IMAGINING THE NATION:
A TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF CANADIAN AND AUSTRALIAN HISTORY EDUCATION MATERIALS

by

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For Stephen
Imagining the Nation: A Textual Analysis of Canadian and Australian Education Materials.

Abstract

In this study, I examine the relationship between citizenship and history education in the teaching of national history. I examine three aspects of "reflective-active citizenship": critical citizenship literacy (skills for recognizing the interpretive lenses through which historical narratives are constructed), conflictual content (content that invites students to investigate historical conflicts and/or their connection to contemporary debates), and self reflection (learning opportunities that would guide students to be critically self-reflective in relation to the histories examined). In relation to the model of "reflective-active citizenship" I propose, I conduct a textual analysis of four sets of contemporary educational materials produced in two multicultural settler nations, formerly colonized by Britain (two from Canada and two from Australia). In my comparison of the four case studies, I discuss how the history educational materials include explicit and implicit lessons in national identity.
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Introduction

In this study, I examine the relationship between citizenship and history education by identifying different approaches to citizenship education in the teaching of national history. I conduct a textual analysis of four sets of educational materials produced in Australia and in Canada (two cases from each country) that are intended for use in the formal school setting, specifically in high school history, social studies, and/or civics classes. In this analysis, I identify the different strategies employed by curriculum writers in the four cases to teach particular elements of citizenship education.

The purpose of this study is to broaden and strengthen the body of literature on the relationship between history and citizenship education in the formal school setting. The recent attention given to citizenship and history education in both Australia and Canada invites an examination of the kinds of citizenship education proposed in the educational materials that are produced by various non-government organizations or ministries of education. In particular, while each case's authors claim they provide history education for "active citizenship," their claims call for an examination of the kind of citizenship activity proposed in the materials.

Contents of the Study

In Chapter 1, I review scholarly literature in the field of history and citizenship education, and propose a model of reflective-active citizenship, whereby students learn the skills to discern how national history, as a collection of constructed narratives, actively constructs exclusive hegemonic notions of citizen identity and behaviour. Moreover, I argue that in this model of citizenship, challenging hegemonic constructions of citizen and citizenship behaviour, and participating in the construction of alternative historical narratives, are important citizen actions. I then examine the perceived education crises in
Australia and Canada, in which some Canadian and Australian educators and politicians have argued that citizens (in particular, school-aged citizens) know little about their nations' government structures and history. Chapter 2 addresses the methods with which I chose to examine the four case studies, and pays particular attention to the criteria for selecting the case studies and to the challenges in analyzing the materials. In Chapter 3-6, I examine the individual case studies I have chosen for this study. In Chapter 7, I compare and contrast the four case studies, and discuss how educational materials that address national history include explicit and implicit lessons in citizenship education. In this final chapter, I also discuss the different cultural contexts for the cases, and the future research that this study invites.
Chapter 1

Democratic Citizenship: Setting the Theoretical Parameters

In the last decade, "Citizenship" has gained increasing attention and currency in multiple areas: in media, politics, education, and even in our daily lives. For many people, images of passports and national symbols might first come to mind when hearing the word "citizenship." However, the word "citizenship" also invokes a broad and complex range of issues, such as globalization, immigration, the environment, homelessness, minority rights, land claims and aboriginal self-government—issues that concern the rights and responsibilities of citizens (Field, 2000, 79). Citizenship concerns more than who legally belongs within national boundaries; it is also about who is entitled to the benefits and services that follow from legal membership (such as family allowances and welfare benefits) (ibid.). As an educator dedicated to understanding what it means to live and work in a society where multiple inequalities persist, I believe citizenship can be used as a lens through which I can understand not only who is included in the legal framework, but also who, through state policies, practices, and the social construction of "citizen," is included in and excluded from the political community. In order to move toward a more equitable and just society, the voices of all citizens must be recognized. As Canadian historian Veronica Strong-Boag insists, groups such as natives, women, and workers all have a role in determining the educational and political agenda of the future. Indeed, the failure to listen to non-dominant groups in Canada has had clear consequences. As Strong-Boag contends, "Canadian democracy was the loser when women's, Native*, and working class movements went down in defeat" (1996, 142).

Approaching citizenship from a socio-political perspective, rather than from only a legal perspective, helps one to realize how some citizens can be denied social justice in a democratic society*. A legal perspective of citizenship merely deals with the rights and legal membership of citizens, according to the Kantian theory of universal reason wherein all men [sic] are equal based on their presumed ability to
Building on Kant's theory, British theorist T. H. Marshall, who has greatly influenced the modern debate concerning citizenship, divides the rights of democratic societies into three distinct categories: civil rights (liberty, freedom of speech, equality before the law), political rights (access to power, such as universal suffrage), and social rights (economic welfare, education, and health) (Marshall, 1965). Marshall's theory that in democratic societies, rights evolve in a linear fashion from civil, to political, to social, is useful for understanding the differences between different kinds of rights. However, his theory is inadequate for understanding the disparity between a citizen's possession of rights and his/her ability to realize those rights. For example, the citizenship history of lesbians and gays within Canada demonstrates that the state favours some groups over others, as lesbians and gays have been discriminated against in the application of social-welfare benefits, taxes, and inheritance laws. Gay and lesbian citizens have also been prevented from entering some types of government services or have even dismissed from government service (Kinsman, 2000). The citizenship history of lesbians and gays clearly shows that it is possible and not entirely uncommon to hold legal citizenship, while being denied the civil, political, and social rights of citizenship.

From a socio-political perspective, questioning the structural dynamic of inequalities by looking at specific social and political practices and policies is central to the task of dismantling the inclusiveness and exclusiveness that exists within citizenship. In questioning the structural dynamic, we can see that citizenship is a social construction that operates beyond its formal legal status. Beyond looking at how one legally becomes a citizen, we could look at what state policies, laws, and socio-political practices include and exclude others. As an educator interested in examining the socialization of citizens within the formal school system, I believe that examining the materials used in schools can help one to understand citizenship as a social project and to challenge exclusive hegemonic constructions of citizenship.
1.1 Contested Citizenship

If citizenship is to be an effective lens for understanding the dynamics of inclusion/exclusion, citizenship must be understood as a contested concept, whose practices can be constantly challenged and renegotiated. Feminist critic Anne Fields defines contested citizenship as consisting of political actions and projects which change the boundaries of citizenship, forcing the citizenship regime to shift and expand its sphere of social justice to incorporate groups that had previously been marginalized and excluded from the benefits of citizenship (2000, 81).

Fields' characterization of contested citizenship, as a project through which more and more groups are included and thereby given the benefits of citizenship, differs from the purely legal interpretation of citizenship. From a legal perspective, the citizenship project is characterized as an incremental expansion that gradually allows more categories of people entry into the legal status of citizen (Kingwell, 2000).

Alternatively, since political mechanisms (e.g. voting, legislatures) have served to exclude the needs and interests of various citizenship groups, contested citizenship within democratic systems recognizes diverse forms of citizenship participation, such as social activism, court battles, and direct action, while not discounting more conventional modes of participation, such as voting or running for office (Field, 2000, 84).

Understanding citizenship as a contested project that encourages diverse and imaginative forms of political action is essential to the task of renegotiating the boundaries of citizenship. If fact, conflict is at the heart of contested citizenship. In their article "Educating for a More Inclusive Democracy" (1999), educational researchers Janice Dudley, Judith Robinson, and Anthea Taylor clearly illustrate the importance of conflict for understanding and challenging exclusive political practices, which, when examined closely, are found to be culturally constructed. According to the writers, procedural norms in Aboriginal communities differ from those in Western democracies; Western organizational and decision-making structures are rooted in Western notions of debate and decision-making power. For example, in an Aboriginal community,
decision-making power is granted to family members or group leaders, whereas in Western political systems, power is typically vested in elected officials (431). Dudley et. al. argue that a respectful space for diversity guaranteed by multicultural policies in Australia is inadequate for protecting the cultural rights of Aboriginal peoples, as multicultural policies do not recognize the cultural specificities of democratic procedures. Instead, they argue that "procedural notions of citizenship must be sufficiently flexible to accommodate differing cultural specificities" (432). Given the similar challenge facing Canada to heal painful histories that include the destruction and displacement of indigenous peoples, Dudley's criticism applies to the Canadian context as well.

Attending to the dilemma of how best to create a model of democratic citizenship that is culturally inclusive but not assimilationist is a challenging task. Certainly, this dilemma can create conflict between different groups (in the above example, between Australian governments and Aboriginal communities), but conflict is an essential feature built into the democratic process. Diversity within a society often creates conflict, and a state of harmony (non-conflict) may signal that difference has been either smoothed over, repressed, or relegated to the private sphere. In fact, Western liberal democracies have often attempted to deny the existence of fundamental conflicts, such as class struggles. Indeed, as Dudley et. al. demonstrate, there is no absolute framework of democratic citizenship, nor are we neutral and passive subjects whose role is merely to accept inherited democratic institutions and procedures. Rather, citizens of a democracy have a powerful role in challenging and negotiating the rights, responsibilities, and benefits of citizenship (438). The task of citizenship education is to identify and learn the skills, knowledge, and values required for active participation in the continual negotiation of a more just society.

1.2. Democratic Citizenship Education in Australia and Canada

The task of citizenship education in a democracy is to stimulate and inform the reflective and active
participation of citizens. Democratic citizens are not born, they are created in a process of socialization; democratic processes and institutions need to be learned, developed, challenged, and re-imagined. Public schools are significant, although not the only, agents for the socialization of citizens; as a Canadian school board declared in 1914: "...on the school, more than any other agency, will depend the quality and the nature of the citizenship of the future" (Osborne, 1995, 66).

In a historical review of citizenship construction in Canada, Canadian educational researcher Alan Sears draws a distinction between what he calls "the elitist conception" of citizenship and "the activist conception," each of which exists at polar opposites of the ideological spectrum. According to Sears, in the elitist conception of citizenship, a good citizen is versed in mainstream versions of national history, is knowledgeable about public institutions and how they function, is loyal to the state, and understands and accepts patriotic symbols and ceremonies (Sears calls the latter "national myths," or in American educational researcher and sociologist E.D. Hirsch's words, it is "civil religion" (7)). The underlying assumption in the elitist conception is that students can and will make the leap from learning knowledge about democratic processes and institutions to acting within them. Alternatively, in the activist conception, good citizens learn about democratic processes and institutions by regularly participating in political affairs at the local and/or national level. Both conceptions assume good citizens are knowledgeable of how public institutions function. Even more, however, under the activist conception of citizenship, a good citizen is one who understands the ways in which some structures and institutions privilege some groups and oppresses others. In addition to learning enough information to make informed voting decisions, as under the elitist conception, a good activist citizen also develops critical thinking skills to better enable her or him to participate in working for social justice (7).

In Canada, conceptualizations of citizenship continue to fall between the elite and activist concepts of citizenship; what the Australian Senate in 1989 called "protectionist" and "participatory" concepts of
citizenship similarly define these two ends of citizenship continuum. Participatory citizenship is similar to activist citizenship in that it emphasizes participation in decision-making and political affairs; however, it differs from the activist model in that it fails to emphasize a structural analysis of exclusion, and does not endorse activist actions such as dissent or protest. Protectionist citizenship, as in Sears' typology of elitist citizenship, is primarily concerned with imparting the knowledge and values of democratic institutions and processes for future participation in public life. Students are not encouraged to participate in the production of knowledge or to work within or challenge democratic procedures and institutions. A potential division among Australian educators was suggested in a cross-national study of citizenship education in Australia in 1994, in which researchers used surveys and interviews of civics educators and educational administrators across Australia to research contemporary conceptualizations of citizenship. The research indicated a strong polarity between advocates of protectionist citizenship and those who encourage participatory citizenship (Print, 2000, 56).

Debates about the actions and knowledge that define "good citizenship" continue in Canada and Australia. In both contexts, the words "active" and "participatory" have been used so frequently without clear definition that they have become somewhat hollow terms. In constructing a model of citizenship education, educators must clearly specify what skills, knowledge, values, and actions indicate active citizenship. Beyond the above models of activist and participatory citizenship, I propose that citizenship be reflective and self-critical, and that it be dedicated to a co-operative pursuit of social justice. These qualities are best described by the term "reflective-active citizenship." In the following sections, I will attempt to bring meaning to this term by identifying some of the skills associated with this notion of reflective-active citizenship. My hope is that by exploring some pedagogical possibilities for reflective-active citizenship, I can contribute to the difficult task of building a bridge that will carry us from theories of pedagogy devoted to social justice, to actual teaching practices.
1.3. Laying the Foundation: The Uneasy Relationship between History and Citizenship

Education

History can perhaps be best understood as a collection of narratives constructed in order to make meaning of the past, but the word "history" has different meanings depending on the context in which it is used; it can mean the simply the past, or it can refer to the academic discipline of studying the past. "Public memory," a term that has gained increasing currency in both history and history education discourse, is used primarily to refer to public presentations of history, such as the presentation of historical material in museums, recreated historical villages, monuments, or, more recently, historical documentaries, web-sites, and other new media (Jordanova, 2000, 20-21). The relationship between the discourses of history and public memory is difficult to untangle, as one discourse informs the other, creating a dynamic relationship between the two. One way to differentiate memory from history is that memories, both public and private, are usually made up of fragments, while histories tend to be presented as more coherent, detailed, and macro in scope. Because of the often visual and anecdotal nature of public memory, literature, fine art, and theatre are typical avenues for the expression of the emotions tied to and the significance of particular historical events and persons (Simon, 1994, 14). An examination of popular national narratives, such as Pierre Berton's many books on the history of Canada or Australian Manning Clark's books on Australian history, show the difficulty of neatly dividing presentations of history as either academic history or public memory. In order to gain a deeper understanding of the complexities within the discourse of public memory and history, it is essential to attend to the ideological divides within the academic discipline of history itself, as it is these ideological divides that have given shape to debates within history education discourse. The debates also demonstrate the difficulties many history education teachers face in teaching national history.

The discipline of history is commonly divided into political, economic, and social history, as well as
other types of political history that have dominated the writing of national narratives, such as military history and constitutional history. While it could be argued that all history is political, political history in this context refers to the history of political institutions and their activities; topics such as diplomacy, constitutions, government, and military activity would all fall under the rubric of political history. Economic history, while closely tied to political history, is occupied with the development of economic institutions and the factors that might contribute to prosperity or economic decline, such as imperialism and sources of revenue. Conversely, social history developed from the conviction that the lives of all people—not just those in positions of political and economic power—should be examined. Social history includes within its field of vision complex relationships between groups of people, and the social structures and patterns across and within societies; most importantly, social historians see these "ordinary people" as significant historical actors whose actions have shaped the past (Jordanova, 2000, 37-38). Moreover, by studying social history, we are also studying past manifestations of power relations.

The tension between social and political history is reflected in the debate over what and how history should be taught in schools. Political historians are accused of being elitist, whiggish, celebratory, and/or uncritical (which are many of the criticisms made of traditional history education in Canada by proponents of the "new history," which would later be called social history). Social historians, on the other hand, are accused of genuflecting to political correctness, and of being uninterested in political history, except "to denounce the repressiveness of Canadian governments and business" (Grannanstein, 1998, 59). In their own defense, social historians have argued that the attempt to elevate stories of marginalized groups onto the main stage of a national narrative is a long overdue recognition of marginalized groups (Ignatieff in Griffiths, 2000, 9; Strong-Boag, 1996).

For historians suspicious of dominant narratives, history is really a collection of hi-stories, each history having multiple, or even contradictory perspectives. Unlike a linear perspective that shows history
to be a chain of cause and effect, for these historians, history should be presented in a non-linear fashion, and should present history as a complex web of interrupted events and movements. Although this representation of history may seem unstable, temporary, and contextual, many historians have argued that this has always been the case, and that the complicated, messy, and often contradictory nature of history is best understood when it is represented as such (Natoli, 1997, 247-251). However, historians who lean more towards teaching a political version of events lament that the popularity of social history is to blame for students' lack of knowledge of a national history that is the sum of important events, dates, and influential historical persons (Grananstein, 1998).

The success of the social history movement in challenging political narratives, particularly narratives that are produced for high school and elementary classrooms, is debatable. On the one hand, social history has been successful in creating the ideological space for the histories of marginalized groups to be disseminated and examined. The emergence of these histories—often called alternative histories, a term that by its very use betrays the "otherness" of these histories in relation to the dominant narratives—is a crucial step in building alliances across disciplines with like-minded scholars that may share the same social and political concerns. Perhaps more importantly, these alternative histories provide a model of historical analysis through which painful historical events and memories can be understood (Jordanova, 2000, 44). Arguably, social history can complement any historical interpretation, whether political, economic, or even military, thereby providing historians and readers with a richer and more textured understanding of the past. However, the danger with alternative histories is that they will remain just that: "alternatives," palatable as long as they do not disrupt the exclusive foundation of dominant historical narratives. Indeed, even the notion that a national narrative should include alternative history reflects elitist grammar: "we" include "them."

Because political history has long been accused of being elitist, boring, or both, social history—or
what is sometimes called "people's history"—is an appealing interpretation of history for those who depend largely on the public interest for their survival, namely the heritage industry. As the words "heritage" and "history" are frequently invoked but not defined in the materials I examine, it is useful to examine the specific meanings of these words. Understanding the relationship between heritage education and history education is often complicated by the continuing conflation of the two terms. For example, the Canadian web site www.heritageproject.ca has recently been integrated into the new site, www.histori.m; what makes one site "heritage" and the other "history" is unclear. Arguably, "heritage" is a more evocative word, suggesting that something belongs to me by virtue of my being a member of the "national community" (which is another emotive phrase). There have been on-going struggles in both Australia and Canada to reconcile multicultural identities with histories of white colonization—struggles compounded by regional economic disparities and visible resistance to immigration from non-European countries. Thus, constructing a singular national heritage in such contexts may be seductive, but it remains a problematic notion.

Issues of national identity in heritage education intersect with preoccupations of national identity in citizenship education, as both educational streams stress the importance of knowing who "we" are, as citizens, as communities, and as nations. However, discussions of national heritage must be disrupted by a question that can be asked of all interpretations of history, whether social, economic, political, or otherwise: "Whose history, and whose heritage?" Indeed, in order for students to gain a deeper understanding of how notions of "citizenship" are contested and constructed, I believe students should be given the critical tools to navigate the murky terrain of citizenship construction through heritage and history education.

The relationship between history and citizenship education has often been an uneasy one, particularly in education discourse. In countries where legal membership as a citizen is not contingent on
either ethnic or cultural membership, one of questions that drives citizenship education discourse is what actions or values confirm membership within a national community? Moreover, what questions or concerns give shape to the debate in multicultural "settler" societies? By "settler," I mean countries that have been forcibly colonized, and have experienced both the acquisition of land (sometimes forced, sometimes not) and the importation of non-Native inhabitants, i.e., settlers. A comparison of citizenship and history education in such countries may illuminate the discussion about citizenship education in the teaching of national history. Therefore, for this study, I have chosen to examine education materials produced in Australia and Canada.

In Canada, the growth in the number educational initiatives that claim that history education can deliver citizenship knowledge and skills, has caused some historians concern (educational initiatives produced by the Dominion Institute, Historica, and the Canadian Broadcasting Company are just some examples). Specifically, some historians have argued that this approach might limit Canadian history to lessons of contribution history, in which individuals and groups of people are mentioned in the national narrative only when they have contributed to the project of building a nation. Moreover, history materials developed from a citizenship framework might confine history to teleology, where the past is read only in relation to present day issues. In Australia, some educators have similarly expressed concern about merging citizenship education and history education. On the other hand, some educators in Australia have also expressed concern that if civics were to be taught only in the framework of history, civics lessons would be overwhelmed by history lessons. In the following section, I outline the relationship between citizenship and history education in both Australia and Canada, and discuss the similarities and differences between the so-called "crisis of knowledge" in both countries.
1.3.1 The Case of Canada

As implied in the titles of Jack Grannanstein's *Who Killed Canadian History?* (1998) and Bob Davis' *What Ever Happened to High School History? Burying the Political Memory of Youth, 1945-1995* (1995), in the last several years media reports have shown a growing dissatisfaction with history education in Canada, particularly as it is taught by academics. In 1998, a newly formed Canadian organization that called themselves the "Dominion Institute" published in several major national newspapers, the results of their nation-wide poll. The press release announcing the results of the national poll was translated into a dramatic headline: "Only Half of Canadians Pass the Test." According to the Dominion Institute's press release, "63% of those with a high school degree or less failed the test, while 31% failed among the university educated." The report illustrated the lack of historical knowledge with several examples sure to raise the ire of those Canadians whose national identity is constructed around anti-American sentiments. For example, according to the findings, "one in four Canadians thinks 'Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness' is Canada's constitutional slogan." Overall, the report concluded, "Canadians were very aware of their national symbols, heroes, and celebrities but demonstrated a poor knowledge of Canadian geography and political history." From 1997 to 2000, the Dominion Institute has commissioned six different polls, and have initiated a variety of educational projects aimed at fulfilling its mandate, "to ensure that all Canadians have the historical and civic knowledge they need to participate in society as active and informed citizens."4

In addition to the Dominion Institute, a number of other organizations and initiatives that are similarly dedicated to educating the public about national history have recently been established in Canada. The newly formed organization Historica, and the 32-hour CBC documentary "A People's History" (which includes teacher resources and student activities), are the most recent examples of attempts to respond to the "knowledge crisis". The burgeoning visibility of the history/heritage industry can be attributed to
numerous factors. One possible explanation is the belief that national history can subdue threats to national unity or a fragile national identity (Webster, 2000; Gillis, 1994). However, the multi-media packages of memory and history offered by these initiatives, (such as Internet sites, TV documentaries, CD-ROMs, videos, and textbooks directed towards formal educational settings) also signify the possible commercialization and commodification of national history (Gillis, 1994, 19).

The overwhelming attention given to the so-called crisis of knowledge among Canadian citizens, in which educators, historians, media pundits and politicians have vocalized their concern that "Canadians don't know their country," is not new, argues Canadian historian Ken Osborne (2000). Rather, the recent furor is part of a long series of real or perceived crises of historical and civic knowledge. The first "crisis" took place in the 1890s, when the Dominion Education Association called for a national history textbook that could be used in all provinces. In 1933, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom concluded from a survey of Canadian history textbooks that history textbooks were dry and boring, and that history should move away from constitutional narratives to biography and social history as a way to attract students to the discipline. In the 1940s, the Canadian Senate turned their attention to the teaching of national history; driven by "wartime tensions," the Senate called on historians to design a history textbook that could be used across Canada, and particularly, would unite anglophones and francophones in national patriotism. The Canadian and Newfoundland Education Association responded to the call, and produced a series of history textbooks in 1945, intended to be used in all provinces (Osborne, 2000, 405-406). In 1968, the debate was re-ignited by Canadian educational researcher A.B. Hodgetts, whose What Culture? What Heritage? A Study of Civic Education in Canada (1968) was instrumental in invigorating the history education debates in Canada. From his observations of 900 schools across Canada, Hodgetts reported that history was presented as a series of dry, dull facts, with no relevance or immediacy (Bennet, 1980, 2). The latest crisis, from the mid 1990s to present, has been given increasing media attention, and even Prime
Minister Jean Chrétien joined the fray when he declared that if history teaching improved, "the nation would be a better place." Through an examination of the reports and speeches that gave voice to these various debates over the years, Osborne concludes that the perceived failures of history education were remarkably similar; critics said history, as it was taught in schools, was too fragmentary, too regional, not national enough, and that students did not like the subject (Osborne, 2000). Traditional history, claimed supporters of the so-called "new history" (later termed "social history"), was uninteresting, propagandist, biased, and used lecture and rote memorization to learn a packed, political survey of events (Osborne, 1995, 50). Many critics argued that in such an approach to teaching, students were not encouraged to analyze or research historical events, nor could they learn to make meaningful connections to the political and social realms in which they lived (ibid).

The debate over how best to teach history was heavily influenced by the growth in the number and influence of curriculum specialists during the debates in the 1960s. These curriculum specialists asked teachers difficult questions such as "What do you want to accomplish and how do you hope to get there?" How will you decide whether or not you achieved what you hoped to achieve?" (Osborne, 1995, 52) These questions made it difficult for teachers to rationalize the teaching of history as a noble end in itself, and the focus on skills and tangible learning outcomes in history classrooms reflected the change. As frequent references to American psychologist Jerome Bruner illustrated, curriculum writers were also influenced by Bruner's *The Process of Education* (1960) (Osborne, 52-55). Like Hodgetts, Bruner argued that the method of inquiry and discovery was a powerful tool for learning. Bruner's most distinctive contribution to the education debates was his belief that all subjects should be taught through their "conceptual structures," i.e., the major themes and questions in each subject. Bruner's theory that curricula should be shaped around major themes was an attractive theory for many educators who wanted to avoid the popular notion that history is just "one damn thing after another" (56). If students could learn the structure of any
subject, Bruner maintained, they would be better equipped to learn the material, as the structure would provide students with an organizing framework for the information they would receive in the classroom.

Popular though Bruner's idea was, teachers found teaching history through its structure to be difficult, in part because the concept of structure was never properly defined or understood in relation to the themes and concepts of history. In 1968, eight years after *The Process of Education* was first published, a group of Harvard academics formally rejected Bruner's concept, and proposed that history education be integrated into an interdisciplinary social studies course for the purpose of citizenship education. According to these educators, the role of history in their proposed social studies curricula was twofold: to help students understand the historical context of present issues, and to use history as a series of case studies to teach "citizenship lessons" such as peace, justice, and social responsibility (65). Osborne draws a link between the Harvard report and the shift towards explicit citizenship education in Canadian public schools, as schools across the country adopted the program in the form of this approach in courses such as "Canadian Public Issues." Osborne notes, however, that in the Canadian version of the Harvard program, Canadian curriculum writers paid more attention to contemporary concerns. As a Canadian teaching handbook stated: "discussion and analysis of problems and issues of today and tomorrow should take priority over the problems of yesterday" (65).

The debates about teaching practices and content from the 1960s to the 1980s resulted in the near disappearance of history as a distinct and separate discipline in many Canadian schools, except at the high school level in some provinces, such as Ontario. As the pedagogical goals of history education began to be articulated in terms of skills, and as the emphasis shifted slightly from political history to social history, history studies were often integrated into the interdisciplinary social studies curriculum at the elementary level, and sometimes also at the secondary level (61). The Canadian Studies Foundation, established in response to Hodgetts' criticisms of history education, played a large role in ensuring that the integration of
citizenship education into history education was realized in the classrooms of Canadian schools. Osborne writes:

[The Foundation] was interested in encouraging whatever would contribute to the quality of civic life by fostering the tolerance, understanding, and knowledge of opposing viewpoints essential to the functioning of any free society, not specifically in enhancing history's place in the schools (75).

After working in the Canadian Studies Foundation, A.B. Hodgett and Peter Gallanger, in their report "Teaching Canada for the 1980s," proposed an interdisciplinary approach for the study of Canadian history, and this included the integration of Canadian history into a social studies course. How social studies should be taught, and what the content should be, continues to be a contentious debate within Canada, a debate that is informed by similar ones in other liberal democracies such as Australia, the United States, and Britain. Some educators stress that history on its own (i.e., outside of social studies), if properly taught, is necessarily and uniquely interdisciplinary, and already encompasses other disciplines (Wright, 1997; Osborne, 1995). The fear among these history educators is that history as a distinct discipline would disappear altogether, and that once placed under the umbrella of citizenship education, history would be limited to a teleological approach. In contrast, other educators have argued against the over-emphasis of history, and maintain that social studies should not be "held captive by any one or small number of subjects, especially when such subjects are taught without criticism" (Wright, 1997, 24).

1.3.2 The Case of Australia

It is difficult to know to what degree Australian educators were involved in history vs. social studies debates that occurred in North America, or what shape such debates might have taken in Australia. Very little research is available about the history of Australian education, and specifically, the development of history education in Australia. However, much attention has been given to the contemporary state of civics education in Australia, and many educators and politicians have argued that knowledge of national history
is a vital component of active citizenship (Krinks, 1999; Print, 2000). Similar to the situation in Canada, Australian citizenship education was integrated into the history curriculum in the first five decades after the Australian federation was formed in 1901 (Print, 1999, 38). As in the protectionist/elitist conceptions of citizenship education, curriculum writers emphasized the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, such as voting, paying taxes, and serving in the military. Even after citizenship education fell under a new social studies course, called Studies of Society and Environment (SOSE), the emphasis in SOSE remained on learning about democratic processes and institutions within the Australian federal system. The 1960s and 1970s saw a decline in civics education in public schools, but it is difficult to determine what socio-political factors led to this decline. Australian education researcher Murray Print, in his analysis of civics education in Australia, attributes the decline in civics to prosperity and growth in the Australian economy and the social revolution of the 1960-70s; however, Print fails to establish a strong link between these socio-economic shifts and a decline in civics education; as Print concedes, more research is needed to fully understand the change (2000). Australian educator Jaime Dickson suggests, in an echo of the criticisms made of history education in post World War II Canada, that civics education was subject to poor teaching practices, and that the content failed to attract student interest (1998, 2).

