation of entanglements of race and nation as it at once assists in sustaining the idea of Canada as a living descendant of (white) European parents. This exposes the mythology of Canada as model state of civic nationalism for what it is, a veil of racelessness covering a dependency upon race-thinking. That is, revealed in addition to the mythological representation of the Canadian nation-state as a civic community, is the paradox of liberalism in which nothing is race but all is race.⁶ Racial consciousness is not overcome by discourses of racelessness, but rather such discourses have the effect of elevating race-thinking to “the given”, “the normal”, or the “unproblematic,” an elevated position in which whiteness too resides as the taken-for-granted national norm.⁷ This is a situation that enables the reproduction of racial rule and the racist consequences that result from exclusions and inclusions that are based on the racial terms of “population definition, determination, and structuration.”⁸

In addition to sustaining the myth that the world is constituted by natural divisions of obviously distinct types of people termed “races” and perpetuating the somewhat paradoxical myth that Canada alone has become an essentially raceless state, these textbooks privilege mythological understandings of Canada as a morally superior nation. In the state-sanctioned

⁶ Goldberg, *The Racial State*, 200-38.

⁷ Ibid., 236.

⁸ Ibid., 104.

textbooks analyzed here, multiple formations of containment effectively deny, manage, and order racism in such a way as to provide a minimum amount of disruption to the grand redemptive narrative of Canadian nationalism. That is to say, the representation of racism in Canadian history textbooks configures Canada as a good and tolerant space (or as a being that has become progressively better and more tolerant with maturity) in which racism is imagined to be the exception and fighting against racism the norm. The incorporation of the politically-sensitive idea of racism, a choice that might be viewed as risky insofar as it could potentially fracture the explicit goals of state-sanctioned history courses to instill patriotic pride in the children for whom these courses are designed, in fact promotes nationalism in the present by gloriously imagining Canada to be a just and tolerant state. This self-congratulatory depiction of Canada as a space of vanquished and managed racism or, indeed, as a space of antiracist achievement to be emulated by the remainder of the world, perpetuates mythologies of white settler benevolence while it at once obscures the banal racisms upon and through which the nation-state is built and re-built.⁹

The essence of white racist privilege is precisely the sort of institutionalized arrogance obvious in these history textbooks that enables the claim to be made that an entire nation-state (i.e., Canada) is a better place to live than any, or even most, others and to subsequently represent, define, mandate, and circulate such a conceited claim as essential knowledge of the nation and national citizenship. One does not live through all of the spaces and times in Canada or anywhere else, only particular contexts of time and space. In these particulars, living standards and experiences of being vary tremendously. To generalize or, worse even, to appropriate and replicate (as these textbooks have done) the raw measures of quality of life designed by the

⁹ Hage, *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society*, Mackey, *The House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada*, Razack, ed., *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society*.

United Nations to make the claim that, overall, “Canada is a better place to live” is an act that necessitates fictivization, imagination, or mythologization of Canada and of other nation-states. Since it is literally impossible to know the world in its entirety, knowing about here (in Canada) and there (beyond Canada) depends on an imagination that makes a myth of “Here” and “There” as surely as it does of the “Self” and “Other” deemed to occupy these places. Such practices of fantasy, moreover, are violent in their consequences insofar as they obscure the many spatial and temporal moments and experiences within the Canadian nation-state and its history for which “better than” simply cannot apply. There are many people who have lived and who continue to live within the boundaries of the Canadian nation-state and who have made clear with their own words, histories, and bodies that Canada is not always or necessarily a better place in which to live.¹⁰ The textbooks, even as they have come to document the violence enacted against multiple racialized groups within Canada, effectively erase such violence and its consequences with their proud assertions that the nation is great and good and better than the rest. The texts are symbolically violent too in their condescending and egotistical vanquishing of lives, experiences, knowledges, and histories beyond Canada that are surely “better than” anything within Canada. The planet is large and not all that is good exists under the sovereignty of Ottawa.

