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INSTANCES OF EXCLUSION AND INCLUSION IN ONTARIO'S GRADE 9/10 CANADIAN AND WORLD
STUDIES CURRICULUM DOCUMENT

by

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ABSTRACT

This paper will evaluate the extent to which the grade 9/10 Canadian and World Studies curriculum in Ontario perpetuates a monolithic, nation centered focus of citizenship and history at the exclusion of racialized and immigrant groups, and to what extent it includes racialized and immigrant groups. To achieve this, an anti-racist theoretical framework was utilized and the following themes obtained from the literature review were applied: Hegemony, citizenship education and global citizenship education, and curriculum design. Other sub-themes which have informed the broader categories mentioned above are racism and nationalism.

Key words: anti-racism, curriculum, hegemony, high school students, multiculturalism, Ontario

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Dedication

This paper was written in loving memory of Émilien H. Préfontaine. He never once doubted my ability, and always offered his love, support and enthusiasm in all that I did.

Thank you pépère.

E.H.P

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1. *Introduction*

1.1 *Citizenship Inclusion/Exclusion*

This paper will evaluate the extent to which the grade 9/10 Canadian and World Studies curriculum in Ontario perpetuates a monolithic nation centered focus of citizenship and history at the exclusion of various racialized and immigrant groups, and to what extent it includes racialized and immigrant groups. As Saloojee (2003) said: “the link between social exclusion and citizenship then hinges for example on the degree to which individuals from racialized and marginalized communities encounter structural and systemic barriers and are denied or restricted from participating in society” (Saloojee, 2003, p. 2).

Toronto is a city where approximately half of its total population are foreign born, taking into consideration that 20% of Canada’s total population is foreign born (Frideres, 2008). Over half of Canada’s total immigrant population resides in Ontario and approximately 25% of residents in the province are foreign born. In terms of ethnic identity, just under half of the Ontario population identify as multiple ethnic identities other than just Canadian, only about 8% of the province’s total population identify as only Canadian (www.statisticscanada.gc.ca).

Frideres (2008) points out that Canadian society has become increasingly more interested in recognizing “particularist identities” and has become more willing to embrace difference as part of integration rather than silencing difference as part of assimilation. “Today’s discourse on issues such as autonomy of Aboriginal peoples, movements to preserve regional languages, Afro-Centrist or anti-assimilationist movements, and the general shift from an individualist, opportunity-oriented and colour-blind interpretation to a collectivist, result-oriented, colour-conscious interpretation of civil rights legislation and to a multiculturalist

revision of school curricula-all these changes reflect the sensitivity of 'differences' in the current understanding of integration" (Frideres, 2008, p. 80). While what Frideres (2008) is saying is hopeful, I suspect that these changes have not yet been fully incorporated into the curriculum document. If the school system is truly a "microcosm of society", as Jay (2003, p. 7) said, and if these changes have really begun to take place in society, then I remain hopeful that it is only a matter of time before the curricula reflect this social shift.

In today's Canadian context, the discussion of integration vs. assimilation and inclusion vs. exclusion are highly relevant. Assimilation and exclusion were at the basis of many of our national policies concerning, citizenship, immigration and education prior to the 1960s (Kelly & Trebilcock, 1998). Since then, there has been a shift to policies which are grounded more in integration and inclusion; however there are still some areas of policy which perpetuate exclusion. According to Hare (2007) Harewood (2006), Hebert, Wilkinson, and Ali (2008) Saloojee (2003), Taylor (1991) and Thobani (2000) instances of exclusion or discrimination can still be found in Canada's immigration and refugee policy (i.e., skilled vs. non-skilled, gender, age), provincial education curricula (i.e., content and curriculum design), and labour market outcomes. The Indian Act of 1976 has lead to ramifications still felt by Aboriginals to this day. "contemporary state policies, mainly the Indian Act, continue to determine who is and is not of 'Indian' status" (Rutherford, 2010, p. 10).

On the other hand, others are less optimistic about the promise of policies geared toward integration and inclusion. Racism in education has been a concern which has been addressed by anti-racist theory. This is why I have chosen to incorporate this perspective in my paper. I have used anti-racist theory to shape my research and analysis. Saloojee (2003)

defines racism as “both an ideology and a set of practices. As an ideology racism seeks to both legitimate the inequality faced by racialized groups and proclaim the superiority of the racial group that constitutes the status-quo”. Saloojee (2003) also says that racism “involves discriminatory practices that work to constantly exclude, marginalize and disadvantage the subordinate racialized groups and reproduce the power, privilege and domination of the superordinate racialized group” (p. 3). Anti-racist theorists set out to change the school systems and curricula taught in the classrooms (Dei, 1996; Carrington and Troyna, 1990). This will be discussed further below.

To further clarify what I am referring to when I refer to racism I have also included the following definitions. “Individual racism is the belief that one’s race is superior to another (racial prejudice) and the subsequent behaviour that suppresses members of the so-called inferior race” (Castenell & Davis-Haley, 2001, p. 252). “Institutional racism consists of those established laws, customs and practices that systematically reflect and produce racial inequalities, regardless of whether the individuals maintaining those practices have racial intentions” (Castenell & Davis-Haley, 2001, p. 252).

In order to examine the optimistic and pessimistic evaluations of our educational system, I will be specifically looking at the grade 9/10 Canadian and World Studies curriculum document to examine instances of exclusion or inclusion. The document is produced by the Ontario Ministry of Education and it was last revised in 2005.

So why study a curriculum document, and more specifically why study the Canada and World Studies document? As the literature will point out, the school and curriculum, especially the social studies curriculum is a site of socialization, where cultural values, norms and

citizenship education are instilled in the future generation (Pike, 2008). “Evidently, much is demanded of and expected from education in the current global moment. Schooling remains a main apparatus through which notions of citizenship are disseminated and governed, and demands on schooling are implicated in new pressures on citizenship” (Pashby, 2008, p. 14).

Choosing a course which heavily emphasizes citizenship, while also claiming to situate Canada in a global context seemed reasonable for discussing citizenship and exclusion in education. There is evidence in the literature which suggests that minority perspectives, racialized groups and indigenous knowledge are absent from the curriculum (Dei, 1996; Pike, 2008). “Traditional tenets of nationalism abound in schools today from the deliberate focus on nation history, geography, and culture (often to the exclusion of minority groups) in various curricula” (Pike, 2008, p. 40).

Statistics show that outside of the Toronto area, racial and ethnic diversity are not as prevalent. In Toronto, racial and ethnic diversity accounts for half the population whereas in other areas of Ontario, it accounts for approximately one tenth (Vetter, 2008). Because of this, anti-bias curriculum teaching may not be a top priority for teachers in the rest of Ontario (Vetter, 2008). It then becomes important for the curriculum itself to be designed in such a way that it unpacks bias and empowers students to think critically about issues of power and inequity, so that regardless of teacher attitudes, students are still presented with an opportunity to learn about diversity and equity, whether they live in a multi-racial environment or not. Vetter’s (2008) study found that one of the complaints teachers had about the current curriculum was that it did not have enough global citizenship education (GCE) content

incorporated in it and there was little room for them to add the content themselves and still get through the outlined objectives of the document.

The notion of citizenship has the potential to 'other' racialized and immigrant groups in the Canadian context. Saloojee (2003) calls for social inclusion rather than social cohesion because the former promotes ideals which are in alignment with his definition of democratic citizenship rather than the latter which leaves room for social exclusion. "Democratic citizenship is about valued participation, valued recognition and belonging" (p.10). While he goes on to list a number of characteristics, the most pertinent ones to this discussion are as follows:

all the political rights associated with formal equality; a right to equality and a right to be free from discrimination; and barrier free access, a sense of belonging and not being 'othered' and marginalized. Social exclusion, 'othering' and marginalizing certain groups within society serve to disadvantage the group members (p. 10).