In 1989, an attempt was made by the Australian government to assess and recommend strategies for establishing civics education standards at a national level. The report, "Education for Active Citizenship," was published in 1989, followed by "Active Citizenship Revisited" in 1991; both stressed "active and informed citizenship" as a pedagogical goal for civics education. Based on this second report, the Civics Expert Group (CEG) was formed in 1994, and included three members: Stuart Macintyre, professor of history at the University of Melbourne; Ken Boston, director of the New South Wales Department of Education; and Susan Pascoe, chairperson of the Catholic Education Office of Melbourne. The CEG quickly concluded from a 1994 national study entitled "Whereas the People . . . Civics and
Citizenship Education," which "assessed the relevant knowledge of the Australian community," that Australia suffered from a "civics deficit," particularly among its youth (Krinks, 1999, 3). Like the Canadian Dominion Institute, which emphasized historical knowledge of the Canadian government and its activities, the civics deficit in the CEG report was defined in terms of a limited understanding and knowledge of government and government procedure (Hunter, 1998, 2). A large educational initiative by the federal government, launched in 1997 and entitled "Discovering Democracy," has been the latest response by the federal government to the CEG report. According the authors of Discovering Democracy, the purpose of this curriculum is to communicate knowledge of political processes at work in Australia's system of government, which, for the authors of Discovering Democracy and the CEG, is essential "civic knowledge."

The following words from Dr. David Kemp, Australian Minister for Schools, Vocational Education and Training, illustrate that much civics education in Australia today is driven by the perceived need to rectify this so-called civics deficit:

> Effective citizenship requires an understanding of the history and operations of Australia's system of government and institutions and the principles that support democracy. Students should be able to identify and explain the essential characteristics of representative democracy . . . to be knowledgeable about Australian history and the role of Australian political figures who have shaped Australian civic life" (Hunter, 1998, 3).

The educational materials developed from the CEG reports have provoked much controversy among educators in Australia. Australian education researcher Suzanne Mellor argues that the education materials have been developed using a top down approach, and that the development of the materials were characterized by "secrecy" and a lack of debate (1996, 2). Although the CEG has made an effort in the educational materials to show how the materials relate to the state curriculum, Mellor argues that few Australian states have adapted the national curriculum; in the state of Victoria, only 10% of the schools have adapted the state version of the national curriculum (3).

Mellor's observations of the development of the educational materials that arose out of the 1994
CEG report suggest that efforts in Australia to establish a national civics curriculum have been far from successful. Debates about the so-called "civics deficit" continue, and continued federal funding for the revision of state/territory curricula suggests that civics education will become more prominent in Australian schools (Dickson, 1998, 12). Depending on the state or territory, civics education is taught either as a separate course, or through history or geography curriculum. National history continues to be an important aspect of the civics curriculum.

1.4. Comparison of Australian and Canadian History/Citizenship Education

In my overview of Australian and Canadian history and citizenship education, there seemed to be remarkable similarities in citizenship and history education discourse. In both countries, national surveys intended to research civic knowledge among the nation's youth (particularly middle and secondary school aged youth) have ignited a debate among educators, politicians, and media critics across the country. In Canada, organisations who aim to "reignite" an interest in national history argue that historical knowledge would lead to active and informed citizenship. In Australia, authors of the curriculum designed in response to the Civic Expert Group reports argue that "civics knowledge," that is, knowledge of government institutions, their practices, and the history of Australian citizenship, would lead to participation in civic life.

That both countries experienced a crisis in knowledge at approximately the same time (early to mid-1990s) bears some examination. Canadian education researcher Alan Sears has argued that Canadian history has historically been used in classrooms to shape national identity in defense against growing American influence on Canadian culture and ideology. For example, some politicians blamed the Canadian rebellions in 1837 on republican ideas promulgated in American textbooks and by American teachers in Canadian classrooms. Sears argues that this was one of the reasons Irish textbooks (instead of American ones) became widely adopted in Canadian schools in the 19th Century, and why, after the
rebellions, the Canadian government began initiatives to train and certify Canadian teachers (1996/1997, 58). Other Canadian historians and educators have argued that heightened attention to national identity reflects concern over possible threats—ideological, economic, or political—to the nation's independence (Bliss in Webster, 30, 2000; Sears, 1996/97).

In Australia, the debate over citizenship education seems driven by concern that a significant number of Australian youth care or know little about government institutions and processes, as reported in the 1994 CEG report, "Whereas the People . . . Civics and Citizenship Education." Australian educator Suzanne Mellor argues that journalistic and anecdotal evidence suggests that Australian students feel isolated from the political process, and that the response to this observation has been "widespread acceptance of curriculum associated curriculum materials as the panacea" (1996,1,3). Differences over what is the best educational approach to counter lack of interest and knowledge in public affairs continue to drive the debate. From the Australian discussions about citizenship education, it is difficult to discern to what degree national identity factors into the citizenship debate. However, as my analysis of the federal "Discovering Democracy" materials will show, constructing national identity through lessons in history and citizenship seems to be a significant concern for the authors of the materials. As is the case in Canada, more research into the reasons for the growing emphasis on national identity in education materials is still needed.

In both Canada and Australia, education is governed by the state/provincial Ministry of Education. For educators in both countries, the debate about history education vs. civics education continues. In Australia, the debate is driven by the question of how best to teach civics, and national history is considered an important component of civics education. In Canada, the debate is driven by the question of how best to teach history, and many educators stress the importance of learning history for the purpose of citizenship education. In Canada, the push towards separating national history from social studies could
result in a mandatory standardized history course at the provincial or national level, although this is unlikely given the French and English tensions over interpretations of national history, and that different regions of Canada deal differently with history. Alternatively, in Australia national history and civics seem firmly rooted in the SOSE course, which is currently distributed across Australia, but is interpreted differently according to each state or territory's curriculum guidelines.

For both Canada and Australia, "active and informed citizenship" remains a pedagogical goal of social studies education and history education, especially in national history. The Australian Discovering Democracy materials, as well as some provincial history courses in Canada, frequently cite active and informed citizenship as a critical goal of the curriculum (Hunter, 1998; Wright, 1998). However, the phrase "active and informed citizenship" has appeared so frequently in a variety of Australian and Canadian educational literature that in order to gain an understanding of the kind of citizenship promoted by curricula writers and educational theorists, it is necessary to examine the meanings of the words "active" and "informed." As Australian educator Rob Gilbert explains in his reading of the CEG report "Education for Active Citizenship" (1989), this report limited its notion of action to action within the existing structures of government: citizens vote, offer ideas, press cases, and run for office. The process of demanding rights through protest, litigation or direct citizen action in environmental or social arenas is absent from the report's list of examples of active citizenship, an absence that suggests active citizenship is really about protecting the state and its policies and practices and not about questioning or challenging it (Gilbert, 1992, 4). Gilbert's reading of the report "Education for Active Citizenship" illustrates the importance of examining the specific actions that exemplify "active citizenship." In the report, active citizenship falls more along the elitist/protectionist definition, and is committed to teaching about the state and its history, not to teaching through participation how to challenge and negotiate the terms and practices of democracy.

The cases of Canada and Australia illustrate the uncomfortable relationship between history
education and citizenship education. Some historians fear that the merging of history into citizenship courses (social studies in Canada, or SOSE in Australia) may result in the loss of history as a distinct discipline, valid in its own right. Alternatively, some educators have expressed concern that so-called civics knowledge and skills will lose their place in education if addressed only in the framework of history education (Osborne, 2000, Dickson, 1998). No matter in what context one studies the history of a nation and its government practices and institutions, my assumption in this thesis is that students and teachers must learn to read historical narratives as both constructed and contested. I do not propose a teaching of history as "victimization and blame-seeking" (Grananstein, 1998, 77). Instead, my aim is to draw upon some of the conceptions of citizenship and history education that provide for a pedagogy beyond that of merely transmitting knowledge, and to locate pedagogical strategies that encourage and stimulate citizenship, that are both reflective and active, and that holds a strong commitment to social justice. As the Brazilian educational theorist Paulo Freire asserts, one's role as both a teacher and a student in working for social justice is not limited to being an observer, "but as someone who has input into what happens" (Freire, 1998, 73).

1.5 Modeling Reflective Active Citizenship in the Classroom

1.5.1 Critical Citizenship Literacy

Democratic citizenship in multicultural societies carries the idea of inclusivity, which typically translates into celebrating material aspects of a culture (e.g., food, clothing, music) and/or accommodating different languages. This version of inclusion is protected by multicultural policies in both Canada and Australia. In "Ethnic Histories: A Neglected Area of Australiana" (1994) Australian educator Michael Cigler writes that when history curriculum emphasizes the pluralistic characteristics of Australian heritage, children can unlearn stereotypes and learn respect for each other. For example, by learning the role Muslim-Afghan
cameleers played in "exploring and opening up the arid Australia," some non-European students could see themselves represented in Australian history (21). He compares his multicultural interpretation of history with what he calls the "conventional interpretation." In his proposed multicultural framework, he suggests that history curricula should demonstrate the rich society and heritage of Australian Aboriginals before the arrival of Captain Cook, as opposed to the traditional notion of Captain Cook "discovering Australia." He also suggests that Australian history should include references to the cultural diversity of Captain Cook's crew and the number of other seafaring nations (e.g. Japanese and Egyptian sailors) who approached Australian shores (21-22). Cigler's proposed multicultural curriculum encourages an understanding of the rich cultural heritage of Aboriginal settlers, societies, as opposed to more traditional narratives that describe Aboriginals as "uncivilized" and "savage." However, by maintaining colonial language such as "explore," "discover," and "open up," Cigler seems to suggest that teachers should simply make the national historical narrative more "colourful."

Certainly, providing students with opportunities to recognize themselves in a narrative is crucial, particularly as such recognition may help individuals from different groups to articulate their identities and to become collectively active (Epstein and Johnson, 1998, 19). As political theorist Raymond Breton observed: "When communities of people cannot recognize themselves in public institutions . . . [they] feel that they are strangers in society, that the society is not their society" (cited in Strong-Boag, 1996, 128). However, recognition of oneself means more than being physically represented in a narrative (or in Breton's case, in an institution); self-recognition necessitates recognizing practices and structures that reflect one's culture, which is a recognition that is absent from Cigler's multicultural model of national history. I suggest that students and teachers need to uncover not only the hidden histories of certain historical actors, but the practices and structures that reflect their community. This does not mean limiting historical analysis to those periods that include one's own group, but involves asking instead why certain groups are not
represented, or why certain political and social structures are dominated by one culture while other forms of cultural expression are limited to a private sphere.

One tool of reflective-active citizenship, rooted in the theory and practice of anti-racist education (Dei, 1996), is aimed at helping students learn what Dudley et. al. call "critical citizenship literacy" (1999, 436-437). In the context of history education, critical citizenship literacy can be defined as helping students to negotiate and construct a more inclusive model of citizenship through an awareness of how historical narratives inscribe exclusive notions of national identity (438). That is, students can gain an understanding of how grand narratives are selective, widely produced, and taken for granted (such as the way it was taken for granted for decades by non-natives that Columbus "discovered" North America). Moreover, students can gain an awareness of how, through various discursive strategies, grand narratives exhibit an image of "good citizen" that is raced, classed, gendered, and/or sexualized (Stanley, 1998, 42; Epstein and Johnson, 1998). For example, critical citizenship literacy skills could enable students to recognize the colonial framework of Cigler’s proposed multicultural curriculum. Indeed, within critical citizenship literacy, students can learn the grand narratives of national history, provided they are given the analytical and reflective skills to understand them as such.

The need for critical citizenship literacy skills becomes more evident when I examine the strategies employed in constructing exclusive notions of "citizen." In Imagined Communities (1991), American anthropologist Benedict Anderson provides an historical examination of the construction of the idea of "nation" and "citizen." Anderson defines the nation as "an imagined political community—and imagined as both [an] inherent and limited sovereignty" (6). The development of nationalism and national media are inextricably linked, argues Anderson, as citizens’ sense of community is maintained through available media. In "The Struggle for History: Historical Narratives and Anti-racist Pedagogy," Canadian educational researcher Timothy Stanley argues that various discursive strategies operate to maintain exclusive notions
of "citizen." Stanley examines an article that was published in the Ottawa Citizen: "Students Seek End to Racism, Violence" (November 17, 1995) to demonstrate how a narrative can manufacture exclusive notions of community membership. In this article, the journalist reported that students, teachers, and administrators were actively seeking to end "the trouble," and reported that a snowball fight had escalated into a "wild mêlée." In the report, one group that was reportedly involved in the conflict is repeatedly named as "Somalian," thus labeled in a racialized category, while the other group is unnamed (Stanley, 1998, 43-45). This strategy indicates the racial privilege of one of the groups; that is, it is privilege of the members of the unnamed group that they do not have to be named in racialized terms (45). The reader's "common sense" assumption is that the students within the local community (Ottawa) are white, making it difficult to imagine Somalians as part of the Ottawa and even the Canadian community.

According to Stanley, in order to construct hegemonic national narratives, many writers of national narratives frequently employ the strategy of naming one group and not another. The Canadian organization Historica illustrates how history narratives reproduce dominant notions of who belongs to the national community. In a lesson plan for the story about the Inuit tradition of building a landmark, called an "Inuksuk," Historica asks: 'What are some of the most obvious differences between "traditional" Inuit life and the way most of us in 'southern' Canada live?" (italics mine). Like the media's treatment of Somalian youth in Stanley's example, Historica assumes that the imagined audience of the lesson plan (Canadian youth) does not include Inuit students. The Canadian Dominion Institute similarly refers to some groups in racialized terms and assumes the identity of other groups. For example, in the materials for classroom visits by Canadian World War II veterans, the Dominion Institute provides a list of cultural and racial groups that veterans could expect to see when they visit a classroom. However, the Dominion Institute does not discuss the racial and cultural diversity of Canadian veterans themselves, demonstrating the racial privilege of one group to remain unnamed. Moreover, the absence of information about the racial and cultural
diversity of veterans serves to hide the diversity of the Canadian veterans themselves, for example, the aboriginal Canadian veterans who are First Nations, Inuit, or Métis. Within the framework of critical citizenship literacy, students could identify how different groups are represented in historical narratives, and what the underlying assumptions of their representation might be.

In critical citizenship literacy, uncovering assumptions of what it means to be a national citizen also requires understanding the role of selection in constructing narratives; that is, asking what stories are being told and which ones are absent in presentations of "good citizen." The question of whose story matters to the nation can be applied to any narrative. Writers and producers of grand national narratives have often excluded or marginalized alternative citizenship histories, in particular, stories of those that struggled and demanded inclusion into the nation, such as aboriginals, workers, women, and homosexuals. This dismissal of different citizenship histories in a national historical narrative is not accidental, argues Strong-Boag, but is a structural dynamic that has reinforced exclusive and clean narratives, that is, "a tale without the nasty bits" (1996, 129). Through a short historical summary, she illustrates that throughout the history of Canadian citizenship, subordinated groups have been struggling for recognition, and educators, historians, or politicians' refusal to acknowledge the various citizenship histories has rationalized a politic of inequality and "differentiated citizenship" (128-136), a hierarchical citizenship that is constructed on gender, race, class configurations, and that results in alienation or misrecognition.

A 1991 land claim case of the hereditary chiefs of the Gitksan and We'suwet'en peoples of central British Columbia supports Strong-Boag's assertion that silencing counter narratives is essentially an exercise in power. In the legal case, the chiefs presented genealogical, archaeological, anthropological, and historical evidence to show that they had never surrendered their land to British Columbia; they also submitted the oral history of the ancient system of the Gitksan government as evidence of authority over specific territories. The Judge dismissed the land claim by invoking categories of the Canadian grand
national narrative; the judge insisted that the history of the area began with the arrival of the Europeans and their written history. As Stanley concludes "if the Gitskan and We'suwet'en were not colonized in the 19th century, they were in 1991" (1998, 49). Within the framework critical citizenship literacy, students could learn to recognize which stories are included in the national narrative, and to investigate why they might be excluded. As the 1991 land claim case in British Columbia illustrates, the refusal to recognize some histories has clear economic benefits, in this case, for British Colombia's government and its logging industry.

Another discursive strategy in the construction of national narratives is to subsume or appropriate cultural difference for the construction of an exclusive definition of national identity. Canadian historian Owen Thomas exposes this strategy in his examination of the Ontario Heritage Foundation (OHF) heritage plaques program, a program that began in the 1950s with the intention of stimulating "public awareness of, and pride in, Ontario's past." The plaques have been erected across the province of Ontario, and commemorate individuals and communities that shaped Ontario history. They also cover topics such as science, nature, and culture. One plaque, titled "Negro Burial Ground," commemorates a Baptist "Negro congregation" led by a white pastor, John Oakley (Thomas, 1996, 437). Presumably, black Canadians are being commemorated. Yet, as Owen Thomas points out, more attention is given to their white pastor, John Oakley, the story about the legislation of 1793 that prohibited slavery, and the long tradition of Canadian tolerance that attracted refugee slaves. Indeed, Thomas writes, "People of color are effectively stripped of any agency and appear only as objects of white benevolence" (ibid). Relating the story through the lens of white Canadian tolerance appropriates the history of black Canadians in this plaque. As Thomas points out, in the case of the commemoration of the Negro Burial Ground, the plaque really celebrates white Canadian tolerance and benevolence, not black Canadian determination and courage. Thomas' critique of the OHF plaque program is a good example of the type of questions with which critical citizenship literacy is
preoccupied: who writes these plaques, whose perspective is represented and who benefits from this representation?

In the Canadian example cited above, Thomas suggests that the representation of black groups serves to celebrate white Canadians, a celebration that reinforces exclusive notions of the imagined national community. Although I have used an example from the non-formal education sector, lessons can be drawn for curriculum writers and program designers. As the above example of the heritage education initiative suggests, merely including "alternative histories" might not be enough to teach active and equitable citizenship. Certainly, national history is a collection of stories, fragments, and even contradictions with which we try to make sense of historical events. However, without being critical of how or why a story or perspective is not told, the citizenship component of heritage/history education remains a passive lesson about who "we" supposedly are. Within the framework of critical citizenship literacy, students could learn to examine perspectives of historical narratives, and to examine the implications of perspectives, such as those demonstrated in the OHF commemoration of "Negro Burial Ground."

1.5.2 Conflictual Content in Reflective-Active Citizenship

What role does the remembrance of historical conflict play in constructing a more inclusive and participatory model of citizenship? If my Grade 10 History teacher is right, we learn history so that we can learn from our past mistakes, and history is essentially a moral fund from which we learn how to conduct our social, political and private lives in the future. However, history itself has demonstrated that remembering conflicts in schools or in informal and non-formal educational settings (e.g. public ceremonies, re-enactments, memorials) does not necessarily guarantee peace in the future; in fact, some historians have argued that the remembrance of historical conflicts has the potential for regenerating or maintaining divisiveness (Ignatieff cited in Griffiths, 2000, 23). As the Québec license plate reads: "Je me
souviens" (I remember); an implication is that old fights, old injustices, and old wounds should not be forgotten. If this is what it means to remember historical conflicts, then perhaps, as Canadian historian Michael Ignatieff suggests, a license plate that reads "I forget" might be preferable (ibid).

Ignatieff is among those popular educators and commentators who believe that the study of historical conflict should not be an important feature of citizenship education. In formal debate with Jack Granaganstein, published in Great Canadian Questions (2000) and titled "Does History Matter," Ignatieff challenges educators and theorists who believe that historical knowledge is an essential tool for citizenship education (3-24). He writes: "we might be more civil if we could forget our history a bit more completely. There are countries with too much history and too much remembering. The former Yugoslavia, for example, is a country made toxic by too much history" (23). Ignatieff's facile dismissal of history hints at the same kind of "collective amnesia" discussed by American historian John Gillis. Gillis writes that American revolutionaries promoted this "amnesia" by urging their compatriots to "forget everything, to start afresh." As Thomas Jefferson declared: "the dead have no rights . . . Our Creator made the world for the living, not the dead" (1994, 7). Jefferson and Ignatieff seem to assume that forgetting old wounds, hurts, and suffering would be a significant step towards building a new nation.

On the other hand, other educators (Simon, 1994; Boler, 1997; Eppert et. al., 1996) believe that the remembrance and examination of historical conflicts is an important component of citizenship education. If we are to learn anything from the exclusion of painful histories in national narratives, it is that painful stories should be acknowledged, examined, and remembered in such a way that they can prompt positive citizen action. Time does not necessarily heal all wounds, as the proverb would have it, particularly if these "wounds" have never been acknowledged in national narratives. The recognition of painful histories in national narratives is only one, but nonetheless, an important step towards political and social responses to the legacy of historical injustices. The recent and growing demands of Aboriginal groups in both Australia
and Canada to recognize and respond to painful histories of displacement, stolen lands, and stolen children illustrate the impossibility of merely forgetting historical injustices.

The ability to study and respond to historical conflicts is an essential tool for enacting a more peaceful and equitable society. Critical citizenship literacy requires students to examine how and why narratives are constructed and maintained, and may lead students to ask "What has been forgotten and why" in the historical narratives they examine. In the following paragraphs, I will examine more closely how critical citizenship literacy could lead students to participate in discussions about the relationship between historical conflicts and present-day political and social issues, and moreover, to image possibilities for reconciliation.

To gain a deeper understanding of how remembrances of historical conflicts can contribute to a model of reflective and active citizenship would require a critical examination of how conflicts are written into a national narrative to support exclusive and inclusive constructions of citizenship. One typical strategy is to frame national identity in terms of "us" and "them," a bifurcation achieved and felt most acutely in times of conflict. Indeed, constructing an "Other" helps a nation or community define itself, such as the way Canadian identity often is constructed, in both popular media debates and historical narratives, against a perceived American identity. The ability to recognize constructions of the "other" in a national narrative can be considered one of the skills within critical citizenship literacy.

The problem of the construction of the "other" in building a national identity becomes clearer for me as I remember how historical narrative was used in my own formal (school), non-formal (Sunday School, catechism classes) and informal education (family). In an immigrant community in rural Southern Ontario, I learned my community's story of immigration well. Stories of hardship through the early years of immigration communicated the morals held dear by my cultural-religious community: hard-work, frugality, perseverance. An integral part of this story was how "we" (Dutch) were good immigrants (learning the
language, blending into White Anglo-Saxon culture, anglicizing first names, running successful businesses), all of which worked to construct a clear image of how an ideal member of the community should behave. This understanding of my community was achieved in part by identifying "bad immigrants," with examples ranging from neighbouring Catholic Portuguese, whose colourful houses in the neighbourhood "didn't fit," to other so-called "anti-Christian" immigrants. Drawing the lines tightly around community identity made it difficult to imagine how I might fit outside the (classed, raced, gendered) frames of the community in which I was raised. Furthermore, by positing some groups as the "other," my own community created a non-combative conflict that served to clarify its own identity. Observing how conflict operates to shape community identity helps me to realize how communities (local or national) can profit from constructions of "other," a construction that is maintained and nurtured through multiple narratives.

In addition to maintaining narratives of conflict to support dominant notions of group identity, stories of conflict are sometimes marginalized and/or stigmatized in national narratives. Strong-Boag writes in relation to Canadian history education: "Classroom texts routinely fail to take up the questions by the very different voting histories of various groups in Canada... protest appears on history's stage as random, somehow inexplicable, even semi-comic phenomena, rather than as legitimate responses to sexism, racism, or classism" (131). Conflicts in Canadian history continue to be marginalized in present-day discourse, particularly the history of labour unions in Canada. Canadian labour historian Craig Heron examines the difficulty labour historians have encountered in popularizing and teaching labour history. He admits that labour history has always been marginalized in academia, and that even in public history initiatives, labour history has been, until recently, on the sidelines of the dominant national narrative (2000, 174). For example, until the 1980s, only a few non-formal educational initiatives, such as those in museums, historical societies, or historical sites, recognized workers' history as part of national, provincial, or local heritage (174). The marginalization of labour conflicts serves to support a national narrative in
which few conflicts in citizenship history occurred. How the appearance, marginalization, or absence of conflicts in national narratives shape exclusive notions of an imagined community is a question that can be examined within the framework of critical citizenship literacy.

Stigmatization of conflict can also serve to shape dominant national narratives. Stigmatization can occur by presenting conflict as a series of unrelated and random events, where the "other" enters historical accounts only when conflict arises. This presentation of conflict makes it difficult to understand the motives of groups involved in protest or dissent. Ken Osborne writes: "In English-speaking Canada, Québec and French Canada were simply ignored [in historical accounts], until they became 'a problem', as in the 1855 Rebellion, the Manitoba School Question, the Conscription Crisis, the Quiet Revolution, and so on...." (Wright, 1997, 48-49). The stigmatization of conflict can also occur by trivializing or diminishing the role conflict might have in affecting positive social change (e.g., labour actions) or to characterize those involved in conflict as deviant. For example, Canadian dominant narratives have often portrayed Louis Riel, the Métis leader of the Red River Rebellion in 1837-1838, as either a madman, a traitor, or a misguided zealot, and historians continue to debate Riel's role in Canadian history. Learning to recognize how and why different groups and individuals are represented in historical narratives is one of the tasks of critical citizenship literacy. Questions such as "How are participants in conflicts characterized?" and "Do the groups that participate in conflicts appear elsewhere in the narrative?" may steer students to examine how the stigmatization of conflict can shape dominant narratives.

If conflicts were critical for renegotiating and reframing the terms of citizenship, particularly in liberal democracies like Australia and Canada, one of the goals of reflective-active citizenship would be to develop teaching strategies that destigmatise conflict in the classroom. In the words of Audre Lorde: "Difference must not be merely tolerated, but seen as a fund of necessary polarities between which our creativity can spark like a dialectic. Only then does the necessity for interdependency become unthreatening." (Gore,
Central to this task is for educators and students to understand and recognize the difference between destructive and productive conflict. Understanding the complex and positive uses of conflict is a difficult task, one that takes courage, support, and practice. The role of an educator should be to engage with pedagogy that encourages both the student and the teacher to gain a deeper understanding of the role of conflict in democratic citizenship.

As explained above, conflict is a central feature of a democracy, and citizens have a powerful role in challenging and negotiating the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. Teachers should give students the opportunity to learn critical literacy skills, and should also to give students occasions to practice the kind of conflict they will ultimately encounter in the world outside the classroom. A history curriculum, entitled "Facing History and Ourselves," is a good example of curriculum that regularly asks students to engage with conflictual content as way for them to better understand both historical events and developments and the role they can take in affecting change in contemporary society. Developed in 1979 in the United States, and aimed at high school history and social studies classes, Facing History and Ourselves" recommends an interdisciplinary approach to citizenship education. The writers believe that by examining World War II, particularly the history of decisions and actions that undermined Wiemer Germany and eventually led to the Holocaust, students will gain a better understanding of the socio-political conflicts they encounter in present-day society. The authors (anonymous) argue in their preface to the curriculum:

"History has taught that there is no one else to confront terrorism, ease the yoke and pain of racism, attack apathy, create and enforce just laws, and wage peace, but us . . . We believe that participating in decision making about difficult and controversial issues gives [students] practice in listening to different opinions, deciphering fact from opinion, confronting emotion and reason, negotiating, and problem solving (quoted in Fine, 1993, 417).

The importance of integrating conflict content is demonstrated in American educational researcher Carole Hahn's international comparative studies of classroom practices in the UK, Denmark, the Netherlands, Britain, and the U.S.A. (1998). Her study supports earlier research that located a relationship
between students' participation in class and their attitudes about active participation in political life. Hahn concludes that if students are engaged with controversial content, perceive several sides of an issue, and feel comfortable expressing their views, they are more likely to "develop the attitudes that have the potential to foster later civic participation than students without such experiences" (233). By practicing conflict in the classroom, conflict may be destigmatised, and students may begin to gain an understanding of the complex nature of conflict, and to move towards an understanding of the difference between destructive and productive conflict.

In this section, I have shown that remembrances of conflicts might not necessarily incite present-day conflicts as Canadian historian Ignatieff has suggested. Rather, within the framework of critical literacy, students need to examine how the marginalization, stigmatization, or absence of conflictual content in a national narrative can shape dominant, exclusive national narratives. The examination of forgotten or marginalized narratives of conflict is one of the tasks within the model of reflective-active citizenship I propose.