¹⁰ Those millions of people in Quebec who voted for separation in the two referendums on the issue would appear to believe that “Canada” is not necessarily a better place to live. The following are just a few of the many sources that could also be cited here to illustrate the point that, for many, Canada has been a terrible place in which to live. Backhouse, *Colour-Coded: A Legal History of Racism in Canada, 1900-1950*, Bannerji, *The Dark Side of the Nation: Essays on Multiculturalism, Nationalism and Gender*, Bolaria and Li, *Racial Oppression in Canada*, Peggy Bristow et al., eds., *We're Rooted Here and They Can't Pull Us up!: Essays in African Canadian Women's History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), Alan Davies, ed., *Antisemitism in Canada: History and Interpretation* (Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1992), George J. Sefa Dei et al., *Reconstructing Drop-Out: A Critical Ethnography of the Dynamics of Black Students' Disengagement from School* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), J.R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations*, 3rd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), Ann Gomer Sunahara, *The Politics of Racism: The Uprooting of Japanese Canadians During the Second World War* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Publishers, 1981), J.W.S.G. Walker, *'Race', Rights, and the Law in the Supreme Court of Canada: Historical Case Studies* (The Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History and Wilfred University Press, 1997), W. Peter Ward, *White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy Towards Orientals in British Columbia* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978).

The promotion of Canada as a better place to live and as a non-racist, anti-racist, only formerly racist, or even merely less racist state, obscures Canada's complicity in ongoing global conditions that sustain and reproduce racisms in the present through the exploitation of peoples, lands, and resources across the planet.¹¹ That is, such promotion of Canada as better than elsewhere requires that Canada be imagined as extricable from elsewhere. It reifies socially constructed, historically constituted, and rather arbitrarily designated geopolitical lines to support a mythological state depicted as a detached place of innocence, an inoculated "individual" uncontaminated by the moral bankruptcy and irrationality "out there" in "others", or as an isolated zone of near pluralistic perfection now so untainted by oppressions such as racism as to be best positioned to fix them everywhere else based on the very model of perfected multiculturalism that mythologically defines the Canadian Self. These fantasies of planetary separation where "we" in "our world" are better than (and better off than) "they" in "their world" and so burdened with a responsibility to assist or uplift the Other are at the very core of white supremacy since it is an ambiguous distinction (if it is a distinction at all) between uplifting and annihilating the Other.¹² Historical allegiances of ancestry, tradition, religion, or political struggle have been forged upon such socially fabricated divisions of the planet to continually produce power and privilege for those people racialized as white. This racialized and violent planetary separation is not at all, however, the stuff of centuries or decades past. Prominent among the many current examples are those redundant justifications for the spilling of innocent

¹¹ For a good example of such complicity in sustaining global white domination see, Michael W. Apple, "Consuming the Other: Whiteness, Education, and Cheap French Fries," in *Off White: Readings on Race, Power, and Society*, ed. Michelle Fine, et al. (New York: Routledge, 1997).

¹² On how seemingly innocent dreams of love, conceived as uplifting the Other, helps to sustain white supremacy, see Robertson, "Fantasy's Confines: Popular Culture and the Education of the Female Primary School Teacher".

blood in “the Arab world” that are premised on a desire to preserve the lives of innocents in “the West.”

Notwithstanding the potential for student readers to dislocate such discursive structures of dominance in their responses to the textbooks, the powerful hold of these narratives of the nation is secured by the fact that students are inducted *en masse* to such representations since in order to pass the course and to graduate from high school they must prove their knowledge of this particular history that subtly empowers and structures advantage to people racialized as white. While not to be confused with white-robed (i.e., blatant) racisms enacted by individuals such as Holocaust-denier Ernst Zundel, organized white supremacist groups such as the KKK, or explicitly racist states such South Africa under apartheid, this banal empowerment and oppression that is sustained through the structuring of taken-for-granted institutions and organizations, including the nation-state and its self-representations, is hardly a benign form of racism. It is rather the organic sustenance upon which white supremacy depends for the reproduction of its hegemony, not only in Canada, but across the globe.