So for Saloojee (2003), democratic citizenship means social inclusion and social inclusion in this instance is more than just about equal treatment. It is about equal opportunity, equal participation in the public sphere without a sense of being othered.

1.2 *Curricular Themes to be Examined*

Before moving into the literature review I would first like to provide the rationale for choosing the themes I have chosen as measurements of inclusion and exclusion in the grade 9/10 Canada and World studies curriculum document. The background literature can be divided into three broad thematic categories; hegemony; citizenship education and global citizenship education (GCE); and curriculum design. Other sub-themes which have informed the broader categories mentioned above are racism and nationalism.

Hegemony, as Ives (2004) citation of Gramsci indicates, is a term which “traditionally signifies some combination of authority, leadership and domination” (p. 63). Hegemony in the context of education is the notion that a dominant ideology is present and sets the standard for what is considered to be knowledge, truth and academic success (Jay, 2003).

The link between hegemony and the curriculum document is relevant because power and knowledge are closely linked to one another. The curriculum document is a reflection of dominant ideology and the status quo which privileges some perspectives over others. “We should admit that power produces knowledge:That power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does presuppose and constitute...power relations” (Foucault cited in Hall, 2007, p. 57).

Following the discussion of hegemony, it is only natural to discuss the link between citizenship education, curriculum design and the curriculum document and their relationship with hegemony. This link is important because the school is a site of socialization and the grade 9/10 Canada and World studies document is particularly concerned with instilling Canadian

values in its students. There is an issue of power when the document discusses who is Canadian. Moreover, the issue of power is also relevant when the decided definition of what is Canadian advantages some students' perspectives over others.

education for national citizenship that is premised on a knowable and stable notion of 'national identity' will not provide a context complex enough for students to integrate the various and overlapping geo-political perspectives that define their experiences and identities (Pashby, 2008, p. 13).

Because of the heavy focus on citizenship in the document, the discussion of nationalism also becomes relevant. The discussion of hegemony in the literature gives way to the discussion of the curriculum design. The connection between the two themes lies in the fact that the curriculum document and its design reflect hegemony. A great deal of the literature discusses how hegemonic ideals are created and perpetuated in the curriculum.

2. Literature Review

The literature review consists of journal articles and books which discuss the following themes as they relate to education: hegemony and the discourse power; citizenship education, GCE, citizenship education and nationalism; and curriculum design in the context of inclusion, exclusion and empowerment. Two other categories which are intertwined with the outlined themes are racism and the process of othering.

2.1 *Anti-racism*

The theoretical framework for this paper will be largely based on anti-racist theory; however there will also be a discussion of critical multicultural theory as it relates to curriculum design and to the grade 9/10 Canadian and World Studies curriculum document.

Anti-racist theorists set out to change the school systems and curricula taught in the classrooms. The main focus of anti-racist theory is not individuals and their acts of discrimination-not to say that such occurrences are insignificant. Rather the framework aims to challenge the systems and institutions at the macro level with the hope that this will in turn trickle down and change the experiences of individuals at the micro level. “Anti-racism also moves beyond a narrow preoccupation with individual prejudices and discriminatory actions to examine the ways that racist ideas and individuals actions are entrenched (un) consciously supported in institutional structures” (Dei, 1996, p. 27).

The anti-racist education movement began in Britain in the 1980s and later became important in Canada, the United States and Australia. The movement is directed at changing social institutions in order to challenge the status quo and make them more inclusive in practice. The anti-racist approach frames race and social difference in terms of power differentials and power struggles. It proposes the idea that the dominant group, being white, have the advantage in terms of their interests being represented by the main institutions in society; the school system being just one example of such an institution (Dei, 1996).

Theorists from this school of thought frame the power differential in a historical context of European imperialism and argue that today’s examples of power and privilege is a racialized issue which stems from the period of colonization (Dei, 2000; Kaufmann, 2000). Education,

according to this framework, is not to be viewed as an isolated body of knowledge separate from the social context within which it occurs. Rather it is to be viewed as something which shapes and is shaped by the social context. Educators, students, parents and the community are all political actors who influence and are in turn influenced by the schooling system (Dei, 1996).

Anti-racist theory has ten major tenets. The first tenet is the notion that race is a socially constructed idea without any scientific backing; however, the fact that is socially constructed does not change the weight this notion has in a social context. In other words, the notion of race is still tied to certain assumptions and beliefs that serve to disadvantage minority groups in a white society. The second principle emphasizes the importance of understanding how social factors pertaining to race, gender, sexual orientation, and class intersect to form a complicated system of advantage or disadvantage. Peoples' identities are complex and therefore the reasons they are discriminated against are just as complex. Anti-racist theory also questions the white male privilege in Western society and discusses the notion of white privilege, a system in which whiteness is considered to be invisible because of the advantages assigned to people belonging to that group. The fourth tenet addresses the issue of marginalizing the voices of the subordinate groups in society-especially in the education system. Social criticism from marginalized youth in the school system should be viewed as integral when curricula and policies are being revised; anti-racist theory proposes that there should be safe social spaces for marginalized people to speak and the school should be one such arena. The fifth principle of anti-racist theory calls for a holistic approach to education whereby there is an appreciation for all human experience including social, cultural, political

and religious. The sixth tenet calls for an understanding of how identity and schooling are linked to one another and that students in the system are not devoid of an identity upon entrance to the classroom. The seventh principle recognizes the need for the education system to be able to change with society and address the concerns of racialized groups. The eighth tenet speaks to the idea of the intersectionality of variables such as race, class, gender and sexual orientation. Specifically it addresses how belonging or not belonging to one or more of the dominant groups within these categories can advantage or disadvantage an individual. The ninth principle argues that the problems students may face in the education system are embedded in larger frameworks of social disadvantage. Finally, the tenth tenet of anti-racist theory is concerned with not placing all of the blame on the student and their circumstances if the student experiences setbacks in school. Directing the blame solely at the student does not force the institution and the school system to be accountable for their mistakes and shortcomings (Dei, 1996).

2.2 Multicultural Education

Multicultural discourse, which is a cornerstone of Canadian politics, serves as a double-edged sword when misused. The discourse can sometimes mislead the public and overshadow the fact that systemic racism exists within Canadian institutions. The denial of systemic racism further marginalizes and silences those who suffer directly from the institutional barriers (Mandell, 2009). Anti-racist theory attempts to address this issue while providing a safe space within these institutions for the marginalized groups to challenge the system. One such space is the classroom.

Multicultural education started out in the 1960s and 1970s and coincided with the civil rights movement. While racialized groups first demanded their rights as equal citizens and political entities, they also began demanding cultural representation and recognition in school curriculum and policy. The intent was to have the education system “address the issues of racial inequality, minority cultural identities, and the distribution of power in institutions such as school themselves” (McCarthy, 1993, p. 225).

Some scholars studying multicultural education argue that this school of thought has been misused and has come to represent something much more superficial in nature. Moreover, multicultural education tends to be marginalized both in the curriculum and the classroom because of the hegemonic ideals and dominant ideology governing the education system. A truly critical approach to multicultural education would challenge power structures and white privilege but, the reality is that such transformative knowledge is often sidelined and a cosmetic, superficial approach to multiculturalism is substituted. (Jay, 2003) In fact, Saloojee (2003) criticizes multiculturalism as it is manifested in society, as a weak approach to social inclusion because it does not adequately address the issue of power. “Cultural studies needs to be reconstructed as part of a broader discourse of difference and pedagogical transformation, one that is forged in the dialectic of critique and possibility” (Giroux, 2005, p. 163). In other words, the discussion of cultural difference is an important aspect to challenging the status quo, and if this discussion is missing, which it often is in multicultural education, the power structure embedded in education will not be challenged. While multicultural education promotes transformative knowledge in theory, in practice multicultural education tends to fall

short. "Through its failure to appreciate the challenges posed by the hidden curriculum, multicultural education gets appropriated as a 'hegemonic device'" (Jay, 2003, p. 3).