1.5.3 Self-Reflective Responses to Historical Narratives: Problemetizing "Empathy" as a Pedagogical Tool

Developing educational materials that require students to move beyond empathetic listening, by asking students to be reflective of their responses to a narrative, and to consider how their attitudes, values, and behaviors might be complicit in on-going oppressive structures and practices, is an essential aspect of reflective-active citizenship. Introducing students to narratives that counter dominant national narratives may challenge internalized images of a benevolent government and provide a deeper understanding of present-day social inequities (Merelman in Ichilov, 1990). However, it seems that merely providing a space for alternative voices in a national narrative is not enough for guaranteeing social
change. For example, the heightened attention to the painful history of aboriginals within Canada and Australia has not been reflected in systemic change in either country. In the face of persistent social inequities it is evident that now is the time to respond differently to painful and/or revived historical accounts.

Listening by itself cannot bring fundamental changes in political and economic institutions, but political listening—that is, listening that encourages action and change—is an important step towards the possibility of socio-political change. Through classroom observations of how teachers engaged with the American history curriculum "Facing History and Ourselves," American education researcher Melinda Fine relates the difficulties teachers and students faced in becoming personally engaged with painful histories (in this case, the Holocaust). As Hahn's study demonstrated, integrating conflict is a complex, risky, and difficult task, and there is no perfect way to do this into the classroom. "Facing History and Ourselves," like all educational materials depends on successful teaching practices, but as the title suggests, in the materials, the authors ask students to move away from popular empathetic readings of painful histories (where students are encouraged to "put themselves in another's shoes") to asking students to consider their own actions, values, and beliefs in relation to the history of the Holocaust.

In "Risks of Empathy: Interrogating Multiculturalism's Gaze," American educator Megan Boler argues that asking students to respond to historical narratives through empathy building exercises can be an ineffectual and even dangerous strategy. She begins by arguing that the underlying assumption of empathetic listening as a teaching practice is that empathy will help students to develop a moral foundation by which democratic institutions and processes can be negotiated. As Louise Rosenblatt wrote in 1938: "... it has been said that if our imaginations functioned actively, nowhere in the world would there be a child who was starving. Our vicarious suffering would force us to do something to alleviate it" (quoted in Boler, 1997, 254). In history education materials, empathy-building exercises can range from simple
journal writing exercises, in which, for example, students are asked to write from the perspective of an injured soldier in WWI, to re-enactment's of war scenes, role-playing, or dressing up in historic costumes.

A larger scale example of the promotion of an empathetic response to historical narrative exists in the Holocaust Memorial in Washington, where, upon entry to the museum, visitors are given a passport of a Holocaust victim, with which they "travel" through the exhibit. Although many critics have deemed these activities too simplistic, many educators insist that empathizing with the victims and/or heroes of a narrative will ignite or reinforce students' passion and commitment to justice, a belief that perhaps reflects the kind of liberalism that is similarly embedded in Australian and Canadian public schools.

Boler argues that although empathy exercises may help students to make an emotional connection to the past, empathetic listening assumes an impossible full identification with the "other," where the listener believes she/he can identify completely with the victim in the narrative, effectively denying any differences that exist between the empathizer and the victim. Canadian education researcher Roger Simon, in his analysis of empathy, calls this kind of response "delusional empathy," when, for example, someone responds by saying: "I know how you feel, my parents/ancestors went through that too" (1994, 12). Boler argues that the main danger of empathetic listening is that the listener is absolved of any responsibility: because empathetic listening requires the listener to empathize with the victim within the narrative, she/he is not required to identify his/her complicity in the power structures. As Boler states: "passive empathy requires no action towards justice but situates the powerful Western eye/l as the judging subject, never called upon to gaze upon her own reflection" (259). The alternative to empathizing with victims in a narrative (e.g., identifying with Nazis in the history of the Holocaust) is also troubling and problematic. Nevertheless, asking students to identify only with a victim in a narrative, in which making an emotional connection to the victim is the only pedagogical goal of the exercise, might lead to a passive response. An exercise centred on empathy, in which students' success is measured in terms of their ability
to fully identify with a character in a historical narrative, neglects the more difficult task of personal reflection.

In response to the question of how empathy might lead to political action, Boler offers a new model of interpretation of historical narratives, which she calls "testimonial reading." In this model, readers, listeners, or viewers carry the responsibility of witnessing/re-telling the story and more importantly, are required to ask, "What does this have to do with me?" "How are my actions, beliefs, assumptions, implicated?" and "How should I act in response to this narrative?" In this way, listening becomes political, as the passive or empathetic listening is transformed into an active concern for social welfare. Boler relates her own difficulty in asking a student to respond to *Maus*, the two-volume comic-book representation of author Art Spiegelman's father, Vladek, who recounts his experience of the Holocaust; the student's first journal entry demonstrated a simplistic empathetic reading, where the student sympathized with Holocaust survivors. However, through conversations between Boler and the student, the student progressed to a testimonial reading, where the student reflects: "the collective guilt that overpowers many of us should not be the reason for examining the Holocaust. We need to explore the origin of the cruelty of it" (267). As this student suggests, examining the actions and beliefs that led to the Holocaust may lead students to a clearer understanding of why the Holocaust happened. Moreover, as in the curriculum "Facing History and Ourselves," an examination of the multiple causes of historical trauma, such as the Holocaust, could inform students' understanding of present-day injustices.

Journal writing and other avenues of self expression (art, theatre, poetry) can be effective ways for students to reflect on their emotional response to a narrative, and this reflection may be a catalyst for understanding how their understanding of their response is influenced by their multiple social locations. The kind of self-reflexivity promoted by Boler is examined by American political philosopher Susan Bickford in *Dissonance and Democracy* (1996), in which she attempts to theorize a public space for listening by
stressing the interdependence of the speaker and listener. Bickford argues that it is impossible to suppress experience, thoughts, and ideological frameworks in the act of listening, and that it is impossible to be "entirely open" in the act of listening (145-146). It is through the interdependence of listener and speaker that we understand ourselves: "What I come to understand is not simply the other's perspective, but my perspective in light of his and his in light of mine—I learn to know both myself and others" (147). Bickford writes that through dialogue,

we have the capacity to hear something about the world differently through the sounding of another's perspective; we are able to be surprised by others and by our own selves . . . the 'fitting in' and 'merging' is not a matter of snapping together separable solid views or of mere addition. Rather, the field of meaning is itself expanded, recast (162).

According to Bickford, active listening requires reflection of how my actions and thoughts are influenced by my experiences and beliefs. Within citizenship education, Bickford's approach to listening and reflection may prompt students to examine their own political and social attitudes in response to the historical narratives they hear, view, and read.

Both Bickford and Boler effectively strip away any romantic notion of the use of empathy for building a commitment to social justice, and argue that it neither possible nor desirable to ignore one's values and beliefs when responding to a narrative. However, both writers fail to provide readers with clear examples of how students might engage with what Boler calls testimonial listening or what Bickford calls political listening. In her example regarding the student's engagement with Maus, Boler relates that through long conversations with the student, Boler "took risks, and pushed [the student] to think deeply about her relationship to the text, to her own audience, and to her own experience." This example suggests that the student could come to know her own views only through dialogue with the teacher (expert?). Beyond interpersonal dialogue and journal writing, it is difficult to imagine under what conditions Boler's testimonial listening could occur. In fact, curriculum and teaching strategies that would stimulate imaginative and diverse responses to painful historical accounts have not been extensively researched. However, the value
of both Bickford and Boler's analysis is their argument that active listening is needed as a step towards realizing an egalitarian, diverse and ultimately democratic society (Boler, 16-17, Bickford, 173). The temptation for many teachers and students is to imagine that examining revived and/or painful histories would be enough to ensure a commitment to social justice. However, without providing students and teachers with opportunities to be reflective of their own beliefs, assumptions and actions, and also to be reflective of their complicity in on-going oppressions, (e.g., the continuing legacy of colonization), lessons limited to empathizing with victims might easily pacify, without encouraging active citizenship. The statement "I know how you feel" prematurely erases the difference between the listener and "other," making it difficult to engage with the more difficult questions within reflective-active citizenship. In history education, these questions would lead students to examine their own complicity and social responsibility in on-going social injustices, and to imagine possibilities for more just society.

Some educators have suggested that counter commemoration could be used as a catalyst for reflecting on one's actions and beliefs (Simon, 1994, 2000). For example, the juxtaposition of a past event with a contemporary situation might prompt listeners/viewers to consider how past oppressions might continue even today, and even more, how listeners, viewers, or readers might be complicit in that ongoing oppression (Simon, 1994). Simon offers an example of Karen Atkinson's woodcut artwork as a successful counter-commemorative work, in that it counters internalized assumptions that colonialism is purely historical. The woodcut depicts "natives" peering behind bushes at the incoming ships, not the great ships of 1492, but large, modern cruise ships. How this counter commemoration idea can be applied in educational materials for the classroom is a question worth considering. Perhaps, if this artwork were juxtaposed with an historical picture celebrating the arrival of Europeans on North American shores, students could move away from a narrow interpretation of Columbus focusing on Columbus' achievements, or from a simplistic empathy exercise, in which the student is asked to identify with the victim of the
narrative (in this case, indigenous peoples). Although teachers and students would have to work to develop socio-economic and political contexts for these two situations, perhaps, with this kind of juxtaposition, students might be prompted to consider how they themselves might be complicit in the ongoing colonization of indigenous peoples.

Finding ways to move beyond empathetic listening, i.e., asking students to be reflect on their responses to a narrative, and to consider how their attitudes, values, and behavior might be complicit in ongoing oppressive structures and practices, is an essential aspect of reflective-active citizenship. Teaching strategies and curricula that use empathy as the starting point for investigation of history and one’s place within it, is an area that educators can explore and develop. It is evident that if we are ever to move into a sustainable, diverse social order, a new, courageous "listening" of critical self-awareness, active attention, and vigilant openness must be developed and instituted at all levels: in the classroom, in public debate, and in historical commemoration. As Bickford warns, "because the world is at stake, we cannot wait for the final luxury of fearlessness" (152).

1.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that the task of citizenship education is to identify the skills, knowledge, and values essential for reflective and active participation in the on-going negotiation of a more politically and socially just society. I have identified three aspects of citizenship education that are committed to social justice: critical citizenship literacy, conflictual content, and self-reflective responses to historical narratives. Critical citizenship literacy can be defined as the ability to recognize how historical narratives, through various strategies, inscribe exclusive notions of national identity. Conflictual content, also called controversial content or issues-centred content, can be described as content that challenges students to participate in conflicts, by encouraging them to confront the ways their opinions or beliefs
conflict with or differ than their own. In addition, conflictual content in history classroom allows different narratives to co-exist, and uses the presentation of counter-narratives to demonstrate how dominant historical narratives may marginalize or stigmatize conflicts. Finally, I have argued that self-reflection is an essential component of citizenship education, in which students examine their own values, attitudes, and action in the historical narratives they examine, and that this reflection is an important step towards political action.

There are many aspects in reflective and active citizenship education that cannot be discussed in the space of this study. Nevertheless, I believe that the three aspects I have identified and discussed can be applied to history education, and that this application could serve to stimulate reflective action in political life. In the following chapter, I will discuss how I will use these three aspects of reflective-active citizenship to guide my analysis of the four case studies I have selected.
Chapter 2

Methods for Analysis

The model of reflective-active citizenship I have proposed poses challenges for educators, as the skills I have identified do not easily translate into neat and tidy curriculum packages. Through a cross-cultural examination of educational materials produced in Australia and Canada, I hope to stimulate a discussion of possibilities for reflective-active citizenship education, and to move beyond, not simply to critique, the ideas presented in the materials.

Dorothy Smith's (1990) work on the social organization of knowledge makes a good theoretical starting point for my textual analysis. My analysis is anchored in Dorothy Smith's theory that much of our knowledge in society is mediated and controlled through "the social organisation of knowledge" (1990, Smith in Ng, 1995). A critical textual analysis, then, aims to examine, through different interpretive practices, the explicit and implicit meanings of texts which together constitute discourse, namely any extended linguistic production whether in the form of talk, classroom practices, TV, or written material (either printed or electronic). My analysis will treat the texts as part of the discourse of the nations through which notions of citizenship are produced and regulated. I am concerned particularly with the notions of citizenship that are constructed in the educational materials that I examine, notions that are communicated through particular uses of language in the historical narratives and complementary activities provided in the education packages. All of these selected history education materials can be seen as attempts to actively create the understandings and practices which presently constitute the discourse of citizenship, and more widely, of the nations from which they originate.

My discussion of the materials is in part shaped by my own social location as a white woman in Canada, who is trying to gain an understanding of what it means to hold multiple privilege in a racist society. The examination of materials is thus part of an on-going attempt to understand how I have shared
and continue to share in the construction and practice of nationhood.

2.1 National Contexts for the Cases

Through a comparative textual analysis of four cases of educational materials produced in Australia and Canada, I aim to gain a richer understanding of how a multicultural "settler" society may teach citizenship through education about national history (either in history curricula or civics curricula), in contexts where legal membership as a citizen is not contingent on either ethnic or cultural membership. (By "settler," I mean countries that have been forcibly colonized, have displaced indigenous peoples and waged war on indigenous culture, have imported European values, traditions, and languages, and people ("settlers"), and have expropriated land.) Canadian and Australian legal conceptions of citizenship, like other settler countries such as the United States, are not based on ethnicity. However, Canadian and Australian conceptions of citizenship differ from the United States in that neither country made a clear revolutionary break from their colonizing "mother" country. This break helped the United States to fashion a discourse of identity based on difference; alternatively, Australia and Canada both struggle to fashion a national identity that is multicultural, while belonging to the British Commonwealth. Through a comparative textual analysis of materials produced by independent or semi-independent agencies in two similar countries, I hope to gain insight into the relationship between the study of national history and the model of reflective-active citizenship that I have proposed.

Because I am a Canadian citizen working from the Canadian context, and have not yet had the opportunity to visit Australia, I am much more familiar with the socio-political context of Canadian educational materials. Moreover, because I have had the opportunity to make personal contact with the staff of both Canadian organizations that produced the materials, as well as with some of the Canadian curriculum designers and writers, I am more familiar with the Canadian than the Australian educational
materials. Despite this greater familiarity, I believe that my comparative research, through an analysis of different materials developed in different contexts, has the potential to offer insights that are more textured and instructive than would be possible in an analysis of solely Canadian sources.

2.2 Canadian and Australian Education Systems

The Australian education system is divided into three levels: primary, secondary, and tertiary. Secondary school begins in year 7 and continues to year 12, and schooling is compulsory through year 10. In Australia, all schools are monitored by the federal Department of Education, Training, and Employment (DETE). The national curriculum of Australia is divided into eight categories: English, Mathematics, Languages (other than English), Studies of Society and Environment (SOSE), Science, Technology, and the Arts. Within this framework, states and territories set curriculum guidelines. History, Geography, and Civics all fall under the rubric of SOSE, depending on the guidelines established by the state or territory.

In Canada, formal public education is under the jurisdiction of the province or territory, and the Ministry of Education in each province or territory develops and regulates the curriculum. The levels of education are divided similarly to Australia’s: elementary, high school, and tertiary. In eight of the provinces and territories, secondary school begins in grade six, in grade seven for British Columbia, and grade eight in Ontario and Manitoba. Secondary schools usually continue from the end of elementary education through the twelfth year (an exception is Québec, where it ends at grade eleven). Eight provinces/territories include a junior high school or middle school between elementary and secondary levels, usually lasting three years. As in Australia, education in Canada is compulsory until after age 15.

The lack of uniform national standards in Canada is of some concern for history educators, as standards in history education vary in each province and territory. For example, Canadian history is a required course in seven provinces, but is not required in three provinces. As a response to the lack of
national standards, and to various business leaders, journalists, and academics' perceived need for more instruction in Canadian history, the two Canadian organizations that I examine, the Dominion Institute and Historica, are lobbying for national guidelines for Canadian history instruction. Similarly, Discovering Democracy is an Australian initiative developed in response to the federal government's perceived need for a national curriculum in Australian civics, which includes the study of Australian national history.

2.3 Case Studies: Criteria for Selection

In both Canada and Australia, numerous educational materials are intended either to supplement or to replace curriculum guidelines of state or provincial governments. Many teaching materials can be downloaded from the Internet, and many museums and non-profit organizations publish teaching materials that could be potentially integrated into a history, social studies, or SOSE course. All of the materials I have chosen are, for the moment, supplementary materials that could be integrated into implementation of the provincial/state/territory curriculum. Each of the web sites showed how their materials correspond to provincial/state/territory curriculum guidelines and educational expectations.

There were various challenges to locating materials for this project, as many history educational materials focus on local or state/provincial history, rather than on national history. Moreover, many materials that address national history with a focus on citizenship education fall into numerous categories: heritage, history, cultural studies, social studies, civics, citizenship, or SOSE courses. After an extensive search to find materials that address the issues raised in Chapter 1, I have chosen the following educational materials based on the following criteria:

- Scope: Each set of materials discusses both citizenship and history (either as civics/citizenship or as history).
- Mandate: Each project cites "active and informed citizenship" as part of its mandate, whether it is billed
as history or as citizenship education material.

- Audience: A significant portion of each set of materials is aimed at, or is flexible enough to be applied to students aged 13-17. In addition, each set of materials is designed to be useable in the formal-educational setting (i.e., for formal and publicly accessible schools).

- Time of development: Each set of materials has been developed within the last 5 years.

I have chosen two sets of materials from each country. By educational materials, I mean a set of activities and resources made available to teachers that can be integrated into or complement the school curriculum. Each of the four educational initiatives are either partially funded or fully funded by provincial/state or federal governments; both organizations in Canada, the Dominion Institute and Historica, receive considerable corporate funding. One of the Australian initiatives, Discovering Democracy, was developed and produced by the federal Australian government, and the second Australian project I will examine, entitled Teaching Heritage, was developed by the New South Wales Department of Education and Training and the New South Wales Heritage Office.

Both the Canadian and the Australian educational initiatives were developed in response to a perceived lack of historical, heritage, and/or citizenship knowledge. As discussed in Chapter 1, in Australia, the Discovering Democracy curriculum was created as a response to the Civics Expert Group report, which through a series of interviews and questionnaires, identified what they called a "civics deficit" in the country. The New South Wales state government developed the Teaching Heritage materials to fulfill what various educators and heritage practitioners saw as the need for heritage education materials in New South Wales geography and history classes. Similarly, in Canada, the Dominion Institute created a set of history educational materials to fulfill the perceived need for more historical and civics knowledge among Canadian citizens, as suggested by a series of national polls the Dominion Institute conducted from 1995-1999. Historica has used the Dominion Institute polls, as well as reports from corporate leaders and popular
historians, to support their claim that Canadians have little knowledge and interest in Canadian history.

The creators of Historica's materials have used this perceived lack of interest and knowledge as the impetus for their mission of "reinvigorating and reawakening" Canadians' interest and knowledge of national history.

2.4 Challenges in Analyzing the Materials

In the past decade, curriculum writers and education publishing houses have embraced new technology for the production of educational materials, and the materials reflect the diversity of high-tech presentations available. Three of the four educational initiatives have produced CD-ROMs, videos, audio tapes, and/or textbooks; Teaching Heritage is the only education initiative that is entirely web-based. The Australian federal government has made the Discovering Democracy available to public schools across Australia at no cost. The Canadian Dominion Institute and Historica offer education packages that can be purchased by the schools. All four cases I examined have web sites of which a significant portion, if not the entire website, contains educational materials.

For this study, I have decided to analyze only those educational materials posted on web sites by all four initiatives. I believe that the free materials offered over the Internet are more likely to be used than those that might strain the budgets of school boards and even individual teachers, and/or languish on school shelves when delivered by the government. As an experienced teacher, I have learned that the Internet can provide extensive resources, where one can quickly access information, share ideas, and download lesson plans. Moreover, both Canada and Australia are particularly well-networked, as federal governments have subsidized broad internet access as a way of connecting remote communities. I therefore have given my attention to the materials that are most widely available to teachers.

Using web sites for research data posed particular challenges for me as a researcher. All of the
web sites except for Discovering Democracy are interactive, wherein students and teachers (the intended audience) are encouraged, for example, to connect to related sites (to "surf"), to play a video, to listen to a recording, to enlarge photos, or to post their responses to particular aspects of the sites. The interactive sites are visually pleasing, dynamic, and packed with photos, videos, and audio clips. The challenge of interpreting these web sites is that the information I gather is at the mercy of temporal space. I flip through the "pages" like a magazine, and the numerous links on each page encourage me to wander through the site, but unlike a printed text, it is difficult with web pages to keep my place, or to mark or check certain portions. Moreover, unlike a book or a printed text, web sites continually change, as new information is added, and pages are edited or entirely deleted. For example, some of what I saw on the Historica site in January 2001 was not yet there in December 2000. Also, in September 2000, the educational materials in Historica could be found on a different web site altogether, www.heritageproject.ca. Because of these challenges, I have chosen to take a "snapshot" of materials. The texts from all four cases were downloaded from January 18-January 22, 2001. I will also be treating the audio and video portions of the site as parts of these "texts," as in some sites these audio and video clips are a significant part of the materials.

2.5 Questions that Guided Analysis

In this study, I examined how notions of citizenship, as part of the discourse of the nation, are implicitly constructed through the historical narratives and the accompanying activities. In my analysis of the materials, my intention was to test the model of citizenship education proposed in the materials against the three aspects of citizenship education I discussed in Chapter 1: critical citizenship literacy, conflictual content, and self-reflection. While examining the educational materials, I looked specifically for the syntactic and rhetorical features of the language the authors employed. In the paragraphs below, I have
provided examples of the types of questions that guided my analysis.

In my reading of the four cases, I looked for activities or discussion questions that could lead students to develop skills for critical citizenship literacy. For example, I looked at what skills the authors propose, either in their mandate, teacher's notes, or activities themselves, and examined what activities or discussion questions the authors suggested would help students develop these identified skills. I also looked for learning opportunities that could lead students to examine national narratives critically, for example, opportunities where students might examine the role of selection, evaluation, perspective, and bias in constructing national narratives. Finally, I examined the rhetorical devices used in the materials to construct specific notions of citizenship identity and behavior.

In examining the materials for conflictual content, I looked for opportunities that could lead students to examine different points of views, beliefs, or attitudes. I also looked for places in the text that would lead students away from an examination of controversial issues. I began by examining the presentation of historical conflicts; for example, I asked whether historical conflicts were presented as having been resolved, or whether connections were made to ongoing contemporary conflicts. I also looked for opportunities for students to consider the contested nature of citizenship, and asked if the materials led students to consider inclusion and exclusion from both the benefits of citizenship and from legal membership to citizenship throughout national history. I also looked for the actions (named, or implied by example) which were presented as representative of "active citizenship." (e.g. Was participating in conflict considered a part of active citizenship? If so, what is the implied or stated definition of positive conflict?) The aim of these questions was to assess the level of conflictual content in the materials.

In addition to my examination of conflictual content and activities that would either lead students towards or away from critical citizenship literacy, I also looked for learning opportunities that could lead students to self-reflection on their attitudes, beliefs, and actions in relation to the historical narrative they
examine. I examined the uses of empathy in self-reflection, and looked at the characters with which students are to identify (for example, I asked if students were only to empathize with a hero or victim, and what the implication of such identification would be.) Finally, I examined the implied or stated purpose of empathy as a pedagogical tool.

2.6 Conclusion

As I have argued, I believe that despite the limitations and challenges to analyzing materials posted on the Internet, and inherent limitations in cross-cultural analysis, a comparative analysis of different cases, from different cultural contexts could illuminate my understanding of the role of history education within citizenship education. The three aspects of citizenship education I have identified are only some of the components of citizenship education that is dedicated to social justice. However, I believe that the three components provide an entry point into a critical examination of how notions of citizenship are produced and regulated through historical narratives and accompanying educational materials. In the following four chapters, I will examine the four sets of educational materials I have selected for this study, and conduct my analysis according to three interpretive lenses I have identified: critical citizenship literacy, conflictual content, and self-reflection.
Chapter 3

Case Study #1: Dominion Institute
(Canada)

3.1. Overview of Materials

Unlike the other three cases I will examine, the Dominion Institute devotes very limited space to explaining its vision, mandate, and educational goals. In fact, there is no website for the Dominion Institute itself, but rather only for the education initiatives it has developed: www.greatquestions.com, www.grantswar.com, and www.ourheroes.com. The Memory Project and Great Questions of Canada projects both contain teaching resources for high school classes, while the Our Heroes project is aimed at the non-formal education sector, and does not provide any materials for a formal education setting. The Dominion Institute, like the other Canadian case, Historica, is a national and charitable organisation, funded primarily by corporate sponsors. Each Dominion Institute project receives different funding: Our Heroes is a joint initiative with the Council for Canadian Unity, and is sponsored by the Ministry of Heritage, CTV, the National Post, and Sympatico. The Memory Project is funded by the Ministry of Ontario, Historica, the Royal Canadian Legion, the National Post, and Newsworld. Great Questions of Canada is funded by the Millennium Bureau of Canada, Chapters Bookstores, TD Bank, and the Magna Fair Enterprise Institute.

The Dominion Institute, in a similar mode to the Canadian Historica and Australian Teaching Heritage cases, targets the Internet as a medium for their history and civics educational initiatives, and teachers can access resources and contribute to the interactive portions of the sites. In addition to the free resources offered on the Internet sites, the Dominion Institute likewise offers educational packages that can be purchased directly from the Institute. Each of the three Dominion Institute web sites contains a link to their other two sites, and provides an identical summary of the mandate of the Dominion Institute. The summary explains that the Institute was founded in 1997 "by a group of young people concerned about the
decline of history as a core subject in schools and by the public perception of the country's past as academic and boring." Since 1997, the Institute has conducted a series of surveys to demonstrate their contention that there is a lack of historical knowledge among the Canadian citizenry: "Youth and Canadian History Survey" (1997), "National Citizenship Exam Survey" (1997), "Canada Day History Survey" (1998), "Canadian Military History Survey" (1998), "Canadian Heroes and Heroism Survey" (1999), and "Great Canadian Events Survey" (2000). From the time the first Dominion Institute survey was conducted to the time of the last survey in 2000, the results of the surveys have received increasing national attention in Canada. On July 1, 2000, Canada Day, the results of their latest poll were printed on the front page of the two major national newspapers in Canada, the Globe and Mail and the National Post. Based on their survey results, the Institute has concluded that Canadians lack "civic knowledge that citizens require to make informed decisions for the public good." While the Institute does not explain what is meant by "civic knowledge" or what it believes is the "public good," it is evident from the questions in the surveys that the Institute considers a knowledge of key historical events and the names of historical political figures to be important civic capital. The Institute has responded to the so-called crisis in knowledge by mandating to revive Canadian's knowledge and interest in Canadian history.

Below is a brief summary of the three web sites produced by the Dominion Institute: Great Questions of Canada, Grant's War and Our Heroes. Our Heroes does not provide lesson plans, unlike the other two web sites. However, in the information package for the Dominion Institute, Our Heroes is billed as an educational resource that can be integrated into a formal school setting. Our Heroes is comparatively quite limited in scope and content, and was the first joint initiative undertaken by the Institute; Great Questions of Canada was the second, and the Memory Project is the Institute's most recent initiative.