“Fixing” the Problem of Racism

Even the most recent Canadian history textbooks, infused with good intentions, pluralistic rhetoric, and acknowledgments of racisms past and present, are apparatuses that sustain white supremacy. The question will be raised, as it always is with analyses such as this, “How, then, do we teach Canadian history?” More precisely, the question could be posed as, “How might race, racism and antiracism be better represented in textbooks?” What should be done with our current history textbooks? Should they be banned or re-written given that they clearly sustain discourses of white supremacy? Should more “bias checklists” be formulated and more stringent standards for approval be adopted? Should we do away with nationalist narratives altogether given that

they are always and already racist? Perhaps some or all of this is necessary, but none of these are central to the main point I want to make. These textbooks have not been banned or burned, but rather widely produced, circulated, authorized, purchased, and used by provincial ministries of education, local school boards, teachers, and parents and variously read, internalized, resisted, remembered and forgotten by students, and although they have been continually re-written, the re-writes have been in many important ways mere replications of their former versions. Since students in state-run schools are required to use these textbooks and do so now and have done so in the past, it is not enough to ask what should be done with the textbooks in the future. It is, rather, imperative (from pedagogical, political, and ethical perspectives) to discern what oppressive structures of dominance these textbooks continually sustain, reproduce, or promote in the present .

It certainly would appear that checklists and other mechanisms to monitor the content of learning resources have failed to “take care of the problem.” To my mind, it is the very idea that the problem can be taken care of that is problematic since aiming to prevent racism from creeping into the textbooks, or excising it altogether once it is found (through bias checklists and other similar devices), operates under the assumption that it is, in fact, possible to keep racism out or that the problem of racism can be easily fixed. It is a pervasive idea and one to which the “toolbox” metaphor is often applied. At a recent educational conference, for example, one particular session generated a great deal of enthusiasm for this idea of an antiracist toolbox that could be implemented in university classrooms and prescribed for use in the classrooms of teacher education students.¹³ Embedded in this idea that a “toolbox” or even multiple sets of

¹³ The session, held on April 16, 2004, was entitled “Schooling in the context of difference: Possibilities and challenges from cases in comparative contexts” and it was part of the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Diego, 2004.

toolboxes are key to tackling the problem of racism generally, and the fact of white supremacy more particularly, there exists a worrisome assumption about racism as an intermittent issue, a malfunctioning state, or a sick (and therefore temporary) condition. It follows from this assumption that as one might repair an improperly performing car by driving it into the shop now and then, confidently armed with a toolbox, to change the oil, tighten the plugs, or adjust the timing, one might similarly “fix” racism (e.g., in a school, a teacher, or a textbook) by reaching into a box of tools from time to time as warranted. This understanding is only possible when racism is viewed along the lines of the prejudice/discrimination framework (so evident in these textbooks) as an isolated and erasable event, language, attitude, or phenomena and not as a pervasive and banal structure of dominance necessarily here, there, and all places in between. I am not suggesting that any checklists in place now be done away with or that multiple sets of antiracist tools cannot help in opposing racism. Rather, I am arguing that, like the textbooks, evaluative procedures of them conceive of antiracism in terms of an end result in (success or failure) and not as a political and ethical commitment to social justice that is always and necessarily unfinished work. That is to say, there is no such thing as a “purely” antiracist textbook or a “conclusively” antiracist historical narrative and, moreover, it is problematic to proceed as if such a thing were possible. Certainly, textbooks or narratives can be oriented toward particular epistemic, ethical, and political antiracist commitments during their production and most assuredly such commitments can potentially be exercised by those who read or otherwise engage with them, yet such texts are embedded in a political economy that sustains racisms and so are never merely antiracist in effect. Put differently, in a world that normally and banally oppresses and subjugates, and in a nation-state founded in and perpetuated through

racisms,¹⁴ there can be no end point at which we no longer have to bother with the practice of antiracism; the point rather is to bother. I mean by this that antiracism, like liberation, is a practice without end.¹⁵ To “bother” in terms of textbook production, curricular design, and historical narration is to actively, vigilantly, and continually pursue an antiracist political commitment that entails working against arrogance, normalization, and mythologization of states (and States) of dominance.