This means that in order to truly have a transformative curriculum, students should be encouraged to explore cultural difference and understand the meanings rather than ignore difference or shy away from discussing them. Multicultural education is criticized among its harshest critics for not only over-emphasizing the fact that people are the same (i.e., share fundamental human characteristics) but also for not allowing students to explore differences and promoting a colour blind approach to dealing with difference. "We need to relocate nuanced representations of differences as integral to the curriculum we offer our students in teacher education as well as in k-12 classrooms" (Asher, 2005, p. 66). As stated by Castenell and Davis-Haley (2001) "colour blindness is not a virtue but a disability" (p. 253).

2.3 *Hegemony and the Curriculum*

As pointed out by Dei (2000) and King (1992), indigenous knowledge or accurate historical accounts of minority groups often get cast aside in favour of Eurocentric and nationalistic accounts. "Given the traditional cultural hegemony, which enshrines dominant group values and perspectives in school texts, and notwithstanding the strength to be gained from cultural 're-memory' or Diaspora literacy, we Blacks can 'know' our story in ways that are partial and fragmented" (King, 1992, p. 320). The hidden curriculum functions as a device which stems from hegemonic ideas and "is often understood to represent the conscious and unconscious socializations of students through 'norms', values and beliefs embedded in the curriculum, the school, and classroom life, imparted to students through daily routines, curricular content, and

social relationships (Jay, 2003, p. 7). Yosso (2002) also discusses to a large extent the hegemony in the curriculum. Her discussion of the curriculum is situated in a discourse of power and politics. Yosso (2002) is interested in what is considered knowledge and whose ways of knowing are privileged in schools. Both Jay (2003) and Yosso (2002) put an emphasis on systemic practices which disadvantage some groups more than others. The hidden curriculum is the first site which should be unpacked when addressing unequal education opportunities and outcomes (Yosso, 2002; Jay, 2003).

The socially constructed nature of the curriculum gives way for the insertion and promotion of hegemonic ideals and values. A number of academics have written extensively on the issue of the education system as an agent of the promotion and upkeep of the status quo while also ensuring the subordination of minority groups. Many scholars see the institution of education as just an extension of the larger society within which it is embedded and argue that same power differentials found in society are mirrored in the institution and curriculum.

Gramsci and Williams as cited in Gordon (1993)

argue that society reproduces itself partly through the transmission of a system of values, attitudes, beliefs, social practices and norms which function at once to convey legitimate the ideology of social practices which serve the interests of the dominant class in the established order. The dominant world view of the society is thus perpetuated, in part by schools as well as by families and other agencies of socialization (p. 263).

Dei (2007) discusses the othering of knowledge in the Canadian/American schools systems in terms of power relations and how the dominant group defines the knowledge system and school curriculum in a way that promotes their own ideologies and maintains the status quo of the dominant group. Knowledge is power and those with power create

knowledge (Hall, 2007). So how does this become important in the classroom? If the history lesson is being taught from a European standpoint, there is an emphasis on European and western ideals. Dei (1996) refers to the school system as an institution where the dominant group is able to continue their subordination of minority groups by defining what is acceptable, valid knowledge and forcing it upon minority students in the system. A lot of world history is centered on struggles pertaining to class, ethnicity, power, territory, privilege and money. In most cases the conquerors write history and the conquered are written about. "History was written by the victors" (Sir Winston Churchill cited in Ede, 2009, p. 184).

According to Shields and Ramsay (2004), the end goal of the various Canadian social studies curricula is to foster students' ability to critically analyze and research information being presented to them. According to Shields and Ramsay (2004) curriculum designers and policy makers have considered the shift in public discourse and incorporate strategies for teaching tolerance, respect for diversity while promoting anti-racism and other equality programs within the last 3 decades. Authors such as Saloojee (2003) would argue that simply teaching tolerance is not an example of social inclusion but rather social cohesion. Also, authors such as Peck et al (2008) would argue that simply working anti-racist education into the existing curriculum is not transformative and therefore anti-racist education is at risk of being limited the same way multicultural education gets limited in the curriculum. Peck et al (2008) also argues that Shields and Ramsay (2004) are mistaken in saying that diversity has been truly accommodated in the curriculum. Instead, she believes that the curriculum standards have continued to perpetuate hegemony and that they do not give any consideration to the knowledge students may already have prior to entering the classroom.

Tackling the hidden curriculum and understanding how it impacts everyday learning and curricular content is the first line of defence against perpetuating mainstream hegemony. Only by unpacking the hidden curriculum and challenging the power associated with it, could multicultural education become more meaningful in the classroom (Jay, 2003). Anti-racist theorists and educational practitioners set out to challenge the power structures in which social institutions are embedded and for this reason is better suited for discussing curriculum design.

2.4 *Citizenship Education*

The global citizenship (GC) model, though contested, will for the purposes of this paper be defined as “an individual’s awareness, loyalty, and allegiance can and should extend beyond the borders of a nation to encompass the whole of humankind” (p. 39).

Pashby (2008) defines citizenship as “membership to a group and more specifically to a political community” whereby “most agree that citizenship involves a set of relationships between rights, duties, participation, and identity and that these components are the defining tenets of membership” (p. 2).

Because there is much debate about citizenship education and its monolithic portrayal of Canadian identity, the concept of transculturation will be useful for discussing hybrid identities. “Transculturation reconceptualises differences and diversity as negotiable, intersectional, strategic, and mobile” (Hebert et al, 2008, p. 52). This concept allows for students to explore their own identities as Canadian citizens with the understanding that this identity is potentially informed by diverse perspectives and experiences and that identity and culture are not static or monolithic (Giroux, 2005).

Recently there has been a shift in discourse of citizenship in education whereby GCE has come to the forefront of education curriculum (Pashby, 2008; Peck et al, 2008; Wood, 2008). GC can be conceptualized in multiple ways; however, there seems to be agreement among academics that it entails social responsibility at the global context, a rethinking of borders and boundaries, a perception of the global community or global village and promotion of human rights for everyone. Some academics critique the new discourse for overemphasizing the notion of citizenship at the global level, contesting that citizenship is a national political entity (Pike, 2008). Even though some academics are dubious about the feasibility of the term “global citizenship”, they still support the notion of transnational social movements, and do not dispute that students need to have a more global perspective which is not so nation-centered (Pike, 2008).

Academics such as Peck et al (2008) argue that GCE is a positive change in the curriculum because it allows student to look beyond a nation-centered focus of citizenship, thereby allowing them to shape their own notions of what citizenship and belonging mean. Pashby (2008) Peck et al (2008) and Wood (2008) all warn that the GC discourse in the curriculum does not necessarily coincide with a more inclusive school curriculum. GCE has not set out to accomplish what it had hoped if the application of the concept is done in a way which still limits students to a nationalistic view of citizenship on the home front. Simply recognizing that a global community exists and is linked by trade and environmental issues is not enough. In fact, as Pike (2008) points out, the focus of GCE has tended to be on the global market aspect of globalization. “The claims of citizenship whether national or global in orientation will largely be ignored while schooling is oriented to the imperatives of the global economy” (p. 41).

Vetter's (2008) outline of global citizenship education calls students to question the current notion of nation-centered citizenship education and argues for students to be taught not only how the local affects the global but also how the global affects the local in terms of citizenship. This conception of global citizenship education is what Pashby (2008), Pike (2008) and Wood (2008) would agree as having the potential to empower students in the Canadian context. Not only are students being taught about the global community but they are also being encouraged to look at the limitations of nation-centered citizenship and the exclusion with which it is associated.