In the chart below, I outline the teaching materials posted on the three Dominion Institute web sites, and provide a graphic for each site. On the graphs, I have shaded each portion of the site that I will
discuss. For Great Questions of Canada, I will discuss the teaching strategy, entitled "creative controversy" suggested on the site, which includes the discussion questions for the creative controversy. For Grant's War, I will discuss all of the activities, as well as the two historical narratives posted on the site: McRae's Canadian Century Timeline and Grant's War. I will also discuss the suggested classroom visit by a Canadian veteran, entitled "Speaker's Bureau." Lastly, I will discuss the framework and mandate of the Our Heroes web site, as it is an interactive site where viewers post their nominations for their Canadian heroes, participate in an on-line discussion, and view other nominations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Web-Based Teaching Resources</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Great Questions of Canada:</strong> This site advertises a national essay competition for high school students, where students examine one of the six questions provided by the Institute: Does history matter? Are we a nation of too many identities? Are we a nation of institutions and ideas? Where have all the heroes gone? Is their life after unity? When Canada speaks, does the world listen? The site also displays essays written by notable Canadian politicians, authors, and historians, written in response to these questions and originally published in one of the Canadian national newspapers, the National Post.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Our Heroes:</strong> Students can cast a ballot for who they think is a Canadian hero, participate in an on-line discussion, and view the nominations cast by other visitors to the web site.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Grant's War:</strong> This is the largest site of the three sites, and is aimed at both elementary and high school teachers and students. The site provides a narrative of WWII, entitled &quot;Grant's War,&quot; through the personal narrative of Canadian WWII veteran Grant McRae. The site also provides lesson plans that accompany the narrative and time-line. On the site, students can search an on-line database for veterans, or contribute their own memory of a veteran. In this way, states the Institute, students can &quot;become digital historians&quot; by &quot;preserving Canadian military history.&quot; Through the site, teachers can coordinate with the assistance of the Institute, a class visit by a WWII veteran; the site also provides worksheets for teachers, students, and the veteran.</td>
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Figure #1: Diagram of Web-based Resources Great Questions of Canada web site

www.greatquestions.ca (Dominion Institute)

Great Questions of Canada

"Bulletin Board" Posting of the prize winning essay for year

"Teaching Tools" Creative Controversy

Step 1: Preview Discussion Questions: "Setting the Stage"

Step 2: Comprehension questions for articles

Step 3: Critical comparison of essays

Step 4: Practicing debates

Step 5: Writing Essay

Posted Essays: Twenty-four Essays written in response to the six "Great Questions"
Figure #2: Diagram of Web-based Resources for Memory Project web site
www.grantswar.ca (Dominion Institute)

- Grant's War
  - McRae's Canadian Century Timeline
    - Activity: Research history of League of Nations
  - Activity: Medicare Act Debate
  - Activity: Analysis of Cuban Missile Crisis
  - Activity: Recording Veteran Visit
  - Activity: Visiting Schools for Veterans
  - Activity: Journal activity as a Prisoner of War
Figure #3: Diagram of Web-based Resources for Our Heroes web site

www.ourheroes.ca (Dominion Institute)
3.2 Analysis of Materials

3.2.1 Critical Citizenship Literacy

In the Dominion Institute's educational materials, the authors provided a limited number of learning activities that could promote "critical citizenship literacy." By critical citizenship literacy, I mean the ability to engage with various interpretative practices in order to see texts as constructed narratives that are part of the wider social project of constituting national identity and citizenship. In particular, three activities could be considered opportunities that may lead students to develop critical citizenship literacy skills.

The first activity for the narrative McRae's Canadian Century Timeline asks students to choose one of three projects: decide which events shaped Grant's early life, decide which events stand out in Grant McRae's war experiences, or decide which events are significant in the last half of the 20th century. Students must identify the historical turning points of the time period they have chosen, and then research the causes and effects of this turning point and how they relate to Grant and Robert's personal histories. In the assessment activity, students are to be graded on their ability to research, analyse, detect bias, and to "separate fact from fiction." This activity could help students to develop the ability to read narratives critically, and/or to lead students to consider how narratives are constructed.

In the second activity for the McRae's Canadian Century Timeline, the Dominion Institute asks students to record the role of the League of Nations and its evolution into the United Nations (UN), and also to track and analyse the media coverage of the UN: "Was it comprehensive, insightful or superficial?" Similarly, in the third activity for the McRae's Canadian Century Timeline, the Dominion Institute asks students to research the history of the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1963, and to examine the tone and perspective of the media coverage of the event. It then asks students to write an opinion essay about whether or not the world is a safer place today in regards to nuclear power and the distribution of nuclear weapons. These two activities may also lead students to develop the ability to detect bias and perspective in historical narratives, which could lead students to see histories as constructed narratives.
Despite these three activities that require students to examine bias and perspective in historical narratives, the educational materials for the three educational initiatives of the Dominion Institute provided no opportunities for students to critically examine the narratives provided by the Dominion Institute: McRae's Canadian Century Timeline and Grant's War. An analysis of these two narratives, which are posted on one of the Dominion Institute's sites, the Memory Project (www.grantswar.com), demonstrates how exclusive notions of Canadian identity and good citizen behaviour are implicitly constructed in their historical narratives, demonstrating the importance of creating opportunities for students to critically examine all historical narratives.

An examination of educational materials for one of the Dominion Institute web sites, Grant's War, demonstrates how education materials can, through their representation and evaluation of certain groups or persons, inscribe a notion of citizen and citizenship behaviour. On the site www.grantswar.com, the Dominion Institute delivers the history of WWII through the lens of WWII veteran pilot Grant McRae. The narrative includes five different chapters, entitled: "Shipping Out," "Overseas," "Out of the Sky," "Prisoner of War," and "Coming Home." The details are taken from a series of newspaper articles about Grant McRae, and from History Television's "Crew of Seven: Grant McRae's Story," where Grant McRae relates his experiences in World War II to a Canadian history class. The chapters are written in a compelling and dramatic style; for example, in the chapter "Prisoner of War," the Dominion Institute's description reads: "The vicious German police dog started barking, flashing its sharp teeth. A young foot guard, no older than McRae, showed up two minutes later. McRae, pale and gaunt, was caught." Grant's War relates the history of WWII and Grant's involvement in the war by weaving Grant McRae's personal story into the history of WWII. For example, in the first chapter "Overseas," one paragraph begins:

Germany targeted Britain with massive air attacks using fighters and bombers on ports and inland between June 1940 and spring 1941, after Hitler took France within a matter of weeks. The Battle of Britain, though successful in fending off the German blitzkrieg attacks, sacrificed over 900 British fighters and thousands of airmen, many of them Canadian.
The next paragraph shifts perspective, and begins with: "The skipper claims I broke a record for winding down those wheels,' says McRae, as he shakes his head."

As well as weaving Grant's personal story into the history of WWII, the Institute also presents, through the narrative lens of the McRae family, a timeline of 100 years of Canadian history, entitled "McRae's Canadian Century Timeline: Events-Global and National." The timeline illustrates events in Canadian history in the 20th Century, beginning in 1914 when Britain declared war on Germany, and finishing in 1999, when 1300 Canadian peacekeepers are stationed in Kosovo and Macedonia. Five of the thirty-two photos that accompany the timeline are of Grant McRae, and two are of his son, Robert McRae; the rest of the photos are archival historical photos, for example, of the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919, or of Canadian troops landing on the beaches of Normandy on D-Day, 1945. Robert's story begins in 1956, with the words: "Robert has continued his parents' tradition of serving Canada as a senior diplomat attached to the Canadian delegation at NATO in Brussels."

In the teachers notes for McRae's Canadian Century Timeline, the Dominion Institute explains that it will relate the personal histories of veteran Grant McRae and his diplomat son Robert to Canadian events throughout the 20th Century. However, in the student's materials, the Dominion Institute does not give any indication that it is only about Grant and Robert McRae. Indeed, judging by the title of the timeline, it presumably covers Canadian history through the lens of the McRae family. In the timeline, the Dominion Institute provides three short paragraphs in the margins to describe Grant and Robert McRae. Under the heading "Grant's Story", the Institute writes: "Grant's experience of World War II is that of a real flesh and blood person who is thrown, by circumstances beyond his control, into an extraordinary situation." In the middle of the timeline, around the time of Robert McRae's birth (1951), the Institute has inserted a second short description, this time of Robert McRae: "Robert has continued his parents' tradition of serving Canada as a senior diplomat attached to the Canadian delegation at NATO in Brussels." The Institute offers its third description of the McRae family at the end of the timeline, where it shows that by the end of the
century, the McRae family has merged with a French-Canadian family, reflecting what many historians perceive as the French-English duality of Canadian culture:

The McRae's are an extended bilingual and bicultural family with roots dating back to the beginning of the century: 'My wife is Lynn Massicotte. She is from Québec city, and French-speaking. We met in Québec when I was doing my doctorate at Laval University. Québec City was where my dad was born and we have visited some old haunts together. We even have a photo taken together in front of Montmorency Falls where this story began.'

By this end of the timeline, it becomes obvious that Robert McRae is the author of the above quote, as only Grant's and Robert's stories are included in the timeline.

The presentation of Canada's involvement in WWII, and of "Events-Global and National" throughout 100 years of Canadian history, through the lens of the McRae's, is problematic, not so much in the details that the Institute selects for its historical narrative, but in the stories that are left out of the McRae timeline. For example, the only details provided in the timeline about the other members of the McRae nuclear family are that Grant married his wife June in 1946, when they met she was "a Wren," ("We met at a Halloween dance for servicemen in Belleville where she was a Wren") and that June didn't like Grant to travel too much in his job. The timeline does not explain that "Wren" is an acronym for "Women's Royal Naval Service," nor does it describe June's contribution to the Wrens. With such little information given about June, it is unclear how Robert has followed his "parents' tradition of serving Canada." Unfortunately, the Institute missed the opportunity to explain women's service in World War II, suggesting that service to Canada is limited to her role as mother, wife, and member of an organisation for which no information is provided. The only information about the McRae's other two children, Linda and Leslie, is that they were born, and by telling only one story of the McRae children (Robert's) we can presume that whatever the actions of the other two children, they don't qualify as "serving Canada."

The narrative "McRae's Canadian Century Timeline" illustrates a discursive strategy that serves to create an implicitly exclusion notion of the Canadian citizen. In the timeline, the Dominion Institute selects some stories and excludes others: the stories of June McRae, her two children Linda and Leslie. In this
example, the exclusively gendered (male) image of the Canadian citizen is normalized through the
dismissal of women's stories in the McRae narrative. Moreover, by selecting and celebrating only certain
stories of heroic citizenship action in a narrative of Canadian history, the Dominion Institute suggests that
model citizenship action is only government or military service. This limited presentation of "good"
citizenship behaviour implicitly dismisses other types of citizenship behaviour. In the reflective-active
citizenship model I have proposed in Chapter 1, diverse forms of citizenship participation are considered
indicative of good citizenship: social activism, court battles, direct action, while not discounting other more
conventional modes of participation, such as voting, running for office, or military service.

The Dominion Institute's implicit definition of the good citizen is further illustrated in a worksheet
that accompanies the narrative Grant's War. On the Grant's War web site, the Dominion Institute suggests
that after students read the narratives Grant's War and McRae's Canadian Century Timeline, teachers
arrange a classroom visit by a Canadian veteran. Teachers can select a veteran from the Speaker's
Bureau, and the Dominion Institute helps to co-ordinate the classroom visit. In a worksheet for veterans
who plan to visit a class, entitled "A Quick Guide to Visiting Schools: Know your Audience" the Institute
provides a list of twelve descriptions of students who veterans might encounter in the class, under the
subheading entitled "Who are these young people of the 21st Century?" The list states: classes have both
male and female students; Canada is multicultural; Canada has had a high German population; many
immigrants from Germany and Italy came to Canada after the war; students might be from Russia, the
Ukraine, and China; proportions of racial groups may vary; students come from different racial
backgrounds; some students might come from pacifist backgrounds, such as Mennonite or Hutterite; some
students are offspring of Canadians put in detention camps, such as the Japanese and Italians; some
students might have experienced war in different countries; many of the students come from families that
have been in Canada for generations. The emphasis on cultural and racial difference among students
suggests that the veterans themselves are not from any of the categories listed. Moreover, the absence of
a student worksheet entitled "Who are these Veterans?" suggests that we already know who they are. They are like Grant McRae: white, Anglo-Saxon, male.

The worksheet "A Quick Guide to Visiting Schools: Know your Audience" with the subheading "Who are these young people?" demonstrates racial and cultural privilege in Canadian society, that is, the racial privilege of one group (white) to remain unnamed. Furthermore, the remarkable absence of information about the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian veterans serves to conceal the diversity among the veterans themselves, for example, the aboriginal Canadian veterans who are First Nations, Inuit, or Métis.13 This lack of information reinforces the "common sense" assumption that Canadian veterans are white, male, and Anglo-Saxon like McRae, making it difficult to imagine that the groups that might appear on an imagined, but absent "Who are these veterans?" are also part of the Canadian community.

### 3.2.2 Conflictual Content

In the Dominion Institute materials, the authors seem to present contradictory views of the importance of conflictual content; in some activities for the Grant's War narrative, conflict is tolerated, but it is not encouraged. The institute mentions the possibility that some students might challenge veterans when veterans visit the class. In the fourth chapter of Grant's War entitled "Prisoner of War," the Institute writes:

Earp and the other Oakville students ask McRae difficult questions, such as: Do you think it was necessary for the Americans to drop the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan? Why were Japanese-Canadians rounded up early in the war, their belongings seized? They're tough questions, but McRae insists it's better than not having any at all. 'I fear that if we don't pass on these stories now, soon there won't be people around to tell them. Then people could forget.'

The Dominion Institute adds: "That's a real possibility." Indeed, for McRae and the Dominion Institute, conflict is tolerated for the greater purpose of helping us to remember an event. In Grant's War, the Dominion Institute provides two exemplary student responses to the veterans: "'You have to remember,'
insists 18-year old Szymon Koscik, whose grandfather fought in the Polish army against the Nazis. "You have to, or it will happen all over again."

Despite the Dominion Institute's implicit suggestion that the ideal response to Grant McRae's story is empathy, not "tough questions," students are encouraged to participate in debates elsewhere in the lesson plans. In one of the follow-up activities for McRae's Canadian Century Timeline, the Dominion Institute suggests students participate in a debate about Canadian Medicare. Students are to answer the questions: "Who was responsible for [the legislation.] and where did the initiative begin?" "Were doctors and hospitals in favour of the legislation?" "If so, why, otherwise, why not?" and "How would Canada be different if the Medicare Act hadn't been passed?" This activity may lead students to confront different ideas or opinions, and to consider their own attitudes towards social welfare in Canada.

Similar to the Medicare debate in the lesson plans for Grant's War, the Great Questions of Canada activities highlight debate as a tool for engaging students in controversial issues. The web site offers a list of questions, and high school students are encouraged to enter an essay competition where they can "weigh-in on six key debates about Canadian history and culture." The web site displays the essay by the winner of the competition of year 2000, the first year of the competition, as well as twenty-four essays by prominent Canadian historians, authors, and journalists written in response to the Great Questions of Canada and originally published in an editorial series in a Canadian national newspaper, the National Post. The site also provides a teaching model entitled "Creative Controversy," which explains of how students can practice debating the questions in their classrooms. As the previous graphic figures of the web sites show, the Great Questions of Canada web site has fewer activities than the Memory Project, but does contain an extensive activity geared to high school history classes.

According to the Institute, the suggested learning outcomes and sets of questions that accompany each "Great Question" are designed to "encourage student interest and critical reading and thinking skills." The brief introduction to each question that students are to debate, as well as the questions themselves,
together frame the issues that, according to their mandate, the Dominion Institute sees as important aspects of citizenship and history education. The questions are arranged under six topic headings: Founding Concepts, Identity Revolution, After Unity, Canada and the World, Heroes and Symbols, and Does History Matter. The information and discussion questions under each topic heading illustrate how the Dominion Institute's materials could lead students to engage in controversial issues, but also could steer students away from an examination of some controversial issues in contemporary Canadian public life.

The questions under the topic heading "Identity Revolution" provide a good example of how the Dominion Institute both engages in and avoids conflictual content. The authors write:

In the last Century, women have been enfranchised, attitudes towards First Nations have changed, and the ethnic composition of Canada has shifted markedly. How have personal and official conceptions of identity changed over time?

This question and its introduction may lead students to consider how national identity is constructed, but the question also dismisses current debate about treatment of aboriginals in Canada; many argue that attitudes towards First Nations have not changed significantly in the last 100 years. The information for "Identity Revolution," cited above, celebrates past achievements in Canadian history, (in the implication that attitudes towards aboriginals have improved, and that women have been enfranchised), but does not invite students to engage in current controversies about aboriginal rights. Land repatriation, self-government, and social welfare are just some of the issues driving debate between non-aboriginals and aboriginals in Canada today. An absence of questions that may lead students to consider these controversies makes it difficult to see how students can be the "active and informed citizens" the Dominion Institute aims to shape.

The information for the topic "After Unity" similarly marginalizes an on-going debate in Canada: Québec separatism and national unity. Under this topic heading, the Dominion Institute writes:

The threat of Québec separation has dominated Canada's political discourse for the better part of the last half-century. If the unity issue could somehow be brought to a successful resolution, what pre-existing or entirely new national preoccupations would claim Canada's political centre stage?
With the absence of a question that asks how different groups might define "successful resolution" differently, the question quoted above implies that the resolution would be national unity. Indeed, the title "After Unity" assumes that national unity is a desired goal for all Canadians. Moreover, the sentence that prefaces the question suggests that the "unity issue" is only an issue for European colonizers, a suggestion that dismisses aboriginals from public debate about national unity. In that many aboriginals see separation and sovereignty as the only option available for peace and security, the emphasis on only the French and the English in debates about national unity makes it difficult for students to examine or even consider controversies about aboriginal demands for independence. Moreover, the question dismisses on-going controversies about Québec separatism, a dismissal that perhaps reflects a certain weariness or reluctance on the part of many English Canadians to participate in debates about national unity.

In the questions for the topic "Heroes and Symbols," the Dominion Institute similarly both leads students to and steers students away from conflictual content. In particular, the Dominion Institute asks students to engage in discussions about hero construction, but the framework and vocabulary of the questions may steer students from controversial issues surrounding the construction and memorialization of national heroes. The Dominion Institute writes:

Canadians are largely ambivalent about their heroes, particularly when compared to the mythology-rich United States. What are the origins of this predisposition? Has Canada suffered from an unwillingness to create national heroes? Or is our aversion to celebrating national heroes and heroism quintessentially Canadian?

The vocabulary in this statement, such as "ambivalence," "unwillingness," and "aversion," implies that the commemoration of national heroes should play a larger role in Canadian civic life. One of the reading comprehension questions in preparation for the activity "creative controversy" similarly reflects the Dominion Institute's attitude towards heroism: "Why are we so hero-poor, according to [the author]?" In preparation for the discussion about national heroes on the Great Questions of Canada web site, the Dominion Institute suggests that students "check out" their other web site, Our Heroes, where students can cast their ballot for a Canadian hero. For the Dominion Institute, students are only to debate why
Canadians do not seem to commemorate heroes in the same way as their southern neighbour, but they do not ask why some Canadians are commemorated and others are not, or even why greater attention to hero commemoration would be a desirable goal at all.

Despite the way the information and questions, listed under each topic heading for Great Questions of Canada, dismiss certain controversies that occupy contemporary political discourse, the Dominion Institute offers a strategy, entitled "creative controversy" that may lead students to confront opinions and values that oppose their own, and even more, to imagine possible resolutions. The first stage of the teaching model asks students to answer a series of questions to help set the stage for the "great question." For example, in preparation for the debate "Are we a nation of institutions or ideas?" students discuss the questions "What does it mean to 'found' a country?" and "How was Canada's 'founding' different from the US?" The next stage asks students to read the essays written in response to the "great question" they have chosen to debate, and to answer a series of comprehension questions (e.g. Does Barry Cooper believe that Canada was established on the basis of some founding principles? What evidence does he present to support his view?).

In the next stage, titled "Critical Comparisons," students compare and contrast the different positions offered by the different authors, weigh evidence, and prepare arguments for the final stage of the program, entitled "Creative Controversy." In the final stage, students form small groups and prepare their positions, in preparation for the debate. Then, students present and defend their arguments, switch roles and defend the opposite position. Lastly, students "drop all advocacy and strive to reach a common decision that each member can agree with and defend." This creative controversy method is a good example of how students can practice exchanging different points of view, and work towards possible resolutions.

The "creative controversy" teaching tool that accompanies Great Canadian Questions demonstrates the importance the Dominion Institute places on participating in debates about issues that
might shape current discourse on social and political issues. However, the Dominion Institute does not provide students with an opportunity to challenge the underlying assumptions of Great Canadian Questions. In the preface to the publication of the twenty-four essays, the Executive Director of the Institute, Rudyard Griffiths, argues that "Canadian civic culture was infused with the belief that the vigorous and reasoned expression of ideas could influence the progress of peoples and civilisations." Griffiths contends that the dialogue of ideas is what has made Canada the "progeny of the remarkable civic culture that achieved Confederation," but that our national identity is "paralysed by apathy and entrenched grievances." For Griffiths, and the Institute he has helped establish, the characteristics of Canadian civic culture are uncontested; it is a culture of "mutual understanding, civility, and tolerance." As he sees it, it is the Dominion Institute's goal to revive that culture. As for those who might protest that the history of Canadian civic culture is rooted in exclusion, Griffiths has a response to that too: "To be sure, there have been a few isolated and painful incidents. But we have avoided civil war, revolution, and racial oppression that characterized Europe's and our neighbour's experiences of modernity" (Griffiths, 2000, xii).

3.2.3 Self-Reflective Responses to Historical Narrative

As outlined earlier, the Grant's War web site provides three main educational resources: McRae's Canadian Century Timeline, Grant's War, and the Veteran Project. The goal of the Veteran Project is to create a "memory bank" of Canadian veterans: "From the D-Day landings to what it is like to serve as a peacekeeper, the Veterans' Archive provides gripping, first-hand accounts of the defining moments of 20th century Canadian history." According to the site, the activity also has an educational component: "The Veterans' Archive also provides students and veterans with the opportunity to become digital historians and preserve Canada's military history for future generations." Grant's War is a narrative of World War II and is designed "to provide students with awareness into how World War Two forever changed the lives of veterans like Grant."
From the extensive surveys conducted by the Institute, it seems that Dominion Institute initiatives are driven by the fear that young Canadians are forgetting, or do not know, about the efforts of Canadians during World War II. The fourth chapter “Prisoner of War” begins with:

Today, Remembrance Day, is the one day of the year set aside to help Canada's younger generations understand the sacrifice of our war veterans. For Mike Earp, a slickly coiffed, lanky 18-year-old, the veteran represents a different time, a different world. While telling this story, McRae fights tears. Earp, meanwhile, bites his pierced tongue. "In a way," he says, "I was feeling what he was going through."

Although Grant's War includes descriptions of other students, Mike is the only student whose physical appearance is described, suggesting that even "slickly coiffed" and tongue-pierced Mike can feel empathy towards Grant McRae. More importantly, the description of Mike suggests that empathy has the power to transcend cultural and generation differences. The suggestion that Earp's response is exemplary is reinforced by the first activity that follows Grant's War:

You are an officer who has been captured and sent to Stalag Luft III [World War II prisoner of War camp] Keep a journal and write about your experiences in the camp. You may wish to address the journal to a family member or loved one. What are your thoughts and feelings? Talk about the routine, the treatment received by the guards, even the food you eat. Document the experience as realistically as possible.

The Dominion Institute does not provide any questions that would lead students to reflect on their actions and beliefs in relation to the character with whom they empathize, suggesting that the aim of this activity is only to feel an emotional connection to the victim/hero (prisoner of war). This follow-up activity to Grant's War, combined with the example of Mike Earp's reaction to Grant McRae's story as an exemplary response, reinforces the a commonly-held belief that remembrance of war plays an important role in building and protecting peace in the future. As Grant McRae relates in Grant's War, "If we just tell our story, young people will better understand how fortunate they are to live in a country where there hasn't been a war, where we hope there won't be a war."

Grant McRae's comment in the narrative Grant's War is problematic for several reasons. First, the Dominion Institute does not provide any information to counter McRae's comment, and by allowing
McRae's comment to stand on its own, supports the dominant national myth that Canada has historically been a peaceful country. Grant's comment, and the Dominion Institute's support of it, dismisses from the national narrative both Canada's war against the United States of America (War of 1812) and the war against aboriginals. Second, McRae's comment, which follows the description of Mike Earp's emotional reaction to Grant McRae's story, suggests that understanding is best achieved by emotionally relating to a character in history, and moreover, this understanding, achieved by imagining pain or vulnerability, can engender feelings of gratitude: "I'm glad it's not me." As American education researcher Megan Boler argues, the agent of empathy is essentially fear of oneself (1997). While gratitude and national pride are not essentially problematic reactions to national history, without questions that could lead students to stimulate political action, the empathy portions of the Dominion Institute remain pacifying lessons in national pride.

3.3 Conclusion

An examination of the Dominion Institute's history education materials suggests that the Dominion Institute seems particularly concerned with issues concerning national unity and identity. Indeed, the titles of two of their three web sites suggest that the Dominion Institute seeks to promote a shared understanding of national traditions: Our Heroes, and The Great Questions of Canada (italics mine). The name "Dominion," which refers to the nation of Canada, may seem like a peculiar title in a country where ties to Britain are becoming increasingly ambivalent. As Canadian education researcher Alan Sears explains, the name "Dominion" was used to refer to the government of Canada before 1945, and was meant to explicitly link Canada with Britain. According to Sears, this distinction indicated a new kind of nationalism in Canada in post World War II (1996, 56-57). Perhaps, the return of the word "Dominion" reflects a kind of nationalism in Canada that is nostalgic for its British roots, and is rooted in a celebratory, victor's history of
the nation. The strong corporate backing of the Institute suggests that the people who run the corporations may similarly support national unity; unity after all, is good for business.

The theme of national unity becomes apparent in an examination of the conflictual content on the web site Great Questions of Canada. On this web site, the Dominion Institute exhibits the issues that the Dominion Institute proposes students address in citizenship education. Although the Dominion Institute leads students to engage with different opinions and perspectives about the issues presented in each topic in a "creative controversy," the Dominion Institute dismisses some conflicts that currently occupy Canadian public discourse, such as Québec separatism, aboriginal separatism, and aboriginal and women's rights. Moreover, the Dominion Institute does not ask students to examine the questions that rest on the invisible periphery of the curriculum: who participated in these debates, and who benefited?

The lack of learning opportunities that could lead students towards critical citizenship literacy further reinforce an uncontested, celebratory version of Canadian history that could support national unity and shape national identity. For example, on the web site Our Heroes, the Dominion Institute asks visitors to participate in an online debate about what makes a hero, and invites students to cast a ballot for their hero. However, it is evident from the web site that their vote does not really count; the votes do not affect change on who is valorized or commemorated publicly. Moreover, the Dominion Institute does not ask the more difficult questions about hero-construction, such as who ultimately decides who should be commemorated, who benefits, and what role national heroes play in constructing national identity. Similarly, on the web site Grant's War, the Dominion Institute does not provide learning opportunities that could lead students to develop the ability to explore how and why historical narratives are constructed. In fact, there are no opportunities for students to critically examine the Dominion Institute's narratives, the McRae Canadian Century Timeline and Grant's War. My own examination of these narratives demonstrated the discursive strategies used to construct an exclusive model of citizenship, achieved by including some stories and by excluding other actions, and by sanctioning some behaviour as "citizen
service" and ignoring others. The lack of opportunities to critically critique these narratives reinforces a celebratory, uncontested version of Canadian history.

Furthermore, activities that encouraged students to empathize with historical heroes supported the Dominion Institute's version of a celebratory history. The Dominion Institute suggests that empathy is one step towards ensuring a peaceful future, echoing the sentiments of many educators who believe that empathy can help students develop a "moral understanding" (Boler, 1997, 253). As American education philosopher Louise Rosenblatt wrote in 1938, "it has been said that if our imaginations functioned actively, nowhere in the world would there be a child who was starving. Our vicarious suffering would force us to do something to alleviate it" (Rosenblatt in Boler, 253). The Dominion Institute's use of empathy makes it difficult to see how it could stimulate political action in the way Rosenblatt advocates, as the Dominion Institute also implicitly suggests that empathy can arouse feelings of national pride. Indeed, as I have discussed earlier, the use of empathy as suggested in the Dominion Institute's materials could pacify students, by suggesting that an emotional connection with a historical hero is the goal of the exercise, instead of moving beyond empathy into a discussion of or reflection on social responsibility and complicity.

The lack of opportunities for students to examine historical narratives or to engage in some controversial issues in Canadian public life might be reflective of the Institute's contention that Canadians need to know specific events in Canadian history in order to be informed and active citizens. Indeed, the annual surveys commissioned by the Dominion Institute that emphasize knowledge of Canadian political leaders and historical political events suggest that the Dominion Institute and their materials, like the Discovering Democracy materials, aim to revive a political and celebratory approach to national history, where teachers impart "the facts." This approach echoes the thesis proposed by American educator E.D. Hirsch, in his controversial book Cultural Literacy: What Everyone Needs to Know (1988). Like Hirsch, the Dominion Institute maintains that specific cultural and historical knowledge is a prerequisite for participation in public life. However, if students are to be the active and critical citizens that the Dominion Institute aims
to help shape, educational materials must provide more opportunities that could lead students to be critical of their historical narratives, to recognize and engage students in contemporary issues, and to be reflective of their values, and beliefs.
Chapter 4

Case #2: Historica (www.historica.ca)

(Canada)

4.1 Overview of Materials

Historica was established in 1999 by two Canadian business leaders, Charles R. Bronfman and L. R. (Red) Wilson. The organization is funded by the Charles R. Bronfman (CRB) Foundation, the Royal Bank Financial Group, BCE, West Coast Energy, CanWest Global Communications Corporation, and McClelland and Stewart Ltd. Historica is an extension of the older foundation, the CRB Foundation, which created the Heritage Minutes, a series of one-minute history lessons made for television, and broadcasted on Canadian television throughout the 1990s and to the present day. The CRB Foundation also initiated the Heritage Fairs, which are conducted for school and community-based projects in each province and territory. Students from grades 4-9 (in Québec, section I-III) can participate, and students choose a medium of their choice to present a theme or figure in Canadian history (e.g., a poster board of Alexander Bell's life and achievements). Historica has taken over the distribution and development of the two CRB Foundation initiatives, the Heritage Minutes and Heritage Fairs, and, like the CRB foundation, Historica intends to promote the teaching of Canadian history in schools, in local communities, and in mass media.