The making and circulating of knowledge for schoolchildren means, among other things, cross-cultural cooperation and moral inquiry, the incorporation of multiple epistemological standpoints, and the encouragement of respect for all of humanity. Good education, including good antiracist education, involves a responsible inauguration into caring,¹⁶ a practice of hope,¹⁷ and a discovery of human(e) potential. It is all of this, to be sure, but it is most importantly about interrogation into the realities of power and dominance and bringing real and transformative change to the world by disrupting hegemonic systems and states of normalized oppression. To effect such change is to challenge the old knowledges of the world with more open and expanding explanations and to practice justice as part of an educational initiation into an inheritance of the human condition.¹⁸ It is to recognize, moreover, that schooling (including antiracist education) is a part of the very world that oppresses and so is always implicated in these oppressions even as it occupies a hope-filled position within the world where obligations and

¹⁴ Foucault, *"Society Must Be Defended": Lectures at the College De France, 1975-1976*, Goldberg, *The Racial State*, Goldberg, *Racist Culture*, Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things*.

¹⁵ Michel Foucault, "Space, Knowledge, and Power," in *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984, Volume 3*, ed. James D. Faubion (New York: The New Press, 2000), 354-55.

¹⁶ Audrey Thompson, "Not the Color Purple: Black Feminist Lessons for Educational Caring", *Harvard Educational Review* 68, no. 4 (1998).

¹⁷ Roger P. Simon, *Teaching against the Grain: Texts for a Pedagogy of Possibility* (Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey, 1992).

¹⁸ L.M. Newman, "Theory and Research," in *Social Research Methods* (Boston: Aryn & Bacon, 1997), M. Oakshott, "Education: The Engagement and Its Frustration," in *The Voice of Liberal Learning: Michael Oakshott on Education*, ed. T. Fuller (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

capacities exist to transform those very aspects of the world which continue to condemn and trample upon humanity. If antiracism is to encourage, foster, promote, and effect change by disrupting or dismantling institutionalized racism, then it is obliged to look both “there” and “here”, both “within” and “without” for sources, structures, and consequences of oppression and for strategies that might contest subjugation and domination. If it is to be educational, as opposed to indoctrinational, antiracism is to encourage negotiated understandings of the world and to stress prominently a reflexive awareness of limitations and fallibility within the “Self.”¹⁹ That is, an integral feature to any engagement with multiple epistemological positions and divergent sources of knowledge as part of a project to oppose racism is a willingness and ability to critique one’s own position and to recognize where one has erred in thought or practice and to have these critiques brought to oneself.²⁰ A salient feature of antiracism education (or all good education for that matter) is, in other words, the practice of humility.²¹ Humility deconstructs privilege and its smugness and so is crucial to affecting real and transformative change with respect to the world’s oppressive structures of dominance and domination. To practice humility as (antiracist) education is to confidently present knowledge claims, but with the understanding that counter-evidence and argument may give cause to defer. It means responsibly replacing righteousness and egoism with critical assessment and a spirit of generosity so that one is not exempted from

¹⁹ Batur-VanderLippe, "On the Necessity of Antiracist Praxis: An Experience in Teaching and Learning", Longino, "Feminist Epistemology," 334, Mohanty, *Literary Theory and the Claims of History: Postmodernism, Objectivity, Multicultural Politics*.

²⁰ R. Hesch, "Aboriginal Teachers as Organic Intellectuals," in *Anti-Racism, Feminism and Critical Approaches to Education*, ed. R. Ng, P. Staton, and J. Scane (Westport, Connecticut: Bergin & Havey, 1995), F.A. Maher and M.K.T. Tetreault, "Learning in the Dark: How Assumptions of Whiteness Shape Classroom Knowledge", *Harvard Educational Review* 67, no. 2 (1997), Judith P. Robertson, "Teaching About Words of Hurt through Encounters with Literature: Reflections on Pedagogy", *Language Arts* 74, no. 6 (1997), Roman and Eyre, *Dangerous Territories: Struggles for Difference and Equality in Education*.