Moreover, Vetter's (2008) conceptualization of GC has more to do with developing a sense of social justice and equity among all Canadian students on the home front rather than simply focusing on the transnational social movement (i.e., social activism and human rights awareness are addressed on a global scale, with movements that span borders and coalitions which join members across nations) (Vetter, 2008). She cites the following guidelines from the Ontario Catholic School Graduate Expectations as important objectives for GCE: respect the faith traditions, and world religions; respect and affirm the diversity and interdependence of the world's peoples and cultures; and respect and understand the history, cultural heritage, and pluralism of today's contemporary society.

2.5 *Curriculum Design*

The following Ontario Ministry of Education definition of curriculum underpins the discussion on curriculum design

Curriculum documents define what students are taught in Ontario public schools. They detail the knowledge and skills that students are expected to develop in each subject at each grade level. By developing and publishing curriculum documents for use by all Ontario teachers, the Ministry of Education sets standards for the entire province (www.edu.gov.on.ca).

Historically the education system and curriculum were designed to create model citizens and assimilate the children of both immigrant and aboriginal families. According to Clark (2004), little has changed in terms of the goals of Social Studies curricula. "Citizenship education continues to be the stated purpose of social studies in provincial curriculum documents" (Clark, 2004, p. 30).

Evidence of an assimilation agenda can be found when looking at the social attitudes towards socializing Aboriginal children and Irish immigrant children in the early 1900s. In the case of Aboriginal students, residential schools were designed and created with the sole purpose of eliminating all forms of cultural expressions and ties from the everyday lives of Aboriginal youth. Even once residential schools were eradicated, new education policy was still assimilationist in nature by the very fact that Aboriginal and racialized perspectives were omitted. The new curriculum which was based on the new education policy left little to no room for Aboriginal knowledge and cultural space and these concepts were hardly ever incorporated into classroom practices (Hare, 2007).

The literature suggests that the length of time given to a particular unit in the curriculum could also be indicative of hegemonic values. For example if there is only one unit or a small number of units covering other countries or other cultural groups, the implicit message is that those forms of knowledge and those values are less important in the bigger picture which is Canadian and Eurocentric in focus (Yosso, 2002).

In terms of whose values are promoted in the curriculum, criticisms point toward the fact that the education system and curriculum promote and protect mainstream values; mainstream in this case being white, upper-middle class society (Yosso, 2002; Jay, 2003). White privilege and whiteness become an important part of the discussion of power and politics with respect to the education system and the curriculum (Jay, 2003). The dominant group in a society will have power and control over the social institutions and by default over the education system, this inevitably means that the dominant group controls society as a whole. Jay (2003) outlines transformative knowledge as an initiative which will “push race and racism (and related forms of oppression) to the forefront” (p. 6). Jay (2003) also cites Banks and says that transformative knowledge is an acceptance that “all knowledge reflects the power and social relationships within society, and that an important purpose of knowledge construction is to help improve society” (p. 5). Overall, Jay (2003) conceptualizes transformative knowledge as something which will challenge dominant forms of knowledge and power structures and it is a concept which should be at the heart of curriculum design. Freire, as cited in Ballard (2009) contends “such a curriculum-where students are encouraged to take risks in thinking, to ask questions, and to be curious” is in fact “a liberating education” (p. 201). Ballard (2009)

expounds on empowering students and about how doing so will help them use their voice for change.

Giroux (2000) adds to the discussion on student expression and voice by arguing that a more critical pedagogy is needed in the curriculum and that students should be encouraged to share and reflect on their experiences and differences in their own narratives. A truly critical pedagogical approach according to Giroux (2005) goes beyond teachers pointing out the presence of dominant ideologies in various institutions. Encouraging students to reflect and voice the ways in which in dominant ideology have affected their daily lives and thoughts should be the goal.

The literature suggests multiple approaches for curriculum which will encourage critical thinking and analysis by students. Some academics such as Ballard (2009) propose including literature in the curriculum in addition to the approved textbook. The reasoning for this is that students will then be exposed to diverse perspectives, thoughts and sentiments as presented from a rich array of authors. In addition, she suggests having student complete a variety of activities and exercises to develop their analytical skills; this will also help student develop their own voice and intellectual space.

Journals, which help students reflect on their experiences, serve as an example which allows them to relate their memories to the material presented in the literature and textbook. Other forms of learning include the use of autobiographies, film and novels. Ballard (2009) also argues that recognizing and utilizing different instructional approaches also means the recognition and affirmation of different learning styles. Collins (1993) further elaborates on Ballard's (2009) ideas by including a discussion on collaborative learning environments which

help bridge the gap for some ethnic minority students between their culture and learning environment at home and their school's learning environment.

3. *Methodology*

The approach of this paper will be qualitative in nature because it is an exploratory study which stresses the importance of context and uses thematic coding to generate data (Creswell, 2009). The document which this paper is analyzing is the grade 9/10 Canadian and World Studies curriculum document which is produced by the Ontario Ministry of Education and was last revised in 2005 (Ontario Ministry of Education). The literature which provides the background for the critique ranges in publication dates from the 1970s to 2009. The studies and books were found online at the Ryerson library and are either part of the academic journal database or the library catalogue. The keywords used in the search of the academic articles were: anti-racism, critical race theory, racism, education, curriculum, Canada, Ontario, high school students, hidden curriculum, white supremacy, textbooks, hegemony, multiculturalism and teacher's attitudes.

Choosing to use a document produced by the Ontario Ministry of Education will provide me with important information on the perspectives and knowledge which are being incorporated and reproduced by the curriculum. As noted by Padgett (1998) social trends and the history of a social institution can be researched and studied using documents. The specific strategy will consist of a content analysis of the grade 9/10 Canadian and World Studies document which will be grounded in an anti-racist theoretical framework and literature review.

There are different methods for coding qualitative data (Creswell, 2009). I coded each theme using a specific colour and used the corresponding colour to highlight a text which applied to a theme in every article used in the literature review as well as in the curriculum document (Creswell, 2009). The reason I chose to code my articles in addition to the document was so that I would know which sections of my articles were corresponding to my findings in the curriculum document. Because the outline of the curriculum document content was in point form for the latter half of the document, it was difficult to colour code the themes in each point. Therefore, for this section I relied on coding words to help identify instances of exclusion or inclusion in the document. Words such as multicultural/multiculturalism, citizenship, Canadian identity, immigration, policy, diversity, culture, change, Aboriginal, ethno-cultural, religion/religious, government, power racism, immigrant, globalization, analyze, were used as indicators. I chose these words because they were words which related to the themes presented in the literature. It should be noted that my analysis includes not only immigrants but a wider category of racialized and othered groups because of the importance of capturing the wider processes of inclusion and/or exclusion that are shared between them.

There are limitations to my research, and this is to be expected as research is never bias free. First, my own epistemology and world reference can never be totally muted, no matter how objective I may have tried to be in my analysis. I am coming from a critical approach heavily guided by the anti-racism theory and its tenets which are explained later in this paper. Although I have made a conscious effort to analyze the document in an objective manner while controlling for my own bias so that I would avoid skewing the data as much as possible, I may

have overlooked some instances of inclusion in the document or may have over-emphasized some instances of exclusion

Second, my analysis and interpretation is informed by other academic research which is also presumably influenced in some way (Padgett, 1998). Missing also are the actual perceptions of the students with regards to the curriculum document. However, as part of the methodology for critiquing the grade 9/10 Canadian and World Studies curriculum document, previous studies on student perception and engagement with other curricula were consulted.