As with the Dominion Institute, Historica's educational initiatives are driven by their perception that Canadians do not know or do not care about their national history; Historica's mandate is to remedy the perceived lack of historical knowledge among Canadian citizens. On their web site, www.historica.ca, Historica maintains that Canadians need more knowledge of national history. They cite Canadian historian Jack Grananstein's book Who Killed Canadian History (1998) as evidence that "history has systematically been downgraded in Canada's educational curriculum, so much so that Canadians by and large are ignorant of our past." Historica also cites a survey conducted by the Dominion Institute; without citing the nature or content of the Dominion Institute survey, Historica writes, "Canada's young people do not know
the answer to such basic questions as: "Who was our first Prime Minister?" To further the argument that Canadians require more historical knowledge, Historica also uses a quote from its founder, Charles R. Bronfman:

I believe Canadians are hungry for a part of their birthright that has been eroded as a result of our indifference, or perhaps our proximity to a much larger community with an extraordinary flare for merchandising its own history. Canadian history isn't just dates and places. Our past is filled with fascinating stories—of heroes, villains, tragedies, triumphs, people, emotions, and who we've come to be.

As an extension of Bronfman's argument that Canadians are hungry to know who they are (what Bronfman refers to as their "birthright"), Historica's objective is to help Canadians realize "the exciting nature of Canadian history," by "unleash[ing] and revitalize[ing]" an enjoyment of history; the lesson plans provided on the web site and educational packages are thus intended to make history "more fun and more engaging for Canadians." The guiding principles of Historica's projects are to entertain, to educate, and to engage Canadian citizens with multiple media for wide-ranging audiences. Indeed, most of Historica's materials demonstrate its commitment to creating entertaining and engaging materials (particularly, the Heritage Minutes, and the more recent Radio Minutes). According to Historica's mandate, posted on its web site, national history provides a fund of historical narratives through which national identity can be constructed, and a knowledge of national history serves both to shape an understanding of "who we are" and to open possibilities of "who we may become."

Similar to the Dominion Institute, Historica supports a national Canadian history curriculum, and is working with the Council of Ministers of Education in developing a pan-Canadian civics curriculum. Historica has targeted the Internet as an important networking tool where students and teachers can share ideas, lesson plans, and projects, and argues that a web-centred approach is the most effective way to reach school-aged Canadian citizens; it points to the popularity of the Heritage Minutes as evidence that television and popular media are the "key means by which Canadians develop their appreciation of our rich history." As of yet, there are relatively few lesson plans teachers can download from www.historica.ca,
although Historica promises to provide an archive of teacher's lesson plans soon. The site advertises two resource packs that teachers can purchase directly from Historica: "Canadians in the Global Community" and "We are Canadians." The former is a resource packet for high school students, and contains four "learning modules" entitled "Sustaining the Environment," "War and Peace Security," "Decisions for Development," and "Images of Canada." "We are Canadians" is directed at students aged 10 - 14; the focus of the packet is the immigrant history of Canada and it offers a series of "snapshots" of different immigrants to Canada. Both packets include resources for students, (e.g., a video of select Heritage Minutes, maps, CD ROM, war biographies) and a teacher's guide.

Below, I have briefly outlined the educational materials provided on www.historica.ca. In the graphic on the following page, I have highlighted the materials that I will examine: Historica materials that contain lesson plans geared to secondary school students. I will not discuss the educational games in "Fun and Games," as these are materials developed only for the elementary school setting. I will also not discuss the "Sports Almanac," as there are no lesson plans posted for these narratives. As there are no lesson plans or suggested format for the Heritage Fairs, I will also not include the Heritage Fairs in my analysis. I will discuss only those Heritage Minutes which have accompanying lesson plans, as well as the "Mindmap" and "Reading the Picture" activities, which Historica states can be integrated into high school history curriculum. I will also address the section "History in the Classroom: the Challenges," as the pages in this section are billed as background reading for history teachers.
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**Fun and Games:** This is a set of interactive educational games on the web, for elementary school children. Through various games, children learn about various regions of Canada. For example, the game "Arctic Crossword" asks students to use their knowledge of Arctic traditional culture and nature to complete the crossword.

**Heritage Minutes:** The site provides synopses of the 66 Heritage Minutes. When the Heritage Minutes were under the management of the CRB Foundation on the now obsolete www.heritageproject.ca, it was possible to play all the minutes on Real Time video. Now, however, it is only possible to purchase the videos, and to download the synopses for free from the web site. At the time of writing, twenty-five of the Minutes each offer a "lesson plan" that teachers can download for free. Historica also provides teachers with free suggestions "Teaching Strategy: Using the Minutes Critically," and an activity where students make their own "Minute." In the lesson plans, Historica provides a series of suggested research activities and discussion questions that the teachers can ask students. Historica lists all the minutes thematically, chronologically, and by region.

**Reading a Picture:** This is an analytical activity in which students practice analyzing historical photos.

**Heritage Fairs:** Teachers can download information about how to participate in the heritage fairs, and can view examples of exhibits by students from across the country.

**History in the Classroom:** By clicking on the word "communicate" in the sentence, "Learn how history teachers communicate the past to the present," teachers can download a series of quotes from a variety of educators who attended the conference "Giving the Past a Future," held January 29-31, 1999. The first page lists the five topics, and teachers can access a one-page summary of Historica's approach to history education. The topics are "Making History Meaningful," "Whose Version of History," "Getting Critical," "Inspiring Students with History," and "Engaging Younger Kids."

**Mindmap:** According to the web site, this activity can be applied to any historical lesson. It is a method that students can use to better remember large amounts of information.

**Sports Almanac:** Like the Heritage Minutes but in print form, this is a series of short stories about Canadian sports heroes. There are no lesson plans with these stories.
Historica
Web-based materials

Heritage Fairs

Sports Almanac

"Fun and Games"

"Reading a Picture" Activity

Heritage Minutes

"Teaching Strategy Using the Minutes Critically"

25 lesson plans

Synopses of 66 Heritage Minutes

Make your own Minute
4.2 Analysis of Materials

4.2.1 Critical Citizenship Literacy

Historica prefaces its educational materials with a page on its website that provides a series of quotes from educators who attended a history education conference held in 1999, at the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada. This leading page, entitled "History in the Classroom: The Challenges," has links to five one-page sections: "Making History Meaningful," "Whose Version of History," "Getting Critical," "Inspiring Students with History," and "Engaging Younger Kids." In each one of these sections, Historica introduces the larger topic in a short paragraph, then displays a series of quotes to address this topic. Because these quotes are taken out of context, it is difficult to know how or whether these quotes correlate to the contributors' approaches to history education. The quotes are ascribed to leading Canadian educators in the field of history education: Ken Osborne, Alan Sears, Veronica Strong-Boag, John Meyer, Peter Seixas, Roland Case, Charles Hou, Kieran Egan, and Elaine Kelly. The presence of their quotes in this section implies that these educators are in support of Historica's educational materials, which may or may not be misleading. In the following paragraphs, I will give examples of some of the quotes posted on this page, and discuss how the various sections illustrate Historica's vision for history education.

Historica begins "History in the Classroom: The Challenges" by exploring the intersection of history and citizenship education in the section entitled "Making History Meaningful," which presents two quotes from Ken Osborne, and one each from Alan Sears and Veronica Strong-Boag. Osborne states that one of the primary aims of citizenship education is to show students a "sense of connectiveness" between past and present. Sears argues that schools should help students to become active citizens by asking them to imagine alternatives to present day policies and institutions, so that, according to Sears, students can get a sense that they can "become actively involved in shaping society." A quote from Strong Boag concludes this web page; she states that history can help students to answer questions about the human experience, particularly, "why we're here and why individuals matter."
Under the title "Whose Version of History," Historica quotes Canadian educators Veronica Strong-Boag, Ken Osborne, and John Myers, to argue that social history is an important aspect of history education. It concludes with a remark from Ken Osborne, who states that "it's really a matter of common sense" to combine different approaches to history, such as social, economic, and cultural. Under the next heading, entitled "Getting Critical," Roland Case and Peter Seixas are quoted; both emphasize the importance of learning to examine critically and to distinguish between different versions of history. Under "Inspiring the Students," Historica provides an example from high school history teacher, Charles Hou, who uses empathy-based activities to engage students and to capture their interest. Hou argues that using empathy "not only shows the students the reality of these historical events, it gives them personal context as well." Finally, under the heading "Engaging Younger Kids," history educators Kieran Egan and Elaine Kelly emphasize the importance of moving students from a "mythic understanding" of history to "thinking historically," that is, to analyzing historical data, to weighing evidence, and to suggesting their own theories of historical interpretation.

These various quotations together support Historica's belief that history should be exciting, meaningful, and critical, and that these goals may be achieved by presenting history in a dynamic manner, by relating the past to the present, and by encouraging students to differentiate between fact, conjecture, and opinion. "Mindmap," an activity that Historica suggests can be applied to any lesson, encourages students to create a visual model of a conceptual map, with the aim of storing larger amounts of information. "Reading a Picture" is a similar type of activity that Historica suggests can also be applied to any history lesson: students are guided to practice making observations, i.e., to describe what they see and to make inferences from what they observe. Both of these supplementary activities aim to help students develop their skills for observing and remembering large quantities of information.

The rest of the educational materials on the web site are lesson plans for the Heritage Minute synopses (or the videos, if the school has purchased them). In an introductory note to the teacher for the
Heritage Minutes, entitled, "Teaching Strategy: Using the Minutes Critically," Historica asks students to analyse what they read and see. Students are instructed to first describe what they have read or seen, and then discuss how they decide whether something that they see or hear is factual, an opinion, a conjecture, or an inference. The writers conclude: "All history must be examined in light of who is writing it and what evidence they have used to create the story."

More than the "Mindmap" or "Reading a Picture" activities, these teaching strategies for the Heritage Minutes reflect Seixas' and Case's assertions on the page "History in the Classroom: the Challenges". In one of the five subsections of this page, entitled "Getting Critical," Seixas and Case argue that the study of history education is to help students to recognise different interpretive "filters" of the past. As Seixas states in this section:

> If we know that the stories of our past . . . are subject to political shifts, are told in different ways by different people in ways that have consequences for how we act and how we think of ourselves, then young people have to have some critical tools at their disposal to be able to distinguish between one story and another, to be able to look critically at the versions that they are told about where they come from, so they can put together the best possible story.

As Roland Case and Peter Seixas argue, history teachers should encourage students to "think like historians," meaning to critically examine historical documents and accounts, paying particular attention to the intentions, knowledge, and prejudices of the people who first created them. As I have argued in Chapter 1, providing opportunities for students to examine critically the construction of historical narratives is an important aspect of critical citizenship literacy, particularly if they are led to examine how historical narratives might inscribe exclusive notions of national identity or citizenship behaviour. As Seixas suggests on the page "Getting Critical," a critical analysis of history may lead students to "put together the best possible story."

Despite Historica's own guidelines in "Teaching Strategy: Using the Minutes Critically" and the arguments presented by Seixas and Case in "Getting Critical," discussion questions or activities that would
address the construction of historical narratives take up little space in the lesson plans for the Heritage Minutes. For example, in the activity entitled "Making a Minute," Historica suggests that students choose their subject for the minute, from a provided list of heroes. Historica does not ask students to consider the larger questions of memorialisation, such as who decides who is a hero, how representations of heroes change over time, or what the implications of different interpretations of history might be. Indeed, Historica simply asks students to re-enact history by "pick[ing] out some effects and music to add to the realism of the scenes." This activity steers students away from a critical examination of the how and why narratives are constructed.

A small number of Historica's twenty-five lesson plans for the Heritage Minutes synopses do ask students to examine how and why historical narratives are constructed. In the Minute "John Cabot," which tells the story of explorer John Cabot sailing into the Grand Banks off Newfoundland, Historica suggests that students "research the voyages of discoveries of both John Cabot and Christopher Columbus," and to discuss why, in historical narratives, Columbus is often credited with the discovery America. Historica then suggests that students discuss which figures are and are not recognized in history. This kind of question is an excellent place for students to begin to examine the contested and constructed nature of historical narratives, although the more obvious controversy about the usage of such terms "discovery" is not drawn out here.

In the Minute, "Soddie" Historica narrates the story of prairie settlers building their first homes from pieces of sod. Historica asks students to “compare the image of settling the Prairie given in the Minute to the realities the immigrants faced. Does the Minute 'romanticize' the truth? If so, what are the purposes of such a depiction?" As with the lesson plan for "John Cabot," such questions may lead students to understand the role of bias in the construction of historical narratives.

Historica offers another opportunity for students to understand the contested nature of historical narratives in the lesson plans for "Valour Road," a Minute that tells the story of three Canadian soldiers in
World War I. In this lesson plan, Historica asks students to discuss and analyse the choices filmmakers make when narrating a historical event. It then instructs students to work in groups to plan a film from the stories of three Canadian World War I veterans, and to answer questions: "What would they include or omit?" "What incidents and characters would they focus on?" "How would they cast the characters?" and "How would they reveal the characters' emotions?" Historica then suggests that students try to analyse their film plan by asking what their own depiction reveals about their attitudes towards the military and heroism, and how their suggested depiction of World War I veterans compares to Historica's depiction.

Similarly, in the lesson plan for the minute depicting Canadian hockey legend Maurice "Rocket" Richard, Historica asks "Why are athletes idolized?" "What is their appeal?" "Why do we sometimes put them on a pedestal?" and "Is the idolization of athletes a healthy expression of our ideals and aspirations?" Clearly, Historica's approach to the notion of "hero" is more sophisticated than the "Who is your hero," approach to studying historical heroes in national narratives.

Despite Historica's efforts to help students examine bias and perspective, particularly in the four lesson plans discussed above and in their "Teaching the Minutes Critically" recommendations, a closer look at these lesson plans shows that these efforts remain insufficient. Under the heading "First Nations," Historica lists six Minutes, three of which provide lesson plans: "Peacemaker," "Naming of Canada," and "Inuksuk." "Inuksuk," which is the name of the stone sculptures the Inuit built for shelter or to mark good fishing sites, exhibits Historica's assumption that their targeted audience (school-aged Canadian citizens) are not First Nations or Inuit. This assumption is most obviously revealed in Historica's use of pronouns "us" and "them." The Inuit tradition of building an "Inuksuk" is narrated from the perspective of an RCMP officer, who, in 1931, witnesses the tradition of building an Inuksuk. In one of the activities for this Minute, entitled "Contact with the South," Historica asks, "What are some of the most obvious differences between "traditional" Inuit life and the way most of us in "southern" Canada live?" (italics mine). Historica then asks:

Imagine what the impact of new technologies might be upon people living the traditional life. What might occur if they receive snowmobiles? Television and satellite dishes?

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Prefabicated houses? Frozen food? How might the recognition of Nunavut as a Canadian territory, the Inuit homeland, contribute to the preservation of cultural identity? (italics mine).

As the above quote illustrates, Historica not only constructs its Canadian audience along lines that are cultural/racial (non-aboriginal vs. aboriginal) but also across regional divides (southern/urban Canada vs. northern wilderness). Moreover, the Inuit are portrayed as having little, if any, agency, as the above questions, like the synopses, emphasize the Canadian government's "recognition of self-government," not the Inuit people's hard work and tenacity that brought the establishment of Nunavut. Regrettably, Historica does not take the opportunity to say that Nunavut was established through the relentless efforts of many Inuit and First Nations, or to ask students to investigate what role different communities and individuals had in affecting change. If Historica named the aboriginal individuals and groups, and listed their political actions, which eventually led to the establishment of Nunavut's self-government, students might gain a deeper understanding of political agency in civic life.

Historica's representation of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit is further complicated by the thematic arrangement of the Minutes. The stories that Historica has selected for their Minutes are categorized thematically, chronologically, and by region. Historica lists thirteen themes: women, arts, sports, heroes, exploration, building democracy, commerce, multiculturalism, settling Canada, First Nations, innovators, and Canadian symbols. Under the category "Multiculturalism," Historica lists twelve Minutes, and states in subheading: "Canada has become a home for people from around the world." Five of the six Minutes that are listed in the category "First Nations" also fall under the category of "Multiculturalism"; the Minute about the Métis leader Louis Riel is the only "First Nation" Minute that is not also considered "Multicultural," but Historica does not reveal the criteria for the thematic arrangement of the Minutes. The twelve Minutes listed in the category "Multiculturalism" represent groups that are: Iroquois, Irish, African, Sioux (Sitting Bull), "immigrants from all over western and eastern Europe," (in the Minute "Soddie"), Inuit, and Chinese. Historica's suggestion that First Nations and Inuit peoples can be considered "people from around the
world," and that the other fifty-four minutes about French or English settlers, heroes, or inventors are not "multicultural," implies that some Canadians are "multicultural," while others groups (French and English) are not.

In the Heritage Minutes, the representations of black Canadians further contribute to their exclusive notion of the imagined Canadian citizen. Like the Inuit in "Inuksuk," black Canadians are also represented as having little, if any agency, and are portrayed in the Minutes in the context of a celebration of white benevolence. Historica provides two lesson plans about black Canadians, "The Underground Railroad" and "Jackie Robinson." In the synopsis and lesson plan entitled "The Underground Railroad," the synopsis mentions, though only in parenthesis, that the "agents" of the railroad were "men and women, white and black, Canadian and American," and the story itself is framed by a celebration of white Canadian benevolence and tolerance. The synopsis begins with "When I first touched the Canadian shore, I threw myself on the ground, rolled in the sand, seized handfuls of it and kissed [the sand]." Thus begins the words of Josiah Henson . . ." and ends with: "The old spiritual, 'Follow the Drinking Gourd,' gave slaves the hidden advice to keep their eyes on the Gourd (the Big Dipper), which pointed the way north to 'heaven,' in this case, Canada." Like the question about the formation of Nunavut in the "Inuksuk" lesson plan, the questions accompanying the synopses similarly emphasise those that helped the slaves, not the courage, determination, or efforts of the slaves themselves. Under the heading "Watching Carefully," Historica asks students to look for clues that the woman in the Minute is a Quaker, and that the Railroad "was a very organised movement that involved many individuals helping the refugee slaves." To reinforce the idea that the escaped slaves were passive players in the Underground Railway, Historica employs the passive voice: "pay close attention to the way the father is brought across the border and to the confidence of the Quaker woman" (italics mine). This passive portrayal of black persons in this version of history reinforces dominant racisms in contemporary Canadian society; black persons are simply characters in white historical narratives, having no political or historical agency of their own.
This characterization of black persons in the Canadian national narrative is repeated in the synopsis "Jackie Robinson." The synopsis begins by explaining how in 1946, black American Jackie Robinson played for the Montréal Royals baseball team, a team in the minor league that was affiliated with the Brooklyn Dodgers, one year before black Americans were allowed into the major leagues in the United States. Historica writes:

Montreal may not have been free of racism in 1946, but Jackie Robinson and his wife Rachel were always grateful for the generosity and enthusiasm they received there . . . Robinson said he never would have made it without the inspiration of the Montreal fans.

The synopsis concludes with "as one writer notes, it was probably the only day in history that a black man ran from a white mob that had love, not lynching, on its mind." Despite the admission that Montreal was not free of racism in 1946, Historica frames this story in Canadian tolerance. Similar to the presentation of black persons in the Minute "Underground Railway," Jackie Robinson's role in this story is as recipient of white tolerance, although the title of the minute and its inclusion in the category "Multiculturalism" suggests that Jackie Robinson is the hero of the story. Indeed, the final sentence to this synopsis, which juxtaposes "lynching" and "loving," reinforces the characterization of black persons as objects of white actions, rather than as agents in their own right.

The framework that guides Historica's construction of national history reflects a contribution and celebratory approach to the interpretation of national history, where only the achievements of the nation are highlighted, and various groups are recognized only when they have contributed to building the nation (e.g., Chinese Canadians when they built the Canadian National Railway, or the Iroquois when they showed pioneers how to make maple syrup or suggested the name "kanata"). The question of whose story matters to the nation is particularly relevant here; as the synopses "Jackie Robinson" reveals, the celebration of white tolerance in Canadian history is also achieved by the subtext of the synopses, that Canada was more tolerant than its Southern neighbour. This celebration of tolerance, by contrasting Canadian tolerance with American prejudice is repeated in the minute "The Underground Railway," and again in "Sitting Bull," which
is centred on Sitting Bull's decision to remain in Western Canada, rather than return to the United States. In these narratives, Historica posits Americans as the "other" against which Canadian identity is defined; Canadians are more tolerant, less racist, and more accepting than their American neighbours.

My examination of the Minutes, as well as their thematic arrangement, demonstrates some ways students might be provided with learning opportunities that may lead them to develop critical citizenship literacy skills, that is, the ability to analyze narratives in order to understand that they are constructed for and by different groups of people. As discussed earlier, four lesson plans for the Minutes ("John Cabot," "Soddie," "Valour Road," and "Maurice Richard"), as well as the guidelines provided in "Teaching the Minutes Critically," could lead students to develop critical citizenship literacy skills. However, my brief examination of the portrayal of black Canadians and aboriginals in the Minutes also demonstrates the need for more learning opportunities that could lead students to develop the ability to recognize the rhetorical devises typically employed in the implicit communication of an exclusive notion of Canadian identity.

4.2.2 Conflictual Content

Historica provides various activities or discussion questions that can be considered aspects of conflictual curriculum, in which students are encouraged to confront values, opinions, or understandings that are in conflict with their own. Indeed, discussion questions that ask students to debate controversial issues, or to consider different viewpoints could help students to practice engaging with controversial issues they will inevitably encounter elsewhere. Historica regularly asks students to relate an issue presented in the history lesson to a present-day issue; in this way, students are led to consider how historical conflicts might continue into the present. Moreover, by asking students to consider possible resolutions to the controversial issue discussed, students might gain an understanding of how they could affect change in contemporary political life.
Twenty-three of the twenty-five lesson plans include at least one discussion question or activity that employs a "connective" approach proposed in Historica mandate, as outlined in the sub-section titled "Making History Meaningful," in the section "History in the Classroom: the Challenges." As Canadian education researcher Alan Sears states in this section, by using history to initiate discussion or research into a contemporary issue, students can "get a sense that they can become actively involved in shaping society." In the following paragraphs, I will take a closer look at how Historica employs this connective approach to history education, an approach which connects events in Canadian history to contemporary conflicts.

In the lesson plan for "Underground Railroad," Historica asks students to consider the contemporary issue of refugee policies, with the questions: "What is the government process for accepting refugees into Canada?" "What is controversial about government policies?" "What changes have been made in refugee applications?" and "What should Canada's role be?" Similarly, in the lesson plan for the Minute "Orphans," Historica asks students to relate the story of Irish orphans in Québec to the experiences of immigrant groups in Canada today, and to discuss the national identity using the question: "Can Canada have a national identity while it is a multicultural society?" In Inuksuk, Historica asks students to examine current issues about aboriginal culture in Canadian society, with the questions: "What similar cultural crises have occurred with other aboriginal groups in Canada?" and "What means might they take to preserve and enhance their traditional cultures?" Similarly, in the lesson plan for the "Peacemaker," which is a Minute about the legend of the origins of the Iroquois Confederacy, Historica asks students to examine the role of mediators in contemporary disputes, at the local, national, and international level.

Despite the inclusion of conflictual content in these "connective" portions of the lesson plans, Historica devotes very little time to helping students to understand historical change between the historical periods in the synopsis and the related contemporary issues. For example, in the Minute "Orphans," Historica begins the lesson plan with two discussion questions: "How do immigrant groups keep their
cultural roots alive?" and "Can Canada have a national identity while it is a multicultural society?" The next two questions ask students to research the history of different immigrant groups, and to research their contributions to Canadian society. Without questions or activities that could lead students to understand continuity or change throughout Canadian history, the histories offered in the Minutes are limited to interesting anecdotes used to initiate discussion about contemporary issues. Questions that address the repercussions and history of multicultural policies might better equip students for a discussion about the relationship between national identity and multiculturalism, rather than asking students to jump from a Minute about Irish orphans in Québec to a contemporary debate about multiculturalism. Indeed, if Historica provided opportunities for students to examine the historical context of contemporary issues, students might be better equipped to participate in important and complex debates in civic life, such as those suggested by the Minutes discussed above: multiculturalism, refugee policy, and peacekeeping and the role of mediation.

4.2.3 Self-Reflective Responses to Historical Narratives

Unlike the educational materials provided by the Dominion Institute or the lesson plans in the Discovering Democracy materials, Historica does not include any activities in their lesson plans that ask students to empathize with historical figures. However, in the section "History in the Classroom: Inspiring the Students," Historica does provide one example of a teacher, Charles Hou, who inspires his students using empathy-based activities, that is, activities where students' success is measured in terms of students' ability to connect emotionally with a historical figure. Historica provides a brief summary of the teacher resource books Hou has published, and provides one example of the kind of activities Hou promotes:

We study BC history in the classroom, but when we take them on a hike, they actually get it... the students experience the same physical conditions and weather that [the fur traders] faced before them.
Historica writes that this kind of approach "not only shows the students the reality of these historical events, it gives them a personal context as well." A quote from Hou directly follows: "I think [these kinds of lessons] transfer into life. They've shared common hardships, a common experience, so when we talk about the history after that, they've got something to remember and relate to."

Historica claims that activities that encourage students to empathise with a character in history (in Hou's example, with the traders on a Hudson Bay fur-trading route in Canada) help students to become interested in the history lesson at hand. These lessons are intended to help students develop an interest and passion for history. The section "Inspiring Students" begins with a quote from Veronica Strong-Boag, written in large text: "I think that the first thing is to make [students] fall in love with history." In smaller text below, the quote continues: "Good teachers have always done that. You've got to get them addicted, then they can't stop themselves." Indeed, the highly emotive tone of the Minutes (in the videos, and the synopses) illustrate Historica's commitment to engaging students in Canadian history. Without activities that lead students to be critical of how and why these Minutes are constructed, they remain entertaining slices of the national narrative. As each Minute ends with the signature phrase, "A Part of Our Heritage," these stories tell us who "we" are, but as of yet, Historica provides only four questions (in the Minutes "Soddie," "Maurice Richard," "Valour Road," and "John Cabot") that even begin to address how the dramatization of history may influence our views of for example, sports heroes, the military, or settlers.

4.3 Conclusion

In my analysis of Historica's web-based educational materials, two main strands of citizenship education emerged: conflictual content, and critical citizenship literacy. Historica explicitly aims to help students to become involved in contemporary controversial issues by using history as a starting point for the examination of social and political issues. For Historica, students learn to become active citizens by making connections between issues in the past and contemporary controversial issues, such as
immigration, minority rights, or land claims. That twenty-three out of twenty-five activities devote a portion of the lesson plan to the examination of contemporary issues reveals the importance Historica places on helping students to become engaged in current social and political issues, with the explicit aim that students will take an active role in affecting political and social change. However, as I have discussed earlier, Historica provides little opportunity to address questions of continuity and change in the examination of the periods between the past and present, and students lose the opportunity to gain a deeper understanding of a contemporary issue that historical analysis might offer.

In addition to leading students to engage with controversial issues, the mandate of Historica, as outlined in the section "History in the Classroom: the Challenges" and in the guideline "Teaching the Minutes Critically," suggests that Historica sees the critical analysis of history as an important component of history education. As discussed earlier, Historica provides four opportunities in their lesson plans that could lead students to develop critical literacy skills, by asking students to examine bias and perspective, and alternative interpretations of history. Aside from these four lesson plans that ask students to consider how and why historical narratives might be constructed, Historica does not ask students to examine the construction of narratives in the other twenty-one synopses which provide lesson plans. Moreover, Historica does not provide a lesson plan that asks students to address the Minutes as a whole narrative, rather than as isolated segments of national history. As a result, an exclusive notion of national identity, constructed through the various discursive strategies I have identified, remains unchallenged in the materials.

The idea that one of the aims of history education is to communicate national identity is stated explicitly on Historica website. According to Historica's mandate, history can tell us "who we are" and also "who we are to become," a notion restated in the phrase "A Part of Our Heritage," that concludes each Minute. The lack of opportunities that could lead students to critically examine the dramatization of history in the Minutes, or the rhetorical devices used in constructing the narratives, reinforces Historica's statement
that the primary aim of the stimulate interest and enjoyment of national history, and my natural assessment that critical analysis of their materials is clearly a secondary aim. To animate students’ interest in history, Histor!ca suggests that teachers use activities that require students to empathize with certain figures in history. However, Histor!ca does not suggest how teachers could lead students beyond this kind of activity to discussions about students social responsibility in on-going social and historic relations.