²¹ W. Hare, "Humility: Recognizing Limits," in *What Makes a Good Teacher: Reflections on Some Characteristics Central to the Educational Enterprise* (London, ON: Althouse, 1993).

“the sins of racism” and others not silenced or embarrassed into submission.²² A humbly-practiced antiracist education necessitates recognition that not “everything important lies in our awareness.”²³ The point is to engage with and take seriously all knowledge claims, endeavour to enable debate and contestation, critique problematic positions, defer to evidence, and to acknowledge the superiority of certain claims over others even when (indeed, especially when) it compromises one’s own position, power, pride, or privilege.

It seems to me, therefore, that an important part of writing better (i.e., more antiracist), though never perfect (or perfectly antiracist), history textbooks resides in a conscious reduction of the arrogance, the hubris, and the infallibility that laces nationalist narratives of the nation now and that has riddled these narratives in the past.²⁴ An insertion of humility into such learning resources can perhaps be accomplished with a greater focus on issues of global complicity in multiple oppressions and a stress on the oscillations of power through systems and structures of domination/dominance across the globe. This is not to suggest that those who produce history textbooks of the nation forgo efforts to instill in student readers some sense of responsibility for the world or the people in it. Rather, it is to point out that nationalist narratives in Canadian history textbooks have persisted in illustrating responsibility in terms of glorifying the nation and national identity and subsequently tended to avoid through such self-serving representations matters of complicity that would surely unsettle certain redemptive national mythologies of the nation. A better (i.e., more educational) way to teach Canadian history might be to teach students

²² Blauner, “White Radicals, White Liberals, and White People: Rebuilding the Anti-Racist Coalition,” 124, K. Moodley, “Antiracist Education through Political Literacy: The Case of Canada,” in *Critical Multiculturalism: Rethinking Multicultural and Antiracist Education*, ed. Stephen May (Philadelphia: Falmer Press, 1999), 41.

²³ Linda C. Powell, “The Achievement (K)Not: Whiteness and “Black Underachievement,”” in *Off White: Readings on Race, Power, and Society*, ed. Michelle Fine, et al. (New York: Routledge, 1997), 10.

²⁴ I do not mean to suggest that humility is “the” answer, but on the basis of my findings of a consistent arrogance in nationalist historical narrativization, I am suggesting that the concept of humility has perhaps a greater role to play with respect to the fracturing of arrogant representations of the nation that sustain white supremacy.

to think “for themselves” and not “for the nation” or to think “for others” and not “for others for the good of the nation.” Such de-centering of “the nation” could perhaps make room for an understanding that responsibility and complicity articulate in complex and ambiguous ways. That is, liberation does not escape the shackles of its twin side, subjugation. The Canadian nation-state (or, for that matter, any nation-state, citizen, institution, student, teacher, politician, or political activist) is never merely or exclusively on one side or the other of binaries such as liberator/subjugated, good/evil, oppressor/oppressed, colonized/colonizer, or racism/antiracism, no matter the pervasiveness of fantastical mythologies that would suggest otherwise. To promote such myths as the race-less, racism-less, and antiracism-filled nation (as Canadian history textbooks continue to do) is not only to promote smugness and narcissistic conceit, it is to obscure the historical reality of global white supremacy and the very real effects it continues to exert upon differently racialized bodies and minds. To recognize and represent the reality of white supremacy requires a humble shift away from narratives about the great things Canada and Canadians have done to build the tolerant nation, to make the world a better place, to overcome past mistakes, or to redress or disturb contemporary racisms and toward a concomitant commitment to explaining and representing the ways in which racisms are sustained now and into the future by virtue of the historical and hegemonic hold of people, nations, governments, and institutions racialized as white and taken-for-granted by them as “better than” any others.