4. Analysis and Discussion

4.1 Structural Constraints of the Education System

To begin the discussion of the grade 9/10 Canadian and World Studies curriculum document let us first start with the role of the student as outlined in the document. According to the document: “students who are willing to make the effort required and who are able to apply themselves will soon discover that there is a direct relationship between this effort and their achievement, and will therefore be more motivated to work” (p. 6). The problem with this statement is twofold.

First, the sole responsibility is placed on the student-what does this imply about students who fall short of the curriculum expectations of success? Second, since some students experience barriers to equal participation in the education system and are not able to apply themselves fully, is their underachievement truly a reflection of their ability and, if so, is it entirely their fault? Tenets eight, nine and 10 of anti-racist theory would argue that intersecting variables, social structures outside of the classroom, and system (i.e., curriculum)

design are all factors in student success or lack thereof (Dei, 1996). In other words, it is never fully the fault of the student.

Another recommendation for the Canadian and World Studies curriculum document is to add components of the 'The Active Citizens of Today project' (ACT). The ACT model was designed for the Ontario grade 6 Social Studies curriculum as a teacher resource for introducing global perspectives to the curriculum. It was meant to fill in gaps in the official document. However, although teachers reported that the resource was useful, they also cited lack of time and "pressures to cover too many other topics in the curriculum were viewed as full or partial barriers" (Larsen & Fadden, 2008, p. 77). I recommend a less nationalistic agenda in the school curriculum and more room for the discussion of GCE in the official document which would help teachers deliver a more inclusive lesson in the classroom.

4.2 *Citizenship Education in the Curriculum*

To debate whether citizenship education should be swapped for GCE or the controversy over whether GCE is even a possibility is outside the scope of this paper. The reason for including literature on both topics is to understand the battle being played out in the curriculum document. While both forms of citizenship are presented in the document, the discussion largely remains a nation-centred approach which focuses on instilling 'Canadian' values, cultural norms and a Canadian identity.

Power and Governance is a broad theme which spans the grade 10 portion of the curriculum document. The discussion of policy is briefly mentioned in some sections of the grade nine portion of the document; however the majority of the discussion is found in the

grade 10 portion. Power and Governance is found in the following sections: Informed Citizenship (p. 65); Purposeful Citizenship, Active Citizenship; Social, Economic and Political Structures (pp. 51, 60); and Citizenship and Heritage (pp. 50, 59). The topic of citizenship is the largest component of the grade 10 curriculum. Already there is an agenda to clearly define and promote “Canadian values” and there is a heavy nationalistic perspective embedded in the curriculum document. In the words of Gordon (1993), “ideological hegemony, thus broadly construed, represents a crucial starting point for examining the basic notion of citizenship education, and the nature of the relationship between schools and the larger society” (p. 264).

The part that is interesting is the marriage of Heritage and Citizenship. Heritage implies culture, tradition, values, language and a shared history whereas it can be argued that citizenship is a political concept that is tied to civic obligations, rights, freedoms and state membership (Pashby, 2008). Conflating the two and discussing them as one unit blurs the line between politics, power and culture.

Aboriginals are mentioned a total of nine other times in the document outside of their appearance in the Human-Environment Interactions Academic version (p. 31) and the applied version (p. 38). Nine times is a small number considering that a student will not be taking all four courses; the mention of Aboriginals in either of the academic or applied streams is roughly cut in half and spans two years of high school education.

The limited discussion of Aboriginals and Aboriginal contributions, culture and way of life is a short-coming of the curriculum document. Not only are there few instances where Aboriginals are mentioned, but the discussion is often superficial and is added into a few of the units as just another point to be explored. (e.g., students are asked to identify the ways in

which various ethnic communities have contributed to Canada's multicultural society) (p. 55).

The focus of the unit is supposed to be to examine communities at the local, national and global level and "describe some of the major local, national, and global forces and events that have influenced Canada's policies and Canadian identity since 1914" (p. 55).

Surely the Aboriginal community has influenced more than the Canadian image of multiculturalism! Limiting the exploration of Aboriginal contributions to the realm of multiculturalism inhibits meaningful discussion of the political, economic and social struggles the aboriginal community has endured fought against and in some cases have changed. The same vein of thought is found in the grade 10 academic version of Communities: Local, National and Global: "Identify contributions to Canada's multi-cultural society by regional, linguistic, ethno cultural and religious communities (e.g. Aboriginal peoples, Franco-Ontarians, Métis, Black Canadians, Doukhobors, Mennonites, local immigrant communities)" (p. 46).

Even more alarming is the fact that in the section where students are asked to identify people who have influenced Canadian identity (p.46), Matthew Coon Come is the only Aboriginal mentioned, while numerous white French and English Canadians are mentioned (e.g., Maurice Richard). In addition, one black woman and one Chinese woman are mentioned: Rosemary Brown and Adrienne Clarkson. The overall impression is a French and British binary with just enough diversity to pay homage without really changing the focus. Multiculturalism, when approached in this manner, is not transformative in nature (Jay, 2003). (On a positive note, discussing the achievements of Aboriginal organizations is a move toward recognition and empowerment of the Aboriginal community).

The only fundamental concept outlined in the introduction of the document which is not given a unit of its own is the concept of culture. Rather, it is embedded in all the other units, which is positive because the document introduction points out that “culture provides a conceptual framework for interpreting the world, and influences the perception of time, place identity, significance, and change” (p. 4). It would be difficult to discuss the other outlined fundamental concepts without the cultural discourse; however, the issue becomes, whose culture is informing the curriculum document and which aspects of culture are being focused on? This point is raised in the literature by Nelson (2009): “when the dominant group holds the power to establish major institutions within society, these institutions and the ways they operate reflect its attitudes and beliefs” (p. 169). For example, the document mentions several concepts related to culture (p. 5) including spirituality/religion; ideology; economic, political, and legal systems; communication and language; familial and community structures; education; migration and diversity. Interestingly, the role of the Canadian economy both nationally and internationally is discussed. Various social structures, political and legal systems are also mentioned in abundance as is communication. However, there is little discussion of diversity and next to no mention of religion and their relevance to Canadian society.

The “Global Connections” unit asks students to “analyze the potential impact of the global community of their personal choices” (p. 39). The prompts used to guide student thought are focused on music, food, clothes, work and recreation. While these are all areas of life which are influenced by and in turn influence culture, where is the discussion of the relationship between culture and identity, or of the hybridity of Canadian identity or the overlap of various cultural perspectives which for so many students is a fact of everyday life? A

similar approach to teaching students about the “global village” is also found (p. 39). This time the curriculum document asks students to describe the effect on Canadian society of the cultural influences of the “global village”; the prompts are in music, dance, fashion and food. Again this is but a superficial and limited exploration of the impacts of the “global village”. Why not ask students to describe the impacts on Canadian history, politics and the economy? Also, does global culture simply impact Canadian society? By only looking at how the “global village” has impacted Canadian society, we are excluding the idea of global exchange, that Canadian culture may have had some influences on global culture (positive or negative). In addition this superficial approach is the hallmark of what multicultural education has become (Gordon 1993; Jay, 2003; Peck et al, 2008). However, contrary to Pike’s (2008) assertion that the discussion of citizenship education is primarily preoccupied with the economic aspect of globalization (p. 39), there is discussion of the environment and social issues and benefits in addition to economic trends. This could indicate an effort to design a curriculum which does seek to include a more human global approach, rather than simply a business and economic approach to globalization.