That Histor!ca’s educational materials actively reproduce a dominant version of national identity is a concern for many historians; as Dudley et al. (1999) argue, for students to negotiate a more inclusive model of citizenship, they need to be aware of different and even competing versions of history, and to practice examining how historical narratives might inscribe exclusive notions of national identity. This examination, also called critical citizenship, is only a step, but a crucial step in constructing national narratives that supports a vision of a socially just society. Indeed, Histor!ca's presentation of national history is not as problematic as the lack of critical lesson plans, in which students examine how narratives benefit some groups and disadvantage others. As Osborne argues (1999), students can be exposed to dominant versions of national history, provided they learn to critically "read" them as such. However, Histor!ca as of yet provides very few opportunities that might lead students to consider how the Minutes might reproduce a dominant version of national history, or what the political and social implications for such a version might be. For educators committed to social justice, these materials highlight the need for more learning opportunities that might lead students to consider how certain versions of history reinforce dominant racisms in present day society, for example the passive portrayal of Africans in the "Underground Railway," or the suggestion that the First Nations and Inuit are from "elsewhere."
Chapter 5

Case Study #3: "Teaching Heritage" (www.teachingheritage.nsw.edu.au) (Australia)

5.1 Overview of Materials

"Teaching Heritage" is a joint project developed by the New South Wales Department of Education and Training and the New South Wales Heritage Office. The site was developed to address the perceived need for explicit heritage education materials in the most recent history and geography curricula in New South Wales (NSW), first implemented in 1997. Mary Parry, the author of the section "Teaching the Outcomes" that addresses the development of the Teaching Heritage web site, argues that the new NSW history and geography materials were created in response to the growing concern among educators and politicians that Australian students have insufficient knowledge of Australian 20th century history and of the Australian political system, and that students were bored and disinterested in Australian history. However, Parry does not specify the persons or institutions who have expressed these concerns, nor when the new NSW geography and history curricula were implemented. Parry contends that the new history and geography curriculum caused "considerable controversy" among educators; one of the concerns was the elimination of materials that explicitly addressed Australian heritage, materials that had existed in the previous syllabus. Although Parry concedes that the new History and Geography materials implicitly address Australian heritage, the writers and developers wanted to create a web site that would help teachers to address the complex issues surrounding heritage education, specifically by providing "experiential and interactive" teaching materials.

The Teaching Heritage web site delivers the greatest number of resources out the four initiatives examined in this study. Like the Dominion Institute and Histor!ca, it uses the Internet as its primary medium to deliver this wide variety of resources, including videos, photo images, audio material, maps, and primary historical documents. For example, in the unit "Building Australian Identities," Teaching Heritage provides
ninety-one different resources that students can use for their research. Throughout the site, Teaching Heritage also provides articles and book excerpts by forty-seven different authors (historians, educators, curators, museum educators, and journalists) who discuss historical research, history education, and various perspectives of Australian history. In addition, there are forty-one different contributors to the section "What is Heritage." Furthermore, quotes from various educators and heritage practitioners (conservationists, curators, and museum educators) run along the bottom of the introductory pages to each of the focus areas. These running quotes on the bottom of the screen, articles and book excerpts, and the large number of contributors to "What is Heritage" together create an image of a dynamic conversation among historians, heritage practitioners, teachers, students, journalists, media critics, and activists.

The web site is divided into two sections: "Teaching Resources" and "Teaching Units." Before dividing into two different sections, the site begins a chapter entitled "What is heritage: How our Views of Heritage are Changing," which includes four sections: "Heritage and Culture," "Heritage and Identity," "Heritage and Land," and "Heritage and Public Policy." In each section, Teaching Heritage provides a series of essays, articles, and audio clips from different educators, heritage practitioners, high school students, historians, tour guides, and other professionals; in total there are forty-one different contributors to "What is Heritage." The forty-one contributors offer diverse views on the meaning of heritage, and Teaching Heritage writers include a quote from Australian educator Tracy Ireland to introduce the different views presented in the four sections: "There has been a renewed focus on national heritage . . . It will be interesting to see how we redefine the culturally diverse nation and how difference, conflict and the unpleasant parts of our history are dealt with."

The units emphasize a skills-based approach to heritage education, as opposed to a more traditional approach to history education, in which "experts" impart the "facts." Teaching Heritage's approach involves teaching students the skills to engage with controversial issues, to examine issues, and
to work towards possible resolutions. The teaching units are divided into three "focus areas" that each address a theme in Australian history.

In the charts below, I outline the two sections of the site, Teaching Resources and Teaching Units, and provide a graphic illustrating the four Teaching Units provided on the site. I have highlighted the sections that I will discuss: all of the "integration sections" and one teaching unit. I have chosen to examine all of the integration sections, as they address specifically the skills I have identified as critical citizenship literacy skills," that is, skills that enable students to identify and analyze the interpretive lenses that give shape to historical narratives, and more importantly, to identify how different versions of history can either support or challenge exclusive hegemonic constructions of "citizen." I have also chosen to examine only one of the four units, as it impossible in the space of this study to address the vast number of resources available on the site. However, all the units follow a similar structure, and as I demonstrate, all the units begin with identical focus questions to guide students' research of the issue discussed in each of the focus areas. While all of the units address aspects of citizenship education, the focus area I have chosen, "Revisiting Notions of Citizenship" in the unit "Building Australian Identities," most specifically addresses issues of citizenship action and constructions of Australian national identity.
What is Heritage: How our Views of Heritage are Changing: This chapter is divided into three sections: "Heritage and Culture," "Heritage and Identity," "Heritage and Land," "Heritage Web Links," "Heritage and Public Policy."

Australian Heritage Timelines: An Australian 20th Century Timeline, An Indigenous Australian Timeline, An Australian Environmental Activism Timeline. According to the site, it will be possible to download these timelines in the near future, but at the present time of writing, these pages are under construction.


Teaching the Outcomes: "Assessment," "Reporting and Tracking Student Progress," "Connection to New South Wales Geography and History Curriculum," "How to Create Teaching and Learning Programs."

Forming a Nation: Starting a New Century This unit is divided into three focus areas: Notions of Citizenship, Changing Technologies, and Issues of Aboriginal Heritage. This unit provides one page entitled "Gender Perspectives" and a discussion of how best to integrate Aboriginal heritage.

Expressing National Goals: Between Wars: The three focus areas of this unit are: Advancing Economically, Defense and Security, Innovation and Australia's Future. The unit provides suggestions integrating perspectives of different economic groups in the analysis of this historical period.

Building Australian Identities: Post Second World War: The three focus areas of this unit are: Revisiting Notions of Citizenship; Urban Expansion; Voicing Rights and Freedoms. Teaching Heritage suggests that teachers integrate multicultural perspectives in this unit.

Reshaping Cultural Values: Greenbans and Beyond: The focus areas of this unit are: Dialogues for Reconciliation; Saving Our Heritage; Images of Continuing Cultures. Unlike the other three units, there is no "integration" component.
Each focus area of the four chapters contains a "satchel," which is a set of primary resources and suggested activities. The teaching materials in the "satchel," as in all of the focus areas of the four units, are divided into eight sections: Brainstorm (suggested activities), Maps (maps of heritage sites discussed), Audio (recordings of different views of the heritage site discussed), Photography, Multimedia (e.g., posters, stamps, banners), Texts (either histories of the site, or histories of the issue, or primary materials), Newspaper, and Debate (speeches and reports written about the issue).

Under the heading "Brainstorm" in the focus area, the writers also provide a list of suggested activities, suggestions for assessment, and suggestions on how to best integrate different perspectives in the history lessons. The sections that address the integration of different perspectives each contain a short discussion of how and why teachers should integrate different perspectives, as well as a discussion forum where teachers can read or hear different educators' approaches to integrating different perspectives.

Unlike the web sites for Historica, the Dominion Institute, and Discovering Democracy, teachers cannot post their own approaches to history education on this web site.
Figure #1: Diagram of Web-based Resources Teaching Heritage web site
Figure #2: Diagram of Web-based Units Teaching Heritage web site
5.2 Analysis of Materials

5.2.1 Critical Citizenship Literacy: Identifying and Analysing Historical Perspectives

The writers of Teaching Heritage view the integration of different perspectives in historical analysis as an important component of citizenship skills. All of the four units in Teaching Heritage provide an "integration section" to supplement the activities provided in each focus area: "Integrating Gender Perspectives," "Integrating Regional and Global Perspectives," "Integrating Multicultural Perspectives," and "Integrating Perspectives of Economic Groups." Each section includes suggested questions that teachers can include in their lesson plans, an article or book excerpt that addresses the perspective discussed in the section, and a link to a discussion forum that connects the integration sections. (Teaching Heritage states that the discussion forum includes "Aboriginal, gender, cultural, socio-economic" perspectives of the meanings and practices of heritage, but at the time of writing, this discussion forum is under construction.)

Locating and understanding different perspectives of an historical event, movement, or figure is challenging, state the writers, particularly because much of what marginalized groups thought or did was unrecorded, and therefore much of recorded history is written from a biased perspective. In an identical paragraph in each integration section, the writers argue that by asking specific questions of the history they are investigating, students can learn to access different perspectives of an historical event, figure, or movement. As the writers explain, "Questions initiating an inquiry reflect the outlook (or perspective) on the investigation—signalling the likely direction an investigation will take."

Each of the "integration sections" provide examples of questions intended to guide students' analysis of the historical period or issue under consideration, such as immigrant history or aboriginal and non-aboriginal relations. In "Integrating Gender Perspectives," which is part of the first unit, "Forming a Nation," students examine the period leading up to the Federation of Australia in 1901. Teaching Heritage suggests that teachers ask students to examine who was involved in the processes leading up to the
Federation, who contributed to the debates, who attended the meetings, what roles those in attendance performed, and what benefits different groups received from their participation. Likewise, in "Integrating Multicultural Perspectives" in the unit "Building Australian Identities," the writers provide examples of questions intended to guide students' investigation of migration patterns throughout Australian history:

Who was involved in political discussions and decisions to change immigration policies? For example, who contributed to the immigration debates, who attended the conferences and meetings, who was represented in the groups that were entitled to migrate to Australia during this period? What were participant groups trying to achieve? For example, what did those in attendance contribute or say, what roles did they perform, what benefits did their group receive as a result of their involvement?

In the focus area "Innovation and Australia's Future" part of the unit "Expressing National Goals," students are invited to examine Australian society and culture during the 1920s and 1930s. To integrate perspectives of different economic groups, the writers suggest that students consider questions such as: "Who was involved in changes during the inter-war years?" "What were the goals of different economic groups?" "How did the boom and bust period affect people from different socio-economic backgrounds?"

Finally, in the section "Integrating Regional and Global Perspectives" in the unit "Reshaping Cultural Values," Teaching Heritage provides a series of questions that might help to examine the issue of self-determination and reconciliation between non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal groups, questions such as: "Who was (and is currently) involved in discussions about reconciliation and self-determination?" "What are participant groups trying to achieve through their involvement?" and "What are the main arguments and positions of those contributing to discussions?"

Although the other cases examined in this study provide opportunities to examine bias and perspective in different historical narratives, Teaching Heritage is the one of the four cases I analyze in this study site that systematically asks students to examine different perspectives of an historical event or period. As stated in the integration sections, the recommended questions are intended to show students
how various groups were advantaged or disadvantaged through various historical processes, an approach to historical analysis that Teaching Heritage calls "citizenship learning." At the end of each "integration section," the writers conclude:

Ultimately, citizenship learning that assists students to work within current social and political systems will focus on how [various historical processes] worked to the advantage of certain groups and disadvantage of others.

The three integration units demonstrate an approach to citizenship in which citizenship is understood in terms of socio-economic and political benefits. This goes beyond the more typical legal approach to citizenship, in which citizenship is understood in terms of who legally belongs to the national community. The writers of Teaching Heritage maintain that investigating different perspectives of an historical event, movement, or figure also helps students to overcome bias in their historical analyses. As argued in Chapter 1 of this thesis, critical citizenship literacy in the study of national history requires students to investigate constructions of narratives (Dudley, 1999, Epstein, 1998. see also Natoli, 1993). Teaching Heritage's approach to history education, in which students are guided to practice integrating different perspectives in their research, may lead students to consider how narratives are constructed, or at least to notice that the questions we ask are interpretive lenses through which historical inquiry in conducted.

That the four integration sections emphasize an examination of women, Aboriginals, economically disadvantaged groups, and non-dominant cultural groups is no accident. Indeed, focusing on less-dominant perspectives, argue the authors of Teacher Heritage, "requires us to integrate current knowledge and awareness of situations involving marginalized groups—the voices generally unrepresented in the media and public life—in contemporary society." The suggested questions focus on access, involvement, and agency of different groups, which Teaching Heritage argues will illuminate contemporary power structures in Australian society. They also argue that the integration of different perspectives will help students to build alternative narratives. Presumably, a dominant narrative of Australian history does not
include perspectives from these groups, but Teaching Heritage does not clarify what a grand narrative of Australian history might look like. Arguably, the Teaching Heritage site is directed at Australian teachers and students, who probably are familiar with the kind of dominant narrative of Australian history that is produced in materials such as "Discovering Democracy." However, examples or summaries of dominant national narratives might make it easier to challenge these narratives with the critical questions Teaching Heritage provides.

5.2.2 Conflictual Content

Similar to the way the integration sections ask students to consider various perspectives in their historical analyses, Teaching Heritage presents history in the teaching units as multidimensional, with diverse and even competing interpretations. As explained earlier, each of the four units in Teaching Heritage is divided into three "focus areas," and each focus area concentrates on an issue in Australian heritage preservation. Two heritage sites are displayed in each focus area, and a "satchel" of primary resources is also provided. These are resources for students to use for researching the historical period examined in the focus area. Each focus area begins with a set of three questions which foreground students' investigation:

1. What do (heritage site #1) and (heritage site #2) reveal about influences on life in (time period in Australian history)?
2. How do the influences revealed by these [heritage sites] contribute to our understanding of [issue discussed in Focus, such as meaning of citizenship and civic participation in Australia]?
3. What is being preserved in these places; who decided what was important and should be kept; and how is it being done?

These first two questions direct students towards an investigation of the issue highlighted in the focus area, and the last question particularly leads students to examine the different actors and actions involved in the preservation of heritage sites. The last question (#3) is significant: asking students to
identify the specific agents involving in heritage production may lead students to an understanding of how heritage construction involves specific actions of certain individuals or groups, and not just an endowment from a benevolent foundation or government. Moreover, this question may lead students to an understanding of heritage as a contested project.

The focus area "Revisiting Notions of Citizenship," part of the unit "Building Australian Identity," continues to lead students into discussions of how and why different productions of Australian heritage have been and continue to be contested. According to the writers of Teaching Heritage, the two heritage sites presented in each focus area are intended to be catalysts for the investigation of a historical period. As in all the focus areas of "Teaching Heritage," the focus area "Revisiting Notions of Citizenship" begins with a presentation of two heritage sites—in this focus area, Australia Hall and New Italy.

In the introduction, we read that Australia Hall, a government building in Sydney, New South Wales, was a site of a protest and conference of Aboriginal activists. In 1989, the Sydney Central Heritage Inventory listed Australia Hall as a heritage item, due to its rare Anglo-Dutch architectural style. The Aboriginal community, however, saw it as a heritage site that symbolized the civil rights struggle of Aboriginal peoples throughout Australian history. As Gisele Mesnange writes in the article "Day of Mourning and Protest: A Battle of Ideas," the NSW Heritage Council's designation of Australia Hall as Anglo-Dutch Australian heritage reflects the belief that "Australian history began in 1788, and that the yield of that colonial history is Australian heritage. Aboriginal heritage is restricted to the sacred sites and relics from a preterite past—a bygone era—located 'out there' in the wilderness." (This article is in the "satchel" of resources, which visitors to the site can access by clicking on the "satchel" icon.) Australia Hall thus represents not only the historical and on-going struggle to secure civil and cultural rights, but illustrates conflicting perspectives of heritage.

The New Italy heritage site, a museum depicting a neighbourhood, also located in Sydney, similarly relates a story of citizenship history, particularly the experiences of Italians in Australia. Beneath the three
questions cited earlier and in the overview of the resources in the "satchel," the writers provide a brief history of Italian immigration to Australia. During World War II, Italians living in Australia, including those born in Australia of Italian parentage, were considered enemy aliens. By September 1942, the number of Italians in civilian internment camps throughout New South Wales reached 3631. Between 1947 and 1976, 360,000 Italians arrived in Australia and 90,000 Italian-born Australians left Australia. The New Italy heritage site was established as a tribute to the Italian pioneers, and to over 200 years of Italian emigration to Australia. The site includes a pavilion and museum, and is the original location where the first Italian immigrants in New South Wales established a small community. Unlike the materials for Australia Hall, Teaching Heritage does not provide any information about the efforts that led to the establishment of the New Italy heritage site. (As "Building Australian Identities," like all focus areas in "Teaching Heritage," begins by asking students to investigate the processes that led to the establishment of the site, students presumably have to locate resources outside the web site that will provide them with this information.) Like all the other focus areas of Teaching Heritage, the writers provide maps to the heritage site, as well as a "Heritage Gallery" where viewers can examine photos of all the sites discussed in Teaching Heritage. On the margin of the introductory page to "Revisiting Notions of Citizenship," the writers include a short paragraph entitled "Hidden History" by Luca Stewart-Crisanti, author of 'The Italian hidden heritage,' the information sheet from the NSW Heritage Office. The title "hidden history" implies that this history is not part of dominant Australian national narratives:

Although Australia did not attract large numbers of Italian immigrants until the 1950s, Italian contacts with Australia date back much further. The very process of European discovery and exploration of the 'Fifth Continent', as Italian geographers term Australia, was assisted by Italians. There were many Italian sailors and officers on the decks of the Spanish and Portuguese ships bound for Australia.

Similar to the way New Italy Museum is intended to be used as a catalyst for examining the citizenship history of an immigrant group, the writers propose that Australia Hall be used as a site for examining Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal relations throughout the 20th century. Following the introductory
paragraphs of Italian immigration in Australia throughout the 20th century, the writers provide a short overview of the legal status of Aboriginals throughout the 20th Century. Although Aboriginal ex-service men were allowed to vote in elections in the late 1940's, Aboriginal Australians did not receive the right to vote in elections until 1967. On January 26, 1938, Aboriginals (from New South Wales, Victoria, and possibly Queensland) gathered at Australia Hall in Sydney, New South Wales, for an Aboriginal civil rights gathering which they called "Day of Mourning and Protest." The protest took place as the country celebrated the 150th anniversary of the founding of New South Wales.

In the suggested activities in the "Brainstorm" section of the satchel, Teaching Heritage regularly asks students to examine the relationship between historical events, movements, and ideology, and contemporary socio-political concerns. However, Teaching Heritage regularly asks students to examine the periods of history between the past and present, not to merely jump from past issues to present concerns, as do the activities in Discovering Democracy and Historica. For example, the writers ask students to consider the issues presented at the Day of Mourning and Protest Conference, and to discuss and research if and how Aboriginal demands have influenced future Aboriginal activism. Another question asks students to look for the key civil rights issues that were raised in the 1957 meeting. They are then asked to compare these issues to Aboriginal people's concerns in 1938, and those presently raised by Aboriginal activists. Teaching Heritage also asks students to compare past ideas and assumptions about Aboriginals and immigrant groups with those delivered in contemporary media reports. Students are then asked to analyse the materials to see if past issues and events can tell us about the challenges faced by Australian communities in contemporary times. Teaching Heritage concludes the "Brainstorm" question by asking students to reflect on what the two groups examined in the focus area, Aboriginals and Italian Australians, have preserved, and what factors led these groups to decide what was worth preservation.

According to the Teaching Heritage writers, the above questions serve two purposes: to help students gain a deeper and complexified understanding of contemporary issues, and to trace the agency of
actions of different groups. Teaching Heritage asks students to use the heritage sites and the collection of articles, photos, transcripts, photos, audio material, and video clips in the "satchel" as resources for their historical inquiry, as well as to consider "What is being preserved in these [heritage sites]; who decided what was important and should be kept, and how is it being done." These questions may lead students to an essential question within critical citizenship literacy, which asks how historical narratives are constructed and maintained. Moreover, questions of access, participation, and benefits in the "integration sections" may lead students to an understanding of present-day social inequities, as the writers of Teaching Heritage suggest. Presenting competing versions of history, as demonstrated in the history of Australia Hall, may also lead students to an understanding of the political and social implications of different historical interpretations. Although Teaching Heritage asks students to use the resources in the satchel to "unpack" the controversies surrounding heritage construction, there are no documents from groups who demanded that Australia Hall be considered a European heritage site. Indeed, students might be better equipped to understand the views of all the groups involved in the debate if they were presented with a wider range of documents. Nevertheless, Teaching Heritage, by inviting students to examine the conflict between different groups about the cultural ownership of Australia Hall, provides a good example of how historical significance is both actively contested and constructed.

5.2.3 Self-Reflective Responses to Historical Narratives

Unlike the other three cases examined, Teaching Heritage did not suggest that empathy could be an effective tool in either stimulating interest in national history, shaping national identity, or invigorating national pride. However, the authors of Teaching Heritage pay considerable attention to providing opportunities for students to reflect on their community and national identity in relation the study of history, which according to Teaching Heritage, is a central task in educators of heritage and history. For Teaching
Heritage, heritage education provides a forum for students and educators to actively discuss and examine difficult questions of community and national identity.

Teaching Heritage's approach to heritage education unfolds in the introduction to each section of introductory chapter "What is Heritage?" In the introduction to the section "Heritage and Identity," Teaching Heritage writes that heritage is constructed differently for and by different individuals and community groups, through a process of selection:

In practical terms, our heritage is all that we value and want to keep for our future generations . . . In making value-based decisions about what is worth preserving for future generations, heritage practitioners are involved in the filtering process . . . a recurring question in formal approaches that identify local, state, and national heritage is: Heritage choices reflecting whose identity?

In the introduction to the second section, "Heritage and Culture," Teaching Heritage further argues that although individuals and communities may all have different ideas of their own cultural heritage, multiculturalism is a "story" that is shared by all Australians. According to Teaching Heritage, heritage practices and their ideological frameworks that specifically "acknowledge the distinctive and meaningful in Australia's blend of cultures" are relatively new, and need further development. This argument is expanded in the introduction to "Heritage and Land," where Teaching Heritage states that conflicting values attached to land are at the heart of indigenous and non-indigenous relations, and that heritage practices that are committed to inclusivity and reconciliation must address the dilemmas that rise from conflicting values.

Finally, in the introduction to "Heritage and Policy," Teaching Heritage stresses the importance of including community groups in heritage construction, and argues that educational initiatives like Teaching Heritage reflect new approaches to heritage education, which "give the right to all citizens or members of a community to take part in decision making." The writers contend that community groups must have an increased role in heritage preservation, and cites the Mexican Declaration of Oaxaca, which argued that "those who create our heritage, and for whom it is part of their daily lives, offer the best means for its conservation through the continuity of traditional practices." (Teaching Heritage does not say what year
the Mexican Declaration was published). The authors of Teaching Heritage conclude the introduction to "Heritage and Policy" by stating that citizens need particular skills to participate in the decision-making process that leads to active production of community and national identity communicated through heritage sites.

For Teaching Heritage, then, heritage is everything we inherit from previous generations, and this inheritance contributes to the formation of individual identity, community identity, and national identity. However, Teaching Heritage suggests that despite the diverse views of national and community identity, multiculturalism is a narrative that binds all Australians. That Teaching Heritage does not provide any other examples of stories that might shape national identity suggests that Teaching Heritage views multiculturalism as the only narrative that holds all Australians within the national community. Teaching Heritage's perspective of multiculturalism becomes somewhat clearer in the integration section of "Building National Identities." In an introduction to an article by J. Hall entitled "Our Sanitized Multiculturalism," the Teaching Heritage writers argue that "we need to ask whether the political views of different cultural groups are as widely disseminated as social and cultural aspects." However, the writers do not provide further explanation of how cultural diversity might be limited to the private sphere in Australian life. Likewise, Hall's article does not explain how cultural diversity has not extended into the political arena. In fact, his argument that Australia needs more positive images of "ethnic Australians" posits "other" groups as ethnic, and implies that some groups are not. This assumption indicates a racial privilege in Australian society, which is the privilege to not be referred to in racialized or cultural terms. An historical examination of multiculturalism in Australia might lead students to an understanding of how this "story" might shape present-day Australian national identity. Moreover, this critical examination may lead students to consider certain marginalized conflicts in Australian society, such as why the political views of cultural groups have not been as widely disseminated as other aspects of culture or why multicultural policies have failed to challenge culturally rooted political process.
5.3 Conclusion

As I have argued in Chapter 1, a model of citizenship education that is dedicated to social justice would include examining which groups of citizens, (through state policies, practices, and through the social construction of "citizen"), are included in and excluded from the imagined and practiced political community. Teaching Heritage's approach to citizenship history, in which students examine the benefits citizenship, is similar to Anne Field's analysis (2000). According to Fields, citizenship must understood in terms of who, historically speaking, was included and/or excluded from the political community, and even more, what social and political practices and policies continue to reinforce exclusive constructions of citizenship today (2000).

In addition to asking students to consider how different citizen groups have been excluded from the national community throughout Australian history, I have also proposed that students learn critical citizenship literacy skills that could lead them to examine historical narratives are actively constructed, and to investigate the social and political implications of these constructions. These skills, which Teaching Heritage identifies as "citizenship skills," can be considered history skills as well. As Seixas argues on the Historica web site, "History is a form of knowledge in which students need to understand various forms of interpretation." The integration sections of the teaching units specifically address how different questions that guide historical research can lead to different perspectives of historical narratives, and perhaps more important, can lead students to an understanding of the experiences of marginalized groups within Australian history.

The Teaching Heritage site exhibits a model of citizenship that is centred on examining and engaging in the conflictual content in heritage/history production and within Australian history, with the stated aim of encouraging active participation in political life. For Teaching Heritage, political activism, such as the activism demonstrated by Aboriginal activists (protest, lobbying) constitutes active citizenship.
Teaching Heritage also sees participation in and reflection about identity construction (in either the physical or ideological constructions of "heritage") as an important aspect of citizenship action. For example, Teaching Heritage argues in "Revisiting Notions of Citizenship" that the establishment of Australia Hall as an Aboriginal heritage site, rather than a European heritage site, is significant, not only because it is the first site in New South Wales to commemorate Aboriginal activism, but because it disrupts the notion that Aboriginal history is static, a "by-gone" era. As none of the other sites examined in this study portray indigenous culture as anything but static and ancient, Teaching Heritage's representation of Aboriginal culture is an important example of how indigenous cultures can be represented as fluid and politically active. This representation of Aboriginal identity could lead students to examine their own agency in relation to community and national identity, or to examine how representations of community identity, such as Aboriginal culture having little to do with contemporary life, could undermine political agency.

As the unit that I have examined illustrates, Teaching Heritage provides numerous opportunities for students to develop research and analytical skills, to reflect on their values and attitudes. Moreover, the Teaching Heritage materials regularly invite students to engage in controversial issues in Australian history, for example, to investigate different citizenship histories in Australia, as well as to recognize the conflicts within citizenship history and to examine the legacy of these conflicts. This examination may help students to become better equipped to engage in contemporary social and political conflicts. Teaching Heritage also emphasized the importance of reflecting on one's beliefs and values in relation to the study of history, by leading students to examine identity construction through national narratives (as narrated through heritage sites), to debate different meanings of community and national identity, and to consider the implications of different constructions of national identity. As I have demonstrated, the Teaching Heritage site provides several exemplary opportunities that could lead students to develop the three aspects of citizenship education I have identified.
Chapter 6

Case Study #4: Discovering Democracy: www.curriculum.edu.au/democracy/
(Australia)

6.1 Overview of Materials

The educational materials posted on the web site www.curriculum.edu.au/democracy/ are part of the Discovering Democracy Program funded by the Australian federal Department of Education, Training, and Youth Affairs. Discovering Democracy is the latest government initiative developed in response to a series of Australia-wide surveys conducted by the Civics Expert Group (CEG) in 1994. From these surveys, the CEG concluded that Australian youth (elementary and high school students) lack essential civics knowledge, in particular, knowledge of Australian history, of Australian political systems and institutions, and of the principles of these institutions. In June 1997, the federal Ministerial Council for Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs launched the Discovering Democracy School Materials Project. The development of this project is scheduled to continue until 2001 (no specific date is given). As stated on the web site, the program designers envision the materials as "the foundation for ongoing civics and citizenship education across a range of education sectors: schools, higher education, adult and community education, and vocational education and training institutions."