This sort of humility is so obviously absent in the nationalist narratives of the nation analyzed as part of my study. There is rather an abundance of arrogance such that even recognitions of wrong-doing on the part of Canada or Canadians are enveloped with redemptive assurances of national greatness and moral fortitude. A corresponding dearth of self-criticism, that is, a near complete absence of daring critiques into the privileged and empowered

standpoints on which the narratives of nation are produced and reproduced is also evident in Canadian history textbooks. Daring to critique privileged, powerful, and advantaged institutions, discourses, lived experiences, narratives, and mythologies, that is, demonstrating a willingness to wade in to “dangerous territories” from which powerful reactions and backlashes (e.g., “white defensiveness”) can be expected, is critical to rupturing the multiple hegemonic forms of power and knowledge the structures and justifications for continued (white) domination.²⁵ Readers and learners resist difficult knowledge, particularly that which implicates them in historical oppression or that which shatters their deeply-held conceptions of self as good (e.g., in terms of subject positions related to gender, race, sexuality, or nationality). Depending on their subject positions, some students and teachers experience various curricula as traumatic. Consequently, teachers who dare to (or who feel compelled or obligated to) venture into such dangerous territories by, for example, attempting to convey histories of white supremacist racism, often put themselves at considerable risk.²⁶ The implication of this difficult or dangerous learning/teaching coupling is that teachers need structural assistance in order to safely negotiate, along with their students, the treacherous waters in which they will inevitably tread when they embark on disrupting, or simply naming, systems of domination such as white supremacy, patriarchy, or heteronormativity.

Central to any antiracist critique aimed at rupturing dominating privilege and power is an interrogation of whiteness.²⁷ Antiracism is a refusal of white supremacy. It is a critique of the privilege and power that has accumulated and continues to accumulate for some people as the

²⁵ Roman, “White Is a Color! White Defensiveness, Postmodernism, and Anti-Racist Pedagogy.”, Roman and Eyre, *Dangerous Territories: Struggles for Difference and Equality in Education*, Roman, “Denying (White) Racial Privilege: Redemption Discourses and the Uses of Fantasy..”

²⁶ Robertson, “Teaching About Words of Hurt through Encounters with Literature: Reflections on Pedagogy”.

²⁷ A. Nayak, “‘White English Ethnicities’: Racism, Anti-Racism and Student Perspectives”, *Race, Ethnicity and Education* 2, no. 2 (1999).

result of white supremacist ideology and practice.²⁸ Antiracism takes seriously extremist forms of white supremacist racism, but also, and perhaps more significantly, contests white supremacist ideologies, practices, social structures and psychic formations that have historically become “normalized”, “naturalized”, or institutionalized as legitimate knowledge, authority, or ways of being. Whiteness is understood in the context of antiracism to be multiple racialized categories or locations having many different histories and articulating with diverse, even contradictory, cultural, ethnic, and national identities.²⁹ While antiracism insists that those racialized as white inherit through modernity “a legacy of white supremacy” it emphasizes that whites are “also subject to moral and political challenges”³⁰ and thus have “antiracism potential.”³¹ It is true that no human (or group of humans) is essentially and unalterably either racist or antiracist;³² however, in practice this “truth” is not always evident since “to be racist [or antiracist] is not simply a matter of individual [or national] choice or character, but of societies and histories we inherit and participate in but did not choose to make.”³³ Thus, no matter what important disruptions might result from the actions of the state or those in or against it, such a state produces and perpetuates racism in the form of white supremacy as part of its condition of being. In the history textbooks analyzed in this study, the very promotion of Canada as a better place to live and as a now racism-free or antiracist space obscures the Canadian state’s complicity in the ongoing global conditions that sustain and reproduce white supremacy. If Canada is a “better place” it is only *because* it is a state that contributes to the exploitation of lands, resources, and peoples of other

²⁸ Fine et al., eds., *Off White: Readings on Race, Power, and Society*.

²⁹ Ibid, Montgomery, "The Imagined Canadian: Representations of Whiteness in *Flashback Canada*", Roman, "White Is a Color! White Defensiveness, Postmodernism, and Anti-Racist Pedagogy."