The section “Purposeful Citizenship” (p. 67) sets out to teach about the beliefs and values underlying democratic citizenship while also describing the diversity of beliefs and values of various individuals and groups in Canada. While there is plenty of discussion on Canadian democratic values and statements which hint at multiculturalism being one the Canadian democratic values, a discussion on cultural diversity is lacking. The only attempt to open this discussion is found in the subsection “Diversity of Beliefs and Values” where it says “explain how different groups (e.g., special interest groups, ethno cultural groups) define their citizenship and identify the beliefs and values reflected in these definitions” (p. 67). While it is

important to understand these concepts, the document should be careful not to limit differences in citizenship identification to these groups. Also it seems that citizenship and heritage are once again being conflated. The implication that some ethno-cultural groups may have different values when it comes to citizenship could lead people to scrutinize and question the loyalty of whichever group is being discussed (Pashby, 2008; Pike, 2008). It is more accurate to separate the political notion of Canadian citizenship from the cultural notion of Canadian heritage and identity (Pashby, 2008). There may be variations in beliefs and values when discussing how one will define themselves culturally but this is separate from how one identifies as a citizen and member of the state.

The subsection of “Democratic, Beliefs and Values” (p. 67) includes a point which encourages students to “explain how democratic beliefs and values are reflected in citizen actions”. It goes on to list a number of days set aside to commemorate certain events or causes. While this is important for students to think about, students should also be encouraged to reflect on other ways in which these democratic values are reflected in society on a day to day basis (Jay, 2003). Learning about anti-racist education efforts and programs available to the community, cultural service providers, and workers’ coalitions are important additions which should be made to the document. Students would then see the importance of practicing these values and would be familiar with the work that goes into promoting and ensuring these values as part of daily life rather than as a once a year event for various causes and historical happenings.

The forms we actually find multicultural education taking today are of an ‘ideologically safe’ nature. Curricular add-ons, special units for Black History or Women’s History month, sprinkled with ‘Heroes and Holidays’ celebrations remain the staple of multicultural initiatives in the classroom (Jay, 2003, p. 6).

Also in the “Democratic Beliefs and Values” subsection there is a point which asks students to articulate and clarify their “personal beliefs and values concerning democratic citizenship (e.g. voting age, compulsory military service, mandatory retirement age)” (p. 67). This should be expanded to include the national census and issues of identity, random security checks, rules concerning religious items and safety, issues of access to services for temporary foreign workers and refugees, as well as homelessness. For example the right to vote is made extremely difficult to put into practice for the transient population (i.e., the homeless and anyone without a permanent fixed address). Racial profiling has unfortunately become an issue with random security checks. The personal freedom and right to participate in society without discrimination has been violated for some individual members of racialized groups. Students should also be asked to critically analyze the impacts of the outlined issues on the various groups affected by the aforementioned laws, regulations and issues; The rationale being, that democratic citizenship (as outlined by Saloojee, 2003) is limited to the above scenarios. Students should be asked to reflect on the consequences of the limitations and assess whether or not they are just.

This is one of the few points where students are asked for their personal opinion about social issues. For Peck et al (2008) this is a concern because she argues that diversity has not been truly accommodated in the curriculum: the curriculum standards have continued to perpetuate hegemony and do not give any consideration to the knowledge students may already have prior to entering the classroom.

The “Communities: Local, National, and Global” (pp. 46, 55) need reworking. First, students are asked to explain how the government has tried to promote a common sense of identity and why. This is a loaded question which needs to be unpacked. Students should, instead be encouraged to think about what is a “Canadian identity” and whether there is just one common interpretation as is suggested. What happens to Canadians who may not identify with the promoted single notion of identity? Are they less Canadian? The issue of hybridity has been sidestepped in this section and, according to Pashby (2008), citizenship education in the curriculum rarely engages in this discussion. Students should be encouraged to think about whether or not the government should even be promoting a single notion of Canadian identity in the first place and where it should draw the line. They should also be made to consider the dangers of being too nationalistic. This would be especially useful for those students whose parents are immigrants or refugees and who may not be Canadian citizens.

The lack of discussion of hybridity and cultural identity could potentially other students of racialized or immigrant background. For example the following quote cited in Asher’s (2005) work is evidence of why overlapping and hybrid identities need to be discussed in the document and why students should be allowed to explore their own identity within the Canadian context without being told what it means to be Canada:

“Once we’re in school.... I mean I’ve even heard a kid...when we had this discussion about being hyphenated Americans, like Indian-American, “why do you have to say that? Why can’t you just say American?’ And you can’t bring out the argument that I am half Indian. I am not a whole American. And there’s this thing that you should embrace American culture which is in essence European culture. ” The same student goes on to say “And a thing with diversity.... I don’t think that’s advocated by anyone, that...you should have diverse influence in how you lead your life” (p. 68).

Not only does this quote speak to the issue of the curriculum promoting a single notion of identity, something which Saloojee (2003) criticizes as not promoting social inclusion, but it also speaks to the feeling of being othered. Although this quote refers to the American school system, the discussion of citizenship and identity in the grade 9/10 Canadian and World Studies document could lead to similar feelings of exclusion and othering.

In the subsection of “Democratic Decision Making”, there is a point which states: “identify similarities and differences in the ways power is distributed in groups, institutions, and communities (e.g., in families, classrooms, municipalities) to meet human needs, and resolve conflicts” (p. 65). It is positive to see the association between power and institutions being made in the curriculum document, however once again the use of language glosses over the power dynamics and the ways power in institutions may not necessarily always benefit or address the needs of people (Dei, 2007; Kaufmann, 2002). For example, the power relationship in the curriculum design and education system is responsible for the hegemonic and bias information that has been embedded throughout the document (Peck et al, 2008). Some perspectives are privileged over others and marginalize some students while benefitting others. Are the ones who are being marginalized somehow less human than those whom the power of the institution is alleged to serve? If we continue to allow the curriculum to ‘other’ racialized and immigrant youth, we are in fact moving further away from Saloojee’s (2003) notion of social inclusion and democratic citizenship.

4.3 *Omission of Alternative Historical Perspectives in Citizenship Education*

Shields and Ramsay (2004) point out that there has been a shift in the citizenship education found in the curriculum from a responsibility perspective to a more political perception of citizenship which allows for varying meanings of citizenship, belonging and perspectives to be incorporated into the curriculum; however they also go onto to cite the addition of Aboriginal and Francophone citizenship education to the curriculum as evidence of this shift. While including racialized groups and language minority groups such as francophone's is important, there is still an omission of immigrant perspectives and historically racialized groups stemming beyond the previously mentioned groups.

For example, the unit "Change and Continuity" (pp. 48, 57) is heavily focused on how the lives of Canadians changed since World Wars I and II, as well as technological and scientific advances. While there are slight variations between the applied and academic versions of the unit, the topics are largely the same. Interestingly, only two minor points are made with regard to the change in immigration policy and the groups of immigrants who have come to Canada. The discussion on the change of policy is not an honest or holistic one. The units address changes in terms of incentives, the point system and quotas while the recognition of historically overt racist and sexist underpinnings of Canada's immigration policy is lacking. Also missing is the discussion of how Canada also benefitted from immigrant labour during periods of shortages (Kelly & Trebilcock, 1998). The discussion paints Canada as a land of salvation, through instructions to "describe the circumstance that led to their decision to emigrate (e.g., impact of war, political unrest, famine)" (pp. 48, 57). These are not the only reasons people have chosen to immigrate and immigrants have not been the only supposed beneficiaries of the

immigration as the document seems to suggest. All students should be encouraged to examine and critically assess the treatment of immigrants and racial minorities and look at the ways that systemic discrimination advantages some groups and not others.