Currently, the Discovering Democracy School Materials Project consists of the resources posted on the web site and an educational resource package. According the web site, this free package has been distributed to all elementary and secondary schools across Australia. The educational package consists of three texts geared specifically to teachers: an introductory booklet to Discovering Democracy, a magazine published by the Australian Curriculum Corporation that includes background reading on civics and citizenship education, a textbook with information about the history, structure, and operations of the Australian government, and a teachers guide which includes ideas about how to integrate the Discovering
Democracy materials into state and territory curriculum. There are seven resources for students: three CD ROMs, which include historical documents, glossaries of terms, history of the Australian government, and four "readers," which include extracts from "contemporary and historical literature." The package also includes a Discovering Democracy poster and a timeline of developments in Australian democracy.

In the following chart, I have provided a brief description of all the teaching resources available on the Discovering Democracy web site:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Web-Based Teaching Resources</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Classroom Activities:</strong> These are classroom-based activities that cover a range of topics; some are designed for individual students, others for larger student groups. The activities range from research investigations, structured debates, to individual quizzes on the Internet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Internet Based Collaborative Projects in Civics:</strong> On this page, the program designers encourage classes (students and/or teachers) to create an Internet site. Discovering Democracy will then post the addresses of these Internet sites, with the stated intention of creating a network of resources for classes. Discovering Democracy recommends that classes create their own site, or contribute to other established internet sites, for example, the Fight Against Child Labour site or the Hidden Histories Project site.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Discussion Groups:</strong> This page is intended to be a &quot;virtual staff room,&quot; where teachers can discuss and share ideas about civics education. At the time of writing, three questions have been posted on this page, but responses to the questions have not been posted.</td>
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As of January 2001, the "Internet Based Collaborative Projects in Civics" resource has not yet been developed; the "Discussion Groups" is intended to be used as a networking forum, and does not provide any actual educational materials. I will therefore focus my analysis to the lesson plans in the "Classroom Activities," specifically those that are geared to high school students and that address both civics and Australian history. Unlike the other three cases, where all of the materials address Australian history, Discovering Democracy devotes a significant portion of their materials to government structure and
procedure, and to the rights and responsibilities of citizens. Australian history is just one component of the so-called "civics deficit" that Discovering Democracy aims to remedy. The eight sections covered in the "Classroom Activities" are: "Australia's Constitution," "Centenary of Federation," "Citizenship," "General," "Getting Involved," "Human Rights," "Local Governance," and "Referendums." The subheadings under the section entitled "General" are: "Aussie Symbols," "Responsibilities and Rights: Making Civic Decisions," and "Why do we Need Laws." There are forty-two lesson plans in total, nine of which address Australian history. The chart on the following page illustrates the nine lesson plans I will discuss in my analysis of the Discovering Democracy materials.
6.2 Analysis of Materials

6.2.1 Critical Citizenship Literacy

Lesson plans that require students to examine how narratives are constructed and maintained can be considered lesson plans that may lead students to develop critical literacy skills. An analysis of the Discovering Democracy materials revealed very little, if any, opportunities for students to develop skills that could lead students to engage with controversial issues in historiography, such as questions or activities that require students to examine sources of information, points of view, or to compare sources and/or perspectives. Two lesson plans in particular missed the opportunity to ask students to examine the elements of selection and evaluation in the process of constructing historical narratives.

In the activity entitled "Celebrating Politically Active Australians," the writers ask students to select a hero from Australian history, and to consider why their selected hero is celebrated. Students can select their hero from a list of forty-eight heroes listed under the title "Biographies." The biographies represent a range of Australians: suffragists, poverty activists, health reform activists, famous poets and writers, governors, lawyers, and a British monarch. The biographies begin with a short paragraph that describes the heroes' life, a second paragraph that describes the heroes' political action, and a third paragraph that describes how the hero has been memorialised (e.g., bank notes, monuments, or street names). After students select their hero, the authors instruct students to fill out a form "entitled Biography File," which includes eight categories: name, early life, education, beliefs, aims, strategies, political achievements, and suggested monument. After students finish gathering information for the "Biography File," Discovering Democracy authors suggest that students report to the class their findings and propose an inscription for a monument for their selected hero.

In this lesson plan, the writers do not provide any questions or activities that might lead students to consider controversial questions that underpin the socio-political construction of heroes, such as who decides who is an Australian hero, what names might be missing from the list provided by Discovering
Democracy, how notions of Australian heroism have changed over time, or how different heroes should be memorialised. Such questions might have led students to a clearer understanding of how historical narratives are produced. Moreover, such questions could help students to engage in the controversies around who should be considered politically active, what political activity should be celebrated, or who can be considered "Australian." For example, the actions listed in the biography for Queen Elizabeth II are: attend parades, open parliament, and meet leaders of different countries. Given current debates about the whether or not Australia should remain a constitutional monarchy, the appearance of Queen Elizabeth II in a list of Biographies for "Celebrating Politically Active Australians" is striking. Many Australians would not consider Queen Elizabeth II Australian, nor would many consider actions such as attending parades, meeting political leaders, or opening parliament as "political actions" as worthy of celebration.

In the lesson plan "Our Nation: Then and Now," the writers similarly do not provide students with opportunities that may lead students to develop the literacy skills to examine how and why historical narratives are constructed. In this lesson plan, the writers ask students to make inferences from a series of eight photos that were taken around the time of the Australian Federation in 1901: workers at a government printing office, a miner's camp, workers in the bush, shop assistants in a store, a street scene in Sydney, children at school, a picnic in the bush, and a scene on a beach. The Discovering Democracy authors suggest that students glean "information" from each photograph (e.g., the number of people, their gender, race, ages, dress, inferred activity, settings, or key objects), and compare these historical photos to contemporary photos. That all of the photos are of white Australians is not as problematic as the absence of questions that might lead students to consider why some groups are represented and others are not. Moreover, the lesson plan itself suggests that the photos are representative of all Australian life at the time of the Federation. The title of the activity, "Our Nation Then and Now" (as opposed to "Groups within a Nation Then and Now"), as well as the statement in the introductory paragraph to the lesson plan that these "suitable" photos portray a "range of Australians . . . at work, school, and play," suggest that the photos are
somehow representative of all Australian life.

In both of the lesson plans discussed above, "Our Nation Then and Now" and "Celebrating Politically Active Australians," the writers present narratives of Australian history through a presentation of a set of photos and a set of biographies of Australian heroes. In both lesson plans, the writers do not ask students to examine the collection of stories or photos as a whole. For example, the writers do not ask students to look at what biographies or photos might be missing from narratives, or to consider why some stories and photos are selected and why some photo archives of some people exist and others do not. The lack of critical literacy questions in these lesson plans serves to produce an uncontested national narrative, in which dominant images of Australian identity and dominant notions of what actions constitute of "good citizenship" remain undisputed.

6.2.2 Conflictual Content

The Discovering Democracy project is driven by the belief that civics education should promote active participation in civic life. As the web site states:

We want students to understand the way we govern ourselves and to think of themselves as active citizens . . . The Discovering Democracy program will encourage the development of skills, values, and attitudes that enable effective, informed and reflective participation in political processes and civic life.

As was my focus in my analysis of the other three case studies, an examination of the actions and knowledge that constitute "informed" and "reflective" participation is provided to demonstrate what the authors of Discovering Democracy define as good citizenship. What was most striking in my analysis was the lack of conflictual content, that is, content that would lead students to engage in controversial issues (historical or contemporary), or to confront views, attitudes, or beliefs that might conflict with their own. As my analysis will demonstrate, an image of citizenship as an uncontested project emerged from the absence of content and activities that addressed conflicts throughout the history of Australian citizenship.
An examination of four lesson plans that emphasize historical research reveals how the writers imply that few conflicts about the rights, responsibilities, or benefits of citizenship took place in Australian history. In the first activity, entitled “Debates that shaped the Nation,” the writers do not provide questions that would lead students to a critical examination of the controversies surrounding the Federation of Australia. In this activity, students are asked to examine records of the political debates in the 1890s that led to the Australian Federation in 1901. Discovering Democracy provides three questions to guide students' research: “What are the arguments around the issues? Why might [participants in the debates taken] such positions? Which colonies seemed to benefit from the outcome [of the debates]?” This third question suggests that some colonies may not have benefited from the political debates that led to the Australia Federation, but Discovering Democracy does not provide any research questions or information that might lead students to examine how and why different colonies or groups of people might not have benefited from the Federation. For example, the "White Australia" policy, implemented in 1901 soon after the Federation, cemented the dispossession of Aboriginal populations and certain immigrant groups. Similarly, the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 resulted in the deportation of 8700 indentured Pacific workers and their families (Head, 2000, 4). An examination of what groups participated in the debates could have led students to a clearer understanding of how and why these policies were implemented in the months that followed the Federation of Australia, and could be a starting point for an examination of the legacy of these policies.

In addition to asking students to examine how different groups benefited or did not benefit from the Australian Federation, an examination of different historical interpretations of the significance of the Federation could lead students to an understanding of contemporary debates about the significance of the centenary celebrations that took place on January 1, 2001. In his article about the numerous controversies surrounding the centenary celebrations of the Federation, "Australia's Centenary of Federation Inspires little Public Enthusiasm" (2000), Australian journalist Mike Head argues that contrary to the assumption within
the dominant national narrative, the Federation was not founded on democratic principles. Rather, argues Head, economic and military interests drove the debates that led to the Australian Federation. Head also contends that in contrast to the "centenary myth" that the Federation and the Constitution were adopted by popular vote, a small portion of the Australian population actually voted in the referendums that led to the Federation.

A review of Head's article shows that his arguments are weakly substantiated. He states that "one historian has estimated" that 84 percent of the population did not or could participate in the referendums, although he does not detail this historian's research. Nevertheless, if students were given opportunities to examine differing historical interpretations of the economic and political factors that led to the Federation, such as the perspective outlined in Head's article, students might be better equipped to understand and evaluate different perspectives of the significance of the centenary celebrations on January 1, 2001. Moreover, a critical examination of the historical debates could lead students to a deeper understanding of contemporary debates about whether or not Australia should leave the Commonwealth, and replace its current status as a current constitutional monarchy with the status of a republic.

The Discovering Democracy's assumption that the centenary celebration for January 1, 2001 was an uncontested national event is restated in the lesson plan entitled "Federation and Centenary Celebrations." The author's suggest that teachers introduce to the class the Discovering Democracy CD ROMs and video, which students can use to research how the Federation of Australia was celebrated in 1901. After researching and reporting to the class how the Federation in 1901 was celebrated across the country, students then are instructed to research the local and national celebrations planned for the January 1, 2001 celebrations. The Discovering Democracy authors then ask students to discuss why these celebrations are and were "suitable," but do not ask why these celebrations, or any celebration of the Federation, might be unsuitable for some Australians. The absence of any questions or information that refer to the controversies surrounding the centenary celebrations implies that the aim of this lesson is
simply for students to learn why the celebrations are appropriate, not to gain an understanding of the various perspectives that give shape to the debates about how and why certain national events should be celebrated.

An image of Australian democracy as an uncontested project is further supported by the lesson plan "50 Years of Citizenship." In this lesson plan, Discovering Democracy instructs students to investigate different aspects of citizenship, and to report their findings in the form of one of three different "information leaflets," which are to be addressed to new Australians. The titles of the leaflets are: "Becoming an Australian Citizen," "Citizen of Australia or the World," and "Active Citizens." Discovering Democracy provides a list of questions that students must address in their leaflet. In "Becoming Australian," the authors suggest students describe the legal process for becoming an Australian citizen, show how this legal process compares to the processes in Japan and the United States, and describe the rights guaranteed by Australian citizenship. In the second leaflet, "Citizen of Australia or the World," students are instructed to address the questions: "Have Australians always had equal rights as citizens? Do citizens have equal rights now? What are the main human rights? Which human rights are guaranteed by Australian citizenship?" Finally, in the "Active Citizens" leaflet, students are to address the questions: "What are the responsibilities of Australian citizens?" "Who are some noted citizens in Australia's past?" and "Do you young people have the same responsibilities as adult citizens?"

In "50 Years of Citizenship," the assumption that an uncontested set of particular actions translate into "good citizenship" is reinforced by the absence of questions that address how citizenship rights have been contested throughout the fifty years Australian history, and the absence of information showing that citizenship responsibilities are often contested (for example, not all citizens might consider dissent, protest, or direct action appropriate citizenship actions.) The authors ask, "Which human rights are guaranteed by Australian citizenship?" but do not ask any questions that might lead students to consider that some rights
(disproportionately by some citizens) might not be honoured or fulfilled by Australian citizenship. Indeed, Discovering Democracy does not address the current controversies about group rights in Australia, which include protection of a group's right to language, religious expression (such as the right to wear distinctive religious dress in military positions), or the right to land. Land rights is a particularly controversial issue in Australia, as Aboriginal groups seek to reclaim land or to obtain compensation for stolen lands. The stark absence of these issues supports an image of democracy as a completed project.

In "50 Years of Citizenship," the authors of Discovering Democracy also do not ask students to examine conflicts within Australian citizenship history. In an introduction to the lesson plan, the writers explain: "Fifty years ago there were no Australian citizens. Even in 1949 when we became Australian citizens rather than British subjects, we did not regard all citizens equal[ly]. Many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, for example, were not allowed to vote." After this brief reference to the exclusion of Aboriginals from Australian citizenship, there are no questions or activities that might lead students to examine the process that led to the change, the history of Aboriginal citizenship, or citizenship histories of other Australians. For example, Discovering Democracy authors do not mention that Italian Australians during World War II were not considered Australian citizens. The clear absence of questions, activities, or information that follow this brief reference to Aboriginal's exclusion from Australian citizenship implies that this exclusion was an abnormal "blip" in Australian citizenship history.

In addition to the short reference to Aboriginal citizenship history in "50 years of Citizenship," Discovering Democracy refers to citizenship history in one other lesson plan, entitled "Migrant Experience and National Identity." In the lesson plan, the writers suggest that students discuss the question: "Are we an un-united nation now that we can no longer say about ourselves that we are no longer one race, one language, one religion? What holds us together? What are the things we have in common?" Although Discovering Democracy acknowledges the contemporary discussions about national identity and multiculturalism, this question assumes that Australia could, at one time, consider itself mono-cultural and
mono-racial. As the "Hidden History" of Australian in the Teaching Heritage materials (refer to page 97, in Chapter 5) and Michael Cigler's "Ethnic Histories: A Neglected Area of Australiana" (1994) demonstrate, cultural and racial diversity in Australia is not only a feature of contemporary Australian life. Rather, the Australian social landscape historically has been culturally and racially diverse, despite political policies attempting to establish Australia as an exclusively white nation.

The four lesson plans discussed above reveal a marked absence, or minimum, of conflictual content. The lesson plans provided limited opportunities for students to examine historical conflicts, and in some cases, avoided particular conflicts within Australian history altogether. An examination of the various conflicts throughout Australian history could have led students to a better understanding of issues in contemporary Australian social and political life, such as women's rights, worker's rights, non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal relations, and the relationship of Australia to the British Commonwealth. As of yet, the Discovering Democracy materials contain few occasions for students to develop a complex understanding of contemporary issues that such historical analysis could provide.

6.2.3 Self-Reflective Responses to Historical Narratives

In the last section of the Discovering Democracy lesson plans, entitled "This Australian Nation: Who are We? What do we Value?" the authors demonstrate how Australian identity can be communicated through lessons about national history. There are three lesson plans in this section: "Events that Shaped our Nations Identity: Australians at War," "The Bush Experience in the Nation's Identity," and "Migrant Experience and National Identity." The first two lesson plans specifically ask students to empathize with two of the three "types" of Australians presented in this lesson plan: the "bush hero" and the "military hero." In these lesson plans, the writers present the bush hero and military heroes as uncontested and unproblematic symbols of Australian identity. Moreover, in the two lesson plans, the authors suggest that empathy can be used to help students internalize the characteristics and attitudes that the bush and military
heroes presumably portray.

The two lesson plans follow a similar pattern: the authors ask students to distinguish shared values in the historical characters, to recognize these values as Australian, and finally, to identify emotionally with the heroes themselves. In the first lesson plan, "Events that Shaped our Nation's Identity: Australians at War," the authors ask students to read five extracts from the Discovering Democracy readers: A Fortunate Life, Honouring the Unknown Soldier, Stories We Tell about Ourselves, the Weary Legend, and The White Mouse. The authors provide two questions to guide students' reading: "How are ideas about national identity created and sustained?" and "Has the experience of war shaped particular ideas about Australian national identity?" In the next activity for the lesson plan "Events that Shaped the Nation," the authors suggest that teachers assign one of the following three extracts to different student groups: A Fortunate Life, The White Mouse and The Weary Legend. After the student groups read their extracts together, the writers ask students to identify the feelings and actions of the persons in the stories, and to use the information they gather to create a television interview. The authors do not provide any suggestions for the content or form of the interview, only that "the interviews should focus on how [the interviewees] felt about their particular situations;" and for the interviewee to begin by reading aloud his/her favourite part of their chosen extract. After the students have completed the interviews, students are to answer three "follow-up questions" for discussion:

How did the characters feel about their involvement in the incidents described? Do class members think the interviewees were alike in any ways? If so, how? What particular qualities did Facey, Wake and Dunlop share? What is it that makes us admire their actions? Was there anything particularly 'Australian' about their actions? If so, what was it?

In regards to the question "Was there anything particularly 'Australian' about [Facey, Wake, and Dunlop's] actions," the authors do not specify what "Australian actions" are. At the stage of the lesson plan, a teacher could use the question "Was there anything Australian about their actions?" to prompt a discussion about whether only celebratory actions could be considered "Australian." An overview of the
Discovering Democracy materials reveals that, not surprisingly, when Discovering Democracy mentions shameful actions in Australian history, such as the exclusion of Aboriginals from Australian citizenship, Discovering Democracy does not ask if these actions are "particularly Australian."

In the second lesson plan for "This Australian Nation," entitled "The Bush Experience in the Nation’s Identity," empathy is similarly targeted as the goal of the activity. The authors begin the lesson by asking students to read various extracts from their Discovering Democracy readers that describe life in the Australian outback, and to choose two paintings from the illustrations for the story "Bush Heroes" that students see as being most "Australian." The authors then suggest that students create two lists of words that describe the positive and negative feelings they might feel if they were the persons depicted in the paintings the students chose. The authors even provide samples of exemplary responses: "loneliness, isolation, fear, determination, independence, and self-reliance," and then suggest that teachers ask students specific questions to "trigger" these emotions, such as "How would you feel if you were trying to build a home, explore the unknown, or exist so alone, in these circumstances?"

In the next activity for "The Bush Experience in the Nation’s Identity," the writers suggest that students assume "the identity of an imagined bush character" and "write a short letter or diary extract to reflect the demands, sorrows, and satisfaction that develop [from] the Australian landscape." To guide students' writing of their letter or diary extract, the authors provide four "focus questions":

Why were early Australians prepared to work so hard and face such difficulties? Would we describe these people as ‘battlers?’ Why? Do Australians admire battlers? Are there any challenges of modern Australian life that are as great as those faced by earlier Australians? If so, what are they?

In these questions, the writers do not follow the question "Why [would we describe these early bush heroes as ‘battlers’]" with "Why not?" The peculiar absence of this "why/why not" question, which often appears in discussion activities in educational materials, implies that there is only one correct answer: early Australians should be described as "battlers." Moreover, if the opposite of "battlers" is "defeatists," then the
question "Do Australians admire battlers?" seems rhetorical. Indeed, the above set of questions provide little opportunity for students to challenge the significance of the bush hero in constructions of national identity, or to question the social implications of using a gendered symbol of "bush hero" to construct an imagined national community.

Both lesson plans "The Bush Experience in the Nation's Identity" and "Events that Shaped our Nations Identity: Australians at War," follow a similar pattern: students are instructed to identify the values, actions, and attitudes exhibited in the stories they read, to note which characteristics are shared by the heroes in the stories or paintings, and finally, to emotionally identify with the heroes. From the suggested activities in the lesson plans, it is difficult to tell what the authors hope students will learn by empathizing with heroes (real or imagined) in Australia's past. Arguably, asking students to empathize with certain characters in history may lead students to a deeper understanding of these characters' experiences. However, prefacing the empathy portion of the activity with questions that ask students to identify certain actions and values as "Australian," suggests that the aim of the lesson is to help students to internalise the so-called "Australian" values and attitudes exhibited in these narratives of heroes.

As in the empathy-based activity in the Canadian Dominion Institute educational materials for Grant's War (discussed in Chapter 3), students are only asked to empathize with the "heroes" in the historical narratives. Indeed, identifying with heroes or even victims in a historical narrative is an easier task than emotionally identifying with bystanders or perpetrators in the same narrative. Asking students to identify only with heroes leads me to question what students can learn about their socio-political responsibilities through emotional identification with an historical character. Because the materials only asked students to erase any difference between themselves and the "hero," it is difficult to see how empathy can be used to help students be "reflective" citizens, which is one of the stated goals of the Discovering Democracy materials. Perhaps if the materials used empathy as a starting point for reflection, students could begin to examine the problems involved in creating uni-dimensional heroes, which turns
complex human beings into historical archetypes. Moreover, students might begin to attend to the more difficult task of reflecting on how their actions, values, or beliefs might be implicated in on-going injustices. However, as an examination of the use of empathy in the Discovering Democracy materials showed, empathy was not used as a starting point for reflection, but rather, as a strategy for reinforcing dominant notions of national identity.

6.3 Conclusion

In Australia's Discovering Democracy lesson plans, the writers emphasize knowledge of national history, and provide very few, if any, opportunities for students to critically examine the resources provided in the package. In the lesson plans, the authors direct the students to resources that students can use to examine the historical topics in the lesson plan, such as the bush experiences in Australian history, the political debates leading to the Australian federation, or the history of Australian citizenship. However, the authors do not provide questions, alternative sources, or information that might lead students to identify or examine the perspectives that give shape to the historical narratives provided in the packages.

The lack of critical questions and conflictual content implies that the materials are intended to communicate historical facts, not to help students develop skills to participate in the diverse and complex issues present in Australian history. The authors of Discovering Democracy ask students why the planned centenary celebrations are suitable, but do not ask why they might be considered unsuitable for some people. Likewise, the authors ask students to glean information about Australian life from a series of photographs, but do not ask students to examine what social relations "frame" the photos that are meant to depict "Our Nation." Moreover, the authors ask students why Australian symbols of the bush hero, pioneer/migrant, and military heroes are appropriate and important symbols of Australian identity, but they do not ask students to critically examine these symbols, or to consider why they might be inappropriate, or problematic for some Australians. For example, in the lesson plan "Migrant Experience and National
Identity," students only examine the successes of the migrants and pioneers, but are not asked to look at stories of pioneers and immigrants that did not "succeed." Questions or information about a range of immigrant experiences throughout Australian history (missing in the Discovering Democracy materials) might have led students to a clearer understanding of the diverse experiences of immigrants in contemporary Australian society, or even to an understanding of the complex factors that contribute to or inhibit so-called "success."

From the nine lesson plans examined, it is evident that Discovering Democracy views national history as a fund of narratives and information through which a particular national identity can be constructed. Students learn who "we" are by identifying shared values and of an uncontested set of model citizens: the military hero, the successful migrant/pioneer, and the bush hero. Given the considerable amount of energy and money the Australian federal government has given to this project, the lack of materials that might ask students to address the difficult and complex issues in Australian history and contemporary social and political life is troubling. Indeed, the lessons present a "protectionist" model of citizenship (ironically, a term coined by the Australian Senate in 1989) in which teachers would impart only an uncontested set of knowledge and values about Australian democratic institutions and processes, and their history (Print, 2000, 56). The absence of activities in the lesson plans that would encourage students to develop critical citizenship literacy skills demonstrates a clear need for future curriculum development. Within critical citizenship literacy, students could identify how and why historical narratives are constructed and maintained, and could critically examine historical conflicts in such a way as to gain a better understanding of how to participate in present-day social and political life.
Chapter 7

Comparison of Educational Materials

The word "citizenship" can have multiple meanings depending on the context in which it is used. In this thesis I have argued that citizenship can be used as a lens through which we can understand who, through the social construction of the "citizen," is excluded and who is included in the political community. Canadian historian Veronica Strong-Boag has argued that all citizens must partake in establishing the social, educational, and political agenda of the future (1996, 142). The first step forward in this project is to challenge narratives that reproduce dominant notions of the citizen and citizenship behaviour, a skill that is at the heart of critical citizenship literacy and that can be applied to any presentation of historical narratives.

The materials discussed in this thesis reflect a diverse range of educational activities that could lead students towards the critical examination of the construction of national historical narratives. The materials also present some opportunities that may lead students towards active participation in public debate and decision-making in the negotiation of contemporary controversial issues. In this chapter, I will examine the differing cultural contexts for the four cases examined, and the approaches to citizenship education that emerged from my examination of these four case studies.

7.1 Comparison of Canadian and Australian Cultural Contexts

Despite the fact that the cases examined in this study were developed in two different countries, similar themes in national history emerged: colonial experiences, the frontier, immigration, urbanisation, and military participation in World War I and World War II. Similar symbols of national identity also emerged: the outback and the north, the military hero, and the pioneer. As the majority of Canadian and Australian populations have settled along coastal regions or borders (i.e., the Canadian/US border, and the Australian coast line), the Australian outback and the Canadian wilderness also continue to play an important role in these countries' national imaginations. Similarly, as both countries are settler countries,
the pioneer (Canada) and bush hero (Australia), (both assumed to be European in origin, and mainly Anglo-Saxon) continue to reinforce national identity as hardworking "battlers" against a vast wilderness.

Along with these two dominant symbols that shape Australian and Canadian identity, Australian and Canadian participation in World Wars have also shaped particular notions of national identity. Popular Canadian historian Pierre Berton argues that World War I served to create a national identity that was separate from its "mother" British identity. Berton writes that Canadians who fought alongside the British in World War I "had no further reason to believe the British were their superiors," and that after the war it became clear that "Canada no longer considered herself a colonial vassal of Great Britain" (cited in Sears, 1996, 56). That one third of the Dominion Institute materials is dedicated to the remembrance of Canadian war heroes suggests that the military hero continues to be an important symbol in dominant national narratives. The title "Events that Shaped our Nation: Australians at War," one of the activities for the Discovering Democracy lesson plans, suggests that symbols of military heroes similarly play a significant role in establishing national identity. Indeed, further research could address the similarities in Canadian and Australian national symbols. A comparative study between Canadian and Australian colonial history, settlement patterns, and participation in the World Wars of the 20th Century, as well as a comparative analysis of the differences in the historical construction of these symbols, would offer a deeper understanding of the significance of these themes in Canadian and Australian history.

The two Canadian cases, the Dominion Institute and Historica, were both billed as history education materials, and had the explicit aim of "reinvigorating" an interest in, and knowledge of, Canadian history. This common goal was rooted in the long tradition of history education debates in Canada. As Canadian historian and education researcher Ken Osborne points out in his examination of history education in Canada, the concern of educators and politicians for young people's perceived lack of interest and knowledge of history peaks approximately every twenty years (Osborne, 2000, 405-406). Some writers have argued that the current renewed interest in history education reflects a general social anxiety
about threatened identity, or possible economic instability in a global economy (Bliss in Webster, 2000; Nolan, 1998). More research into the different socio-political and economic contexts of these moments of perceived crisis in historical knowledge might clarify the hopes and fears driving the resurgent interest in national history education and knowledge in Canada.

Unlike the Canadian cases I examined, the two Australian sets of education materials were presented within the framework of civics (Discovering Democracy) or heritage education (Teaching Heritage). Research from Australia shows that in the last ten years, like Canadians, Australian educators and politicians have become preoccupied with students' apparent lack of civic knowledge, but in particular, with students' lack of knowledge of government institutions and practices (Print, 1999; Krinks, 2000). This perceived crisis led to the development of the Discovering Democracy initiative in 1997, and a large portion of the materials is devoted to disseminating information about government institutions and processes. National history is considered one component of civic knowledge in the Discovering Democracy materials. Teaching Heritage, developed in response to the latest New South Wales history and geography curriculum guidelines, similarly emphasizes citizenship education. However, Teaching Heritage is more direct than Discovering Democracy in arguing that citizenship skills and knowledge can be taught through the study of history. According to Carmel Young, a contributor to the teaching resources available on the Teaching Heritage web site, the study of Australian history through heritage sites encourages students to develop an understanding of contemporary situations through a study of the past. For the writers of "Teaching Heritage," heritage education provides clear links between history education and citizenship education. Indeed, the writers argue that the ability to detect bias and to investigate and evaluate different perspectives in historical analysis are citizenship skills that will help students to work towards possible resolutions to contemporary issues. In addition, they believe these skills will help students find answers to the question that underscores heritage preservation: "Heritage choices reflecting whose identity?"