³⁰ Winant, "Behind Blue Eyes: Whiteness in Contemporary U.S. Racial Politics," 41.

³¹ Blauner, "White Radicals, White Liberals, and White People: Rebuilding the Anti-Racist Coalition," 131.

³² Bonnett, *Anti-Racism*, R.R. Premdas, "Racism and Anti-Racism in the Caribbean," in *Racism and Anti-Racism in World Perspective*, ed. B.P. Bowser (London: Sage, 1995).

³³ D.E. Smith, "Report and Repression: Textual Hazards for Feminists in the Academy," in *Dangerous Territories: Struggles for Difference and Equality in Education*, ed. L.G. Roman and L. Eyre (New York: Routledge, 1997), 175.

nation-states and the perpetuation of suffering under global white governance. It is not, then, simply the white-hooded, white-robed, neo-Nazi version of white supremacy that is of concern, but another more insidious variant – indeed it is no variant at all – that takes the form of “normal.”

Given these always present entanglements between racism and antiracism and those between race and state formation that exist in a racial state (and which are obscured in textbook depictions of Canada as a successful model of antiracist achievement to be emulated by other nations), one could, I suppose, tend toward the defeatist position that antiracism is not possible in a racial state let alone racist one. Similarly, one could be inclined to view antiracism as impossible from within a nationalist framework such as those employed by educational textbooks producers and curriculum designers. By any such argument would necessarily turn on a conception of antiracism as end result, that is, as an achieved condition in which a state of tranquility, harmony, or justice is either the goal or the mark of success in reaching the goal. Antiracism may be possible in a racial, even racist, state and within a nationalist framework, but only perhaps if it is conceptualized as an ethical and political practice or orientation always in process and not as an end result.

Integral to the ongoing process of antiracism within a racial state is the re-shaping of “home” by de-centering romanticized ideas about Canada as a sheltering sentinel destined to guard over not only its own citizens, but people all over the world. The myths advanced by the textbooks (and by the state itself insofar as these are state authorized texts) pertaining to an imagined Canadian home that is a utopian place of antiracist goodness and moral betterment are dangerous and spurious not only because they delimit and contain racisms to temporal moments of the past or present (or obscure them and their racialized objects altogether). They also

privilege in the future white supremacist racisms by representing and promoting the Canadian nation as one rooted in a morally-solid inheritance from Europe that has prepared (implicitly white) Canadians to do good things in the world for Others. Writing history in what may appear to be such glorious and uplifting terms may indeed help some readers (e.g., those racialized as white) to take pleasure in a subject frequently considered dull and boring, but these gains are undone by the continued perpetuation of white supremacist formations (e.g., fantasies about tolerant multiculturalism, benevolence, and benign nationalism) that resemble “old” and explicitly white supremacist discourses expressed as “white man’s burden.” Moreover, the potential consequences of such representations for student-readers racialized as non-white (e.g., disengagement, vocal or active resistance, dropping-out) can contribute to power differentials that sustain white domination.³⁴ Since I am arguing that it must be assumed always that history textbooks will continue to foster white supremacy and that an ongoing process of interrogation and disruption is required to oppose this and related oppressions, it also follows that something more than revision of the textbooks is in order. It seems to me that no matter how the textbooks might be re-written (and they should continue to be re-written) or even what form the medium eventually takes (e.g., internet), a crucial point is that they be engaged with, not as knowledge, but as cultural texts. A key to antiracism education, in other words, is to facilitate the pedagogical possibilities of engagement (as opposed to indoctrination) by compelling student readers to examine and to interrogate the discursive powers that oscillate between text and reader through the circuit of cultural production that constructs knowledge, polices it, and puts it into the world as “normal.” Disturbing, contesting, or opposing the racisms embedded in the “racial

³⁴ Dei et al., *Reconstructing Drop-Out: A Critical Ethnography of the Dynamics of Black Students' Disengagement from School*.

state” begins with such de-construction of the normalized and naturalized structures that sustain both racisms and the racial state itself.

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