The subsection "Responses to Civic Issues:" (p. 67) includes a point on human rights violations; however none of the violations mentioned Canadian examples. A critical analysis and reflection on residential schools, the Indian Act of 1976, Chinese Head Tax, the disenfranchisement of women and various ethnic groups, Japanese internment camps, the deportation of Japanese and Japanese-Canadians during World War II, abuses of temporary foreign workers and undocumented immigrants are all relevant Canadian examples of human rights violations which would be important to acknowledge and discuss. This whole section is nationalistic with respect to promoting Canada as a democratic, peaceful nation which seeks to include and protect everyone. As Pashby (2008) points out "national curricula function to perpetuate and even manufacture national myths 'for the twin purposes of grounding national consciousness in some kind of legitimizing historical tradition and garnering the allegiance of the people to the existing political status quo" (p. 11). While Canadians may value these beliefs, there are many instances where we have not measured up and that should not be overlooked or forgotten in the curriculum (Pashby, 2008; Peck et al, 2008; Wood, 2008), particularly when some of the injustices would have had direct effects on some of the students and or their families. On a positive note, the document does mention Canada's closed-door refugee policy towards Jews during the Second World War (p. 47). At least students will have some exposure to some of the darker moments in Canadian history, although this implies that these matters

are in the past and one need not worry about them today. As Kincheloe (1993) points out linking the past to the present context is crucial for understanding the present social context.

Students are asked to “describe some of the ways in which American culture and politics have influenced Canada since World War I” (p. 32). This section should also include people such as Malcolm X, Rosa Parks and other prominent Civil Rights activists. As it stands, the only African American individual mentioned is Martin Luther King-the rest are all white political leaders, most of whom are male. Moreover, the social movement for civil rights should be discussed in some detail. The Civil Rights Movement is important for students to understand because of the complex social structure it sought to change. The successes of the civil rights moment changed society both in the US and Canada. It is important for students to understand the impact of US politics and politicians, including the context of the Civil Rights Movement, the leaders involved, its specific ramifications and the instances where activism is still needed.

Also, students are asked to “analyze Canada’s responses to some of the major human tragedies since World War I (e.g., genocide in Ukraine; the Holocaust; Japanese atrocities prior to and during World War II; famine in Africa; genocide in Somalia; civil War in Bosnia; the AIDS crisis in Africa; September 11)” (p. 49). While it is important to consider Canada’s responses to these events, it is also important to consider how these events have changed the lives of Canadians who fled these situations or were impacted by them in some way. For example, the events of September 11th have impacted the Canadian Muslim community in many ways and yet this discussion has not been included in the document. As noted in the literature on the portrayal of the Muslim community in Western society, Ali (2010) makes the point that Muslim students may not feel they are able to speak up in the classroom to combat the inaccuracies

being taught in textbooks or portrayed in the media. For this reason, it is essential that anti-racist scholars rework the curriculum content of the grade 9/10 Canadian and World studies and address the hegemonic devices and inaccurate dominant knowledge embedded in the document.

Furthermore, students need to be encouraged to engage in dismantling power structures which marginalize immigrant and racialized groups in Canada. One example of how this can be done is to take the opportunity to teach students about the Muslim and Islamic culture in and of itself without making the connection to events such as 9/11, terrorism and other forms of violence. If the only time the discussion of Muslims or Islam is mentioned is in the context of war or terror as noted in the curriculum document (pp. 49, 56), then there is not much hope of ending negative stereotypes or dismantling the homogenized and violent portrayal of Islam and Muslims (Ali, 2010).

Vetter's (2008) conceptualization for GC includes the discussion and respect of world religions, and the curriculum document recognizes religion as part of culture and diversity (p 5). Meanwhile, the actual curricular content does not discuss religion in any kind of detail other than asking students to "identify contributions to Canada's multicultural society by regional, linguistic, ethno cultural and religious communities" (pp. 46, 55). It is important to educate students on ethnic diversity and the relationship to religious diversity and to also provide students who are member of various religious communities to have a voice. Students need to understand the importance of the religious head coverings, items and holidays in order to stop the othering and the sentiment of being othered with regard to ethnic and religious diversity. Peck

et al (2008) provides the following example which illustrates the dangers of omitting discussion on the significance of religious beliefs:

Interviewer: What do you know about religion and what it has to do with wearing something on your head? Glenn: Well, some religions believe that women should have a covering. And I don't know the form of religion and stuff...really, I'm not a religion person, but there could be a religion that calls for people to wear garments over there that cover themselves. Or, if they get in trouble or something, maybe they believe it covers their shame or something (p. 76).

The student in this example had already made a judgment about someone with a headdress as being the "other" when he said "wear garments over there". The fact that the students associates ethnic and religious diversity as something foreign is an example of how members of various world religions are marginalized within Canada; therefore, it is important for the Canadian and World Studies document to include discussion on the diversity of Canadian identity, rather than teaching students that Canadian identity and citizenship are a set of rules and norms; (e.g., one such rule being the "tolerance" of the "other") (Saloojee, 2003). In the applied version of "Change and Continuity" the students are primarily asked to focus on the Holocaust (p. 56). Some of the more recent events as outlined in "Change and Continuity" section (p. 49) should be discussed. There have been serious social ramifications for many Canadian-born and new Canadians due to family dislocation, forced migration, major human rights violations, racial profiling, and experienced acts of racism/violence as a result of these recent events. While it is important to not forget the past, students must not be under the impression that the last major world event to devastate humanity and affect the lives of Canadians was the Holocaust. Misleading students in this way trivializes and marginalizes the

experiences of those who have encountered serious acts of human rights violations in recent years.

There is a lot of emphasis on World I and II and their effects on Canada as well as the role our country played in the wars; however, because this is also a World Studies course and there have been other major wars which may have effected students' ancestors or relatives abroad, these events should be given some recognition, regardless or if Canada played any major role in resolving the conflict. Why not teach students about successful struggles for independence of the countries in Africa or South Asia, the fall of the Berlin Wall or the end of Apartheid in South Africa? After all, were these not major world events which have changed the course of humanity for people living those countries and for people all over? Furthermore is Canada not linked to these events through immigration and the "global village" which has been discussed in earlier sections of the curriculum document?

The "Methods of Historical Inquiry and Communication (p. 61) section has some positive points to it. Encouraging students to critically analyze historical accounts is very important. As Ali (2010) and Francis (2007) have both pointed out, students are exposed to inaccuracies and misrepresentations of racialized groups in both textbooks and the media. Asking students to consider authority, impartiality, bias, stereotyping and prejudice will encourage students to critically and consciously assess material they are using to gather their information and the content which they are being taught in class. It would be beneficial to have students consider the power dynamic behind historical accounts that are taken as the truth. Teaching students about the notion of hegemony, and who it privileges and why, would be a great addition to this section. Also, this section of the document mentions adopting the perspectives of different

participants in historical events, when analyzing information. Students should also be taught to explore the differences in perspectives and discuss what these differences mean and why they exist in order for a better understanding to be possible. Adopting another perspective without fully understanding it relies too much on assumptions. While teaching students empathy is important it is also important to teach a genuine understanding.

The subsection which analyzes “French-English Relations” is an important discussion as the conflict between French and English speaking Canada has a long history (pp. 47, 55); however, there is debate that Canada has a binary conception of who its founding nations are and whether or not the exclusion of Aboriginals and early settling immigrants outside of the binary should be addressed (Dua, 2005). “We are constantly led to believe that Europeans built the nation, and in the telling of this history, the conquest, genocide, slavery, and continued exploitation of the labor of aboriginal and people of colour is suppressed and/or erased” (Dua, 2005, p 4). Why is there not a sub-section dedicated to the discussion of Aboriginals rather than a few random points strewn throughout the entire document? Where is the mention of Louis Riel and his contributions to early Canada? Also, students are asked to identify the major groups of French Canadians outside of Quebec and their struggle for recognition; no such point is made with respect to Aboriginals. Furthermore, Chinese immigrants played a major role in the settlement and economic development of western Canada in its very early stages, helping to unite eastern and western Canada via the construction of the railroad (Kelly & Trebilcock, 1998). Why is this discussion missing?