Together, the four educational initiatives reviewed in this thesis demonstrate a diverse range of
possibilities for citizenship education through the teaching of national history. Although each site varied significantly in breadth and type of materials (e.g. audio, video, primary documents, articles, photos, and maps), each site reflected the efforts of educators to move away from the "chalk and talk" approach to education. Two significant strands of citizenship education emerged from the analysis of the materials: the formation of national identity and active participation in public affairs. Below, I will explain how the different sets of materials developed these themes through what I have called a "connective approach," through the marginalisation or integration of conflictual content, or through empathy-based activities.

7.2 "Connective Approach" to Citizenship Education

Using the study of national history as a starting point for the examination of controversial contemporary social and/or political issues was a popular approach to integrating citizenship education with the study of national history. In fact, the Canadian initiatives, Historica and the Dominion Institute, as well as the Australian Discovering Democracy materials, all provided more activities that address contemporary socio-political conflicts than activities that address the conflicts surrounding the construction of historical narratives. In the Historica materials, over one-half of the lesson plans examined provide at least one activity where Historica asks students to research and/or debate a controversial contemporary issue in light of the historical figure or event presented in the short historical narratives they provided ("Heritage Minutes"). For example, in one of the activities for the "Underground Railway" in Canada, Historica recommends that teachers use the history about black American slaves' escape to Canada to discuss current "controversial government policies" for accepting refugees. In contrast, Australia's Discovering Democracy provided only one activity out of the twenty-nine activities examined on the web site that asks students to examine a contemporary controversial issue. In a section of the Canadian web site Great Questions of Canada, the Dominion Institute encourages students to discuss controversial issues such as those raised in Historica lesson plans. In addition, like the Australian Teaching Heritage materials, the
Canadian Great Questions of Canada web site encourages students to consider possible resolutions to the controversies presented on the web site. Australia's Teaching Heritage based much of their materials on conflictual content in which, similar to the "creative controversy" method used in the Canadian Dominion Institute's materials, students follow a method of inquiry that aims to lead them from examining the controversial issue presented towards possible resolutions.

The popular use of the "connective" approach to history education may help students to gain a sense that they can have an active role in social and political life. As American educational researcher Carole Hahn's international comparative study of classroom practices demonstrated, if students are engaged with controversial content and perceive several sides of an issue, they are more likely to "develop the attitudes that have the potential to foster later civic participation than students without such experiences" (1998,233). Similarly, the results of an American study that examined various curricula, conducted by American educators Patricia Avery, Karen Bird, John Johnstone, and Kristina Thalhammer, suggested that

... if civic education were to include a systematic examination of the role of dissent in a democratic society, young people might develop a commitment to civil liberties that would ultimately engender a more fully democratic citizenry (cited in Mellor, 1996, 3)

For example, controversial issues, such as immigration laws (Historica) or cultural ownership of heritage sites (Teaching Heritage), when clearly presented in the educational materials, can be used to help students develop analytical, debating, and negotiating skills, skills useful if not essential for meaningful participation in civic life.

Despite these proposed outcomes, this connective approach is limited if students are not also asked to examine differing social, political, and economic contexts, the socio-political or economic factors that led to historical change, and/or the actors involved in affecting change. For example, in the lesson plan for a narrative about Canadian suffragist Emily Murphy, Historica writes:

Being recognized as legal "persons" was an important issue in Murphy's time. What are some of the issues that are important to women today, and why? Do students have opinions about these issues, and are their opinions divided along gender lines?
By asking students, for example, simply to jump from a single narrative about women's rights at the turn of 20th Century Canada to present-day gender issues, students lose the opportunity to gain a richer and more complex understanding of the present-day issues. On the other hand, students might also lose the same opportunity vis-à-vis an examination of the past. A truly "connective" approach would ask students to examine historical trends, development, change, the agents of change, and continuity between the past and present. Moreover, this approach would require students, in their historical investigations, to examine why an event, person, or development might be considered significant, and would explicitly historicize contemporary issues (Sexias, 1994, 300).

In the Australian Teaching Heritage materials, the authors propose that students make connections between past and present issues, and use heritage sites as a starting point for the examination of historical development over a time-period. For example, Australia Hall, a heritage site whose ownership has been contested by the Cyprus-Hellene Club in Sydney, the Heritage Council of New South Wales, and the Aboriginal History Committee, is used to initiate research and analysis of the history of relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples throughout the 20th century. To the greatest degree of all the sites examined in this study, Teaching Heritage emphasised the agency of different groups of people, by repeatedly asking students to name the actors who were involved in affecting change, and to understand who benefited from their involvement. An examination of political agency over a period of time might demonstrate to students that individuals or groups of people can change the perceived "inevitable" course of history. Perhaps, as Canadian Alan Sears' (1996) and American Carole Hahn's (1996, 1998) research suggests, this kind of analysis may lead students to an understanding of the vital role citizens have had, and continue to have in shaping social and political life.

The connective approach to history education can also be considered as an example of conflictual content, in that this approach asks students to engage with controversial issues both in the past and in contemporary civic life. On the other hand, this approach can also be considered an important aspect of
critical citizenship literacy, in that a connective approach requires students to critically examine historical narratives, to investigate different interpretations of the past, and to see how different interpretations of the past affect present-day attitudes and actions. Indeed, this connective approach would illustrate the mutualistic relationship between conflictual content and citizenship literacy skills in history education, as critical citizenship literacy accepts and requires an examination of conflicting viewpoints and perspectives.

7.3 Conflictual Content for Citizenship Education

As discussed in Chapter 1, procedural norms of citizenship become more culturally inclusive by being establishing flexible procedures and notions of good citizenship behaviour. Moreover, citizenship education that demonstrates a commitment to social justice would help students to understand how, like the benefits of citizenship, different social constructions of "citizen" benefit some groups and disadvantage others. Indeed, by virtue of democratic citizenship being a contested project, conflict is an essential feature built into the democratic process. An examination of the four sets of materials revealed varying degrees and types of conflictual content, reflecting the model of citizenship assumed in each of the four projects.

In the Canadian Great Questions of Canada web site, the Dominion Institute asks students to engage in debates about difficult issues such as multicultural identity and the role of national history in a democracy. In doing so, the Dominion Institute aims to "revive public debates" which the Dominion Institute sees as a central feature of democratic life. The goal of this Dominion Institute project rests on its explicit assumption that Canadian civic heritage is rooted in the political debates that led to the Confederation of Canada in 1867. For the Dominion Institute, public debate signifies active citizenship. However, its Great Questions of Canada site fails to challenge students to engage with the more difficult questions of who can enter public debate and who benefits from participation in the debate. In contrast to even this emphasis on controversy and debate in the Great Questions of Canada website, the Dominion Institute's Grant's War encourages very little conflict. More importantly, it does not ask students to challenge the historical
narratives provided by the Dominion Institute, namely Grant's War and the McRae's Canadian Century Timeline. Likewise, the Dominion Institute's Our Heroes web site does not provide any activities that ask students to consider who decides which heroes are important, what values are represented in the chosen heroes, or how, why, and by whom heroes are memorialised.

Canada's Historica similarly presents seemingly inconsistent approaches to citizenship education. In four of the twenty-five lesson plans for the Heritage Minutes, and in the teacher's note entitled "Using the Minutes Critically," Historica asks students to consider perspective, bias, and selection. However, it does not ask students to examine the set of narratives ("Minutes") as a whole, or to examine critically the other twenty-one "Minutes." The lack of conflictual content in these two projects suggests that it is more important for the Dominion Institute and Historica to communicate information of the past than to examine the contested nature of national history.

In the same manner as the Dominion Institute addresses the Confederation of Canada in the Great Questions of Canada web site, the Australian Discovering Democracy and Teaching Heritage materials address the debates that led to the Federation of Australia in 1901. However, it is important to note how these two Australian sites address these debates in contrasting ways. Their different approaches to this event in Australian history are clear examples of the different ways citizenship education can use the study of national history. The Discovering Democracy materials ask students to gather information about the issues presented by the different colonies in the Federation debates, and to examine the outcomes of these debates. The same lesson plan then asks students to pick from these historical debates an issue that is still currently debated, such as land ownership. Teaching Heritage similarly asks students to examine historical debates, but it also asks students to research which groups in Australian society benefited from their participation in the debates. According to the writers of the Teaching Heritage site, the aim of these questions is to teach students an understanding of how various groups were advantaged and disadvantaged throughout Australian history, and more importantly, to "work towards possible resolutions"
of the controversial issues presented in the materials. Teaching Heritage's approach to the study of Australia's Federation debates could lead students to a deeper understanding of present-day social relations.

The approach to citizenship education proposed in Teaching Heritage reflects the model of contested citizenship proposed by Canadian feminist critic Anne Field, who endorses engagement with conflict, such as social activism, direct action, protest, and dissent, as appropriate "citizen" activities. For example, Teaching Heritage provides examples of Aboriginal dissent and protest as actions that affected positive political and social change, from which Aboriginals gained some civil and cultural rights. Teaching Heritage also presents national history as a series of socially constructed narratives, by showing how heritage sites, as physical representations of historical narratives, are contested spaces whose meaning and significance are constructed by and for different groups of people throughout history. Teaching Heritage presents history as a series of constructed narratives by displaying multiple approaches to history and heritage education, by posting a discussion of the different meanings of "heritage," and by demonstrating how different research questions can lead to different perspectives of history. Moreover, Fields' approach to citizenship as a project, whereby more and more citizens are included not just in the legal framework of citizenship, but also in the benefits that stem from citizenship, is repeatedly illustrated in the Teaching Heritage materials. The lesson plans regularly ask students to consider the benefits of citizenship throughout Australian history, not merely to view citizenship in terms of who legally belongs to the nation (2000, 81). This approach to historical examination demonstrates how an examination of historical conflicts could lead students to a deeper understanding of contemporary issues, illustrating an exemplary connective approach to history education.

In contrast to the use of conflictual content in Teaching Heritage, Australia's Discovering Democracy regularly marginalises conflict in their materials, particularly in regards to the construction of historical narratives. For example, students are instructed to choose heroes from a list, and to learn about
the past actions of Australian heroes, presumably to learn what constitutes active and ideal ("heroic") citizenship. The authors of the materials provide a set of photos of Australians at the time of Confederation, and students are instructed to use the photos to glean information about life at the turn of the 20th Century. However, the writers do not ask students to consider what photos might be missing, or whether the photos, all of white Australians, are a good representation of all Australian lives. Likewise, students are told to discuss why various celebrations of the Federation of Australia are appropriate, but conversely, Discovering Democracy does not suggest that some or all celebrations might be inappropriate for some Australians. In light of the protests in Australia against some of the planned Centenary celebrations for January 2001, the absence of a discussion or at the very least an acknowledgement of this conflict in the materials is significant (Hill, 2001). Despite claims by Discovering Democracy to encourage "active citizenship," the marginalisation of conflict in the Discovering Democracy materials reveals that their approach to citizenship education seems to reject the more conflictual aspects of active citizenship, such as dissent or protest. The kind of citizenship behaviour endorsed in the materials reflects what the Australian senate in 1989 termed "protectionist citizenship," in which citizens protect and support government institutions and practices, as well as the symbols and narratives that support them (Print, 2000, 56).

7.4. **Shaping National Identity through Historical Narratives**

The use of national history to construct national identity is an important component of three of the four sets of materials. Therefore, the absence of materials that would lead students to a critical understanding of what Canadian historian Timothy Stanley calls "grand narratives" is troubling, given the largely uncontested narratives delivered in three of the four projects examined (1998). As Canadian Owen Thomas (1998) suggests in his analysis of heritage sites in Canada, citizenship education should help students to be critical of how and why a story is or is not being told. Without attending to these questions, history/heritage education constitutes a pacifying lesson in dominant national identity: students learn who
"we" are through a so-called "shared history." As I have argued in my analyses of the individual case studies, this sense of shared history is achieved both by marginalising conflicts around the construction of historical narratives, and through various discursive strategies, giving rise to exclusive notions of who belongs to the national community.

In the Canadian Dominion Institute materials, the two narratives, Grant's War and McRae's Canadian Century Timeline together construct an exclusive notion of "good citizenship." This construction is achieved by illustrating good behaviour through the process of selection and evaluation. As analyzed by British sociologists Debbie Epstein and Richard Johnson, writers of grand narratives select examples of "good" citizenship behaviour, and thereby define the behaviour of citizens as being either being "good" or "bad" (1998). In the Dominion Institute materials, the writers present a notion of good citizenship behaviour through the uncontested and singular presentation of two Canadian heroes, Grant and Robert McRae. This presentation implies that good citizenship behaviour is best demonstrated by males who serve in the government or military. As explained in Chapter 3, the Grant's War and the McRae's Canadian Century Timeline narratives and lesson plans construct Canadian citizens—or at least the ones that matter in the national narrative—in gendered (male) and racialized (white) terms.

Like the Dominion Institute's implicit suggestion that national history can shape national identity, Historica expressly states on its web site that national history can tell us "who we are and where we are going." Historica contends in its introduction to the Heritage Minutes that "every Heritage Minute portrays Canadian heroes." Presumably, using history to construct national identity could mean examining the values and attitudes present in the narratives of Canadian heroes in the Minutes. However, a closer examination of Historica's lessons for the Minutes reveals an implicit lesson in national identity: "we" is reproduced in racialised terms. As in Canadian historian Owen Thomas' examination of Canadian heritage sites (1996), Historica incorporates the history of First Nations and Inuit peoples, as well as the history of black Canadians, for their construction of national identity, an appropriation that is complicated by these
groups desire not to be excluded from national narratives. Sadly, the agency of the aboriginals and black persons depicted in the Minutes is essentially ignored. As Australian researcher Judith Kapferer writes: "the very people whose forebears provided the 'heritage' we celebrate . . . are those who benefit least from the vogue of heritage tourism [and] are those without whom there would have been no heritages to exploit" (1998, 231). Framing stories about Canadian citizens who are black, Inuit, or First Nations with stories about white benevolence further establishes white Canadians as the important and active agents in the imagined national community. This notion is communicated most obviously through the assumption that the intended audience of the materials is not First Nations, Inuit, or black—an assumption created by referring to some groups in racialized terms and by assuming the unremarked (dominant) racial identity of others.

The Australian Discovering Democracy materials similarly construct their audience as non-Aboriginal, by employing the exclusive pronouns we (British Australians) and implying them (Aboriginals). However, unlike the Historica materials, the materials do not include Aboriginals in their national narrative except to mention their legal inclusion into the national community. As Discovering Democracy explains in an activity entitled "Fifty Years of Citizenship": "Even in 1949, when we became British citizens rather than British subjects, we did not regard all citizens as equal. Many Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders were not allowed to vote." The Discovering Democracy materials also present uncontested images of Australian identity in the lesson plan under the heading "This Australian Nation: Who are We and What do We Value." In the three lesson plans listed under this heading, Discovering Democracy suggests that students learn "who we are and what we value" by identifying with heroes within Australian history: the bush hero, the military hero, and the migrant/pioneer. In another example, in the lesson plan "Events that Shaped National Identity: Australians at War," the writers ask students to research current media sources to locate a modern Australian who displays the same qualities as the legendary military "Anzac" hero. The activity then asks students to relate their findings to the class and to "embellish" the story. The purpose of this
activity, write the authors, is that students learn to "demonstrate an understanding of personal and civic qualities that are proposed as representative of Australian identity and characteristics." In this activity, students are merely to reproduce the popular images, symbols, and myths that shape dominant notions of national identity, and are not to be critical and reflective of their construction.

As an alternative to Discovering Democracy's approach to studying Australia's national heroes, Canada's Historica offers a good example of the kind of activity that could steer students toward a critical examination of identity construction. Similar to "Events that Shaped National Identity: Australians at War," one of Historica's Heritage Minutes, entitled "Valour Road," asks students to examine the military hero as a symbol of national identity, by discussing how different portrayals of military history might affect their attitudes towards military heroism and warfare. This question may lead students to an understanding of how the portrayal of national heroes reflects a writer's values and attitudes. Also, when Historica invites students to create their own minute about Canadian soldiers in World War I and then to examine how their proposed minute reflects their own attitudes towards the military, war, and heroism, Historica leads students towards the reflective component of citizenship education, in which students reflect on how different interpretations of history might influence their own values and beliefs. This approach to studying military heroes could lead students to a more complex understanding of military heroes in Canadian history. Instead of reducing military heroes to historical archetypes, this examination may lead students to see these historical figures as the complex beings they were.

In addition to employing various discursive strategies in order to shape a notion of who belongs to the nation, lessons in national identity are also delivered in empathy-based activities. Empathy-based activities can be considered as those activities where the authors suggest that the aim of the activity is for students to empathize with one or more of the characters in a historical narrative. Journal or letter writing was recommended in the empathy-based activities I examined. In the Australian Discovering Democracy materials, students were encouraged to assume the identity of an imagined bush character, and to write a
letter or a journal entry that "reflects the demands, sorrows, and satisfaction that developed from their encounter with the Australian landscape." In the Memory Project (the Dominion Institute of Canada), students were encouraged to imagine they were a prisoner of war during World War II, and to talk about their "thoughts and feelings . . . the routine, the treatment received by the guards, even the food [they] eat." As for the difficult and messy task of writing a historical narrative, the writers only suggest that students "document the experience as realistically as possible." The Dominion Institute does not provide students with opportunities that could lead students to a critical analysis of the activities themselves, of the process of writing history, or even of their own responses in the empathy-based activity. As American educator Megan Boler writes in her critique of empathy as a popular teaching strategy: "passive empathy requires no action towards justice but situates the powerful eye/l as the judging subject, never called upon to gaze upon her own reflection" (1997, 259). Learning opportunities that require reflection after or during the empathy activity could lead students to a deeper understanding of themselves, their society, and their role within it. However, the lack of such opportunities suggests that empathy can best stimulate national pride, expressed in the typical response: "I'm glad that wasn't me," or, in Grant McRae's words, "young people will understand how fortunate they are."

An uncritical use of empathy-based activities also serves to reinforce dominant versions of national identity, particularly when students are asked to identify only with the heroes in a historical narrative. This is clearly the case in the Canadian Dominion Institute, where students are encouraged to identify with a war veteran, and in the Australian Discovering Democracy materials, where students are asked to identify with a bush hero, a migrant and pioneer, and a military hero. An uncritical approach to these activities makes it difficult for students to challenge the significance of these symbols (e.g., the gendered symbol of the bush hero) in the construction of their national identity. Furthermore, the uncontested presentation of historical heroes, and the suggestion that students should empathize with them uncritically, might also make it difficult for students to examine the disparity between these historical archetypes and the present-day
realities of some of these "heroes." For example, asking students to empathize with a bush hero or a pioneer might steer students away from an examination of the disparity between the celebration of an archetypal Australian and the present-day social and political reality of being a rural Australian, or between the bush "hero" and the Aboriginals whose land he has colonized. A connective approach, in which empathy may or may not be a starting point, might better lead students to an historical examination of why, on the one hand, the Australian government, which financially supports the development of the Discovering education materials that celebrates the Australian myth of the autonomous rural worker (pioneer), fails to support the rural industry in modern life (Kapferer, 1998).

7.5. Conclusion

In October 2000, I attended a national citizenship education conference in Montréal, Québec, entitled "Citizenship 2020." This conference gave me the occasion to examine more closely issues within citizenship education discourse. Looking across the rows of faces in the conference room, I quickly realised that if the notion of Canadian citizenship is not minted in white, then at least the majority of those with government jobs and academic positions—that is, those with power—deliberating conceptions of citizenship are white. In the last hour of the conference in a "Youth Panel," Youla Pompilus-Touré highlighted how dominant notions of Canadian identity are racially configured; there are two kinds of citizenship in Canada that are divided along "Us" and "Them," she stated. As is so often illustrated by media language, if people who have immigrated to Canada have achieved high status or received accolades, they are "Canadian"; conversely, if they have committed a crime, they are "immigrants." Moreover, she argued, the colour-coded nature of Canadian identity is further exemplified in such questions directed at Canadians who are not white, questions like the ubiquitous: "No, where are you really from?"

The experience described above is only one fragment among many experiences and conversations that have prompted me to undertake this study of national history education. The main
thread running though all discourses of citizenship is the notion of belonging: who is allowed to belong to
the nation. Once persons become citizens either by birth or legal ceremony, what values, actions, beliefs,
or knowledge indicate that one is a full member of the imagined national community? My preoccupation
with these questions has grown out of my continuing effort to understand what it means to strive for an
equitable and just society while holding multiple privileges of class, race, religious background, and
education. Moreover, my academic background in history and my professional experience as an educator
have prompted me to ask how learning about a history or histories might encourage students to become
active citizens committed to social justice.

A cursory glance at Australian and Canadian history shows that both countries are dramatically
different than they were a hundred and fifty years ago, when both countries were colonies of Britain and the
colonial population was largely European. Today, the governments of both these countries refer to their
nations as "multicultural," and large numbers of immigrants from all over the world continue to cross their
borders. Moreover, the Aboriginal populations in both countries have decreased dramatically, and continue
to face enormous challenges in social and political welfare. In an article entitled "Boats, not Birthrights"
Canadian journalist Naomi Klein asks "why the radical transformation of the [Canadian] population has
failed to translate into an equally radical transformation of Canada's sense of self" (Klein in Griffiths, 2000, 33).
She argues: "Camille Laurine ruthlessly summed up the message so many newcomers still receive
when he said that immigrants to Canada should understand that they are entering a 'fully formed nation'—
they are free to look, but not touch" (45). As Klein suggests, despite the changing cultural landscape of
Canadian society, national identity remains largely uncontested, and is understood in the same familiar
ways. The One Nation party in Australia, under the leadership of Pauline Hanson, has echoed similar
sentiments to Laurine's; Pauline Hanson has gone on record stating that Australians "are in danger of being
swamped by Asians." Later in this Parliamentary speech in 1996, she stated, "I must stress at this stage
that I do not consider those people from ethnic backgrounds currently living in Australia anything but first-
class citizens, provided of course that they give this country their full, undivided loyalty.” Support of Hanson and her political party suggests that despite multicultural policies in Australia, many Australians believe assimilation into the dominant (white English) culture to be a preferable, if not desirable alternative.

Faced with such xenophobic and misguided attitudes, educators committed to social justice in Canada and Australia have a difficult and daunting task in helping students to realise their powerful role in challenging democratic institutions, policies, and procedural norms, as well as the exclusive productions of "citizen" that are communicated through dominant historical narratives. The suggestion by Australia's Teaching Heritage that multiculturalism is one, or even the only, "story" that binds communities within multicultural societies such as Canada and Australia is a seductive, but problematic proposition. As the writers of Teaching Heritage suggest, dominant theories of multiculturalism have yet to include the notion that government institutions and procedures are as culturally rooted as food, music, or clothing—cultural elements that usually come to mind when the word "multiculturalism" is invoked.

The lack of a unifying narrative in Australia and Canada might not be as important as many educators and politicians suggest. Indeed, perhaps the on-going tension between the desire for and the impossibility of a unifying narrative signals a healthy state of affairs, as the absence of any conflict around identity construction signals either the marginalisation or suppression of conflict. For example, the different historical perspectives of the battle between the French and the British, on the Plains of Abraham in Québec (1759-1760), make it impossible for this aspect of Canadian history to be part of a grand, unifying national narrative. However, as Canadian historian and educator Alan Sears argues, the battle at the Plains of Abraham continues to be "discussed with anxiety" in Canada, but this debate is preferable to no tension at all. As Sears suggests, democratic societies must acknowledge conflicting perspectives and the anxiety it produces, rather than suppress one perspective over another. Indeed, as Sears argues, "it's what I do with this anxiety that matters" (emphasis mine) (Sears, 1996/97, 59-60).

Despite the tensions within the discourse of national identity in democratic multicultural societies,
my examination of the education materials revealed that readily available and widely distributed historical narratives continue to construct exclusive notions of national identity and citizenship behaviour. On the other hand, these same materials also presented a wide and diverse range of activities that can be used to challenge the dominant and exclusive presentations of national history, and further research is needed to build upon the numerous possibilities presented in the four case studies.

My examination of the four cases also demonstrated that there is no single framework or method for teaching citizenship education through history education. Moreover, essential historiography skills, such as the ability to examine historical documents, to analyze critically the construction of historical narratives, and to understand the complex factors that lead to historical change, continuity, or development, can also be considered citizenship skills, as these are essential skills and knowledge for participation in political life. Likewise, important questions of national identity can be addressed in both citizenship and history education. Teaching Heritage suggests that heritage education is one clear link between history and citizenship education, where educators and students can actively attend to physical and ideological constructions of community and national identity. However, questions that lead students to consider how historical narratives, (sometimes represented by or communicated through heritage sites) are actively constructed, maintained, and contested are important questions in both history and citizenship education. Perhaps, as Osborne insists, good history education is good citizenship education (2000).

This study also revealed that few structured opportunities exist in history education materials for students to examine their own relationship to the histories examined. Although the educational materials identified diverse actions such as voting, protest, lobbying, negotiation, debate, and challenging to dominant national narratives as important citizenship actions, the same materials provided few structured opportunities for students to disagree, or either to study or to enact protests, or to engage in dissent or political action. Such opportunities might encourage students to imagine the agency of citizens and in turn, envision their own potential agency. As American historian Dominick LaCapra argues, the conventional
stance for historians in historical analysis is of an onlooker or bystander (1998). An even more tempting position, writes LaCapra, is to have sympathy or empathy for either the hero or the victim in a historical narrative. Alternatively, if students are asked to engage in what LaCapra calls "critical memory work," students would look at the complex relations within historical conflicts, such as the perpetrators, resisters, collaborators, victims, or bystanders. In this case, history education could lead students to active and reflective participation in public life. The emphasis on historical agency in the Teaching Heritage materials, where students are regularly asked to identify specific actions and actors involved in bringing about historical change, could lead students to participate in the "critical memory work" that LaCapra recommends.

Teaching citizenship education through history may seem like a complicated task given that there is no single or agreed upon cardinal framework for citizenship. As Australian educators Dudley, Robinson, and Taylor write, "We are no longer constrained by notions of absolute and hence unchallengeable frameworks to which we are neutrally and passively subject" (1999, 438). Indeed, citizenship education that is committed to teaching students to critically examine historical narratives, and to be self-reflective in the process this examination may lead students to "participation in the negotiation and construction of an inclusive citizenship." As Dudley et. al. maintain, such an approach citizenship education is not safe, nor does it triumphantly celebrate our historical achievements as a democracy: "it is radical, it is subversive, it is risky, but it is democratic, and it is ethical" (438). It is evident that if we are ever to move into a sustainable, diverse social order, opportunities for courageous actions, active attention, and vigilant openness must be developed and instituted at all levels in society, particularly in the classroom, where students can begin to develop the skills and attitudes necessary for participation in public life.
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1 I use quotation marks around the first use of the words citizenship and citizen to imply that these are contested ideas, understood and experienced in diverse ways through the differentiated realities of citizens themselves.

2 In 1988 E.D. Hirsch published his book *What Every American Needs to Know*, where he advocated a centralised, national curriculum in which students learn 5000 facts that Hirsch identified as being essential for cultural literacy. The book has been frequently used to support and 'fuel educators who frequently fall in Sears' elitist camp.

3 http://www.histori.ca/historica/eng_site/about/index/html

4 http://www.angusreid.com/media/content/displaypr.cfm?id_to_view=657
http://www.angusreid.com/media/content/displaypr.cfm?id_to_view=657_

5 http://www.schoolnet.ca/greatquestions/e/about_di.html


7 "Educators biased in teaching History: PM" National Post 28 June 1999, A1

8 Debates about citizenship vs. civics continue, as some Australian educators have argued that the word civics reflects a passive/protectionist model of citizenship, while citizenship reflects a more participatory model (Mellor, 1996). However, for the sake of clarity in this paper, I will use the term citizenship in reference to Australian citizenship education; like citizenship education, the actions that define citizenship or civics education reveal more about the activist or protectionist meanings of the term than the term itself.

10 http://www.heritagefdn.on.ca/Heritage/plaques-how.htm

11 http://www.histori.ca/historica/eng_site/minutes/minutes_online/riel.html

12 Hugh MacLennan's novel *Two Solitudes* (1957) has been frequently used in discussions about Canadian identity, but many critics have pointed out that a vision or debate about Canadian identity can no longer (if it ever could) be discussed in terms of French vs. English, and that discussions of national identity should address the complexities of the multicultural/multiracial society.

13 http://www.cadvision.com/borchert/index.html

14 http://www.onenation.com