The grade nine unit discusses various changes in the Canadian political and social life from an economic, cost and benefit point of view. This type of discussion is limiting and does not allow students to explore the social and political reasons for the changes, or the impacts of those changes at the human level. Rather it teaches students to think about these changes in terms of numbers and business. Having students report on how trends such as immigration affect Canada's sustainability is a limited view of the process of immigration. While this is one approach to discussing the topic, we can also talk about immigration in terms of settlement, social debates and conflicts related to the trend and how these conflicts have been handled, the flow of culture, social integration, globalization, and transnationalism.

Also assessing the "cost and benefits to selected groups in Canada of recent Aboriginal land claims" (p. 40) is phrased in a way that implies that Aboriginal land claims have been a burden to some groups. While there may have been some added red tape for developers to cut through in some areas of Canada, is it fair or accurate to paint this as a "cost"? A more useful discussion would be to recognize the importance of self-governance and the historical underpinnings associated with Aboriginal land claims. If anything, why not encourage students to think about the cost of large-scale development projects, commercial expansion and the exploitation of the natural resources to lives of the Aboriginal groups who either reside or resided in the areas which are being disputed?

In addition, students should discuss examples of strategies used by some disadvantaged groups to overcome some of the social and systemic barriers. The struggles of early immigrants and their tales of success should be discussed. As well as the evolution of services, unions, activist groups and social attitude should be addressed. This would help to empower members

of immigrant and racialized groups by teaching the youth how barriers have been overcome, rather than continuously teaching students, how barriers have held back the aforementioned groups.

Moving on to a discussion of literature and art, the grade 9/10 Canada and World Studies curriculum document has recognized the need to expose students to diversity through art and literature, yet some important points are missing. Although various artists and writers from diverse backgrounds are included in the curriculum, the inclusion of migrant literature, writers and artists who incorporate themes of cultural hybridity, negotiating multiple identities and the appropriation of Canadian identity, along with the debate of what it means to be Canadian, would be a useful addition to this section. Also, speaking of art, when the curriculum is referring to Canadian art does this also assume immigrant art, and if not, why?

For example, students are asked to “assess how artistic expression has reflected Canadian identity since World War” (p. 50) or to “describe how the work of selected artists has reflected Canadian identity” (p. 59). Students should also be asked to define and reflect on what constitutes Canadian identity and Canadian art and/or literature, both in their opinion and in popular opinion. Writers who have spoken about such issues include but are not limited to Austin Clarke, Frye Northrop, Margaret Atwood and Eva Hoffman.

It is also important for students to recognize some of the bias and misrepresentations that are found in the work of some of the artists recommended in the curriculum document. For example, Francis (2007) criticizes the work of Emily Carr and her depiction of the Aboriginal population. According to Francis (2007): “although she had great personal sympathy for the Indian, she nevertheless belongs to the tradition of artists who took for granted that Indians

were vanishing and sought to preserve an idealized image of them, not the reality of Native people" (p. 238).

In addition, incorporating literature by Clarke, Northrop, Atwood or Hoffman could help address some of the gaps or inaccuracies that are found in textbooks of the curriculum document. "Using literature in the classroom helps to fill in the gaps left by textbooks. Reading literature not only allows multiple perspectives to be presented in the classroom but, also creates room for dialogue in the curriculum" (Ede, 2009, p. 200).

When discussing art, for example, the Group of Seven have been recognized as being among the first to travel the country, observe the landscape and the different cultural groups spanning from coast to coast and then writing or painting their ethnographic accounts. In some instances the depictions of the Aboriginal communities were not necessarily accurate and were taken at face value as not only true but also came to represent the ideas of what Canadian heritage is widely understood to be (Francis, 2007).

When studying this topic in the classroom, will there be an opportunity and encouragement for students to critically discuss the works of the group of seven or will the information be presented as some of the earliest accounts as Canadian heritage at which point students will be expected to accept this information at face value? The first scenario is an example of transformative education because it allows students to question and challenge the content while also being given the opportunity to possibly insert their knowledge. The second instance does not allow for this type of engagement and therefore is not transformative.

4.4 *Global Citizenship at the Global and National Level*

Pike's (2008) conceptualization of GC as transnational movement along with Vetter's (2008) notion of global citizenship education as a concept which encourages social justice and equity in Canadian society are important considerations for the World Studies document. There is evidence throughout the document of encouraging students to think about human rights issues abroad, though still from a nationalistic perspective; however, there is very little of Vetter's (2008) conceptualization which involves including diversity and global perspectives in the Canadian context.

The subsection "Citizenship within the Global Context" (p. 66) is an important topic to discuss because transnationalism, globalization, the movement of people, capital and ideas are very relevant to everyday lives of Canadians in many ways; however, the treatment of this topic in this subsection is vague. The debate on whether or not borders should or do exist is missing, as is the debate on whether or not GC is really even a concept that can exist (Wood, 2008).

Based on the points listed in "Citizenship within the Global Context", GC appears to be defined in terms of humanitarian efforts (p. 66). Defining and having students explore the various meanings associated with GC and allowing students to analyze Canadians' practices as global citizens would be an important consideration. The document asks students to "analyze contemporary crises or issues of international significance (e.g., health and welfare, disasters, human rights, economic development, environmental quality, terrorism)" (p. 66) but it does not give the students any context by which they should be considering these issues. Also, students should be informed of the complexity of applying Eurocentric values and solutions to the global

issues outlined in the document. Not teaching students of the importance of cultural sensitivity, reflexive thought and the over privileging of western ideas and values will not allow students to examine the issues in any kind of objective way; it will also further entrench hegemonic ideas in values into the next generation's practices (Dei, 2007; Gordon 1993; Kaufmann, 2002; Peck et al, 2008).

5. *Conclusion and Policy Recommendations*

After reviewing the grade 9/10 Canadian and World Studies curriculum document, we can see how the themes in the literature review have matched up with the content of the document. The fourth principle of anti-racist which speaks to the marginalization of racialized and immigrant populations as attempted in sections discussing Aboriginals; however, there was less space dedicated to immigrant voice throughout the document. The coverage of Aboriginals, immigrants and diversity were still largely superficial. As per the fifth tenet of anti-racism which calls for a holistic approach to education, the topic of religion was missing throughout the document, although there was some effort to include other aspects of diversity. Anti-racist tenet eighth, ninth and tenth tenet of anti-racism theory were not reflected in the introduction of the curriculum document, particularly in discussing the role of the student. The criticisms of multicultural education are relevant to the analysis of the grade 9/10 Canadian and World Studies curriculum document, because they serve as a cautionary tale for over emphasizing human likeness and not addressing issues of power. The curriculum document could benefit from addressing issues of power in society and forms of social exclusion which take place.

Hegemony and nationalism were present throughout the document, especially in relation to citizenship education. The lack of discussion on cultural hybridity, the over emphasis on Canada as a world leader of human rights, and the discussion of democratic citizenship which does not address issues of power all manifestations of hegemony in the curriculum document.

The literature on curriculum design was useful for looking at the overall content and evaluating how the structure, material and language were either exclusive or inclusive depending on the situation. For example, including global perspectives and some discussion of Aboriginals and immigrants in Canadian society are inclusive discussions. However, not addressing multiple forms of Canadian identity, rich historical accounts of immigrant and racialized groups or a discussion of religious diversity are examples of exclusion. There have been some positive aspects to the curriculum in terms of encouraging critical student thought, engaging students in global citizenship education and an attempt to address and incorporate diversity. The curriculum document could benefit from a more critical approach to its nation-centred focus of citizenship and more directives based on anti-racism rather than simply multiculturalism. The binary focus of English and French relations needs to be expanded to include diverse perspectives of Canada's history. Students should be encouraged to examine other world leaders and national contributions to human rights and peace keeping outside in addition to Canadian efforts. Lastly, students should also be encouraged to explore alternative notions of Canadian identity and learn to apply social equity on the home front.

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