Race, Empire and the Making of the Global Citizen in the

Ontario Curriculum (1920s-2010s)

by

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Pedagogical approaches that emphasize the importance of creating ‘global’ citizens have been experiencing considerable momentum in the past thirty years in Canada and in other Western countries. Relying on the insights of critical race theory and postcolonial approaches in education and using Ontario’s civics and social studies curriculum as case study, this thesis questions the claims advanced by the mainstream liberal literature on Global Citizenship Education (GCE) about this approach’s benevolence and alleged break from traditional forms of citizen education based on nationalism. Instead, this dissertation demonstrates how approaches based on the idea of a global citizen reproduce a moralising liberal educational discourse in which imaginings of the moral white self (as a global citizen), the ‘other’ (as a global non-citizen) and the ‘community’ (Canada as a post-national entity in a globalized world) intersect, allowing for the organization of differences and similarities at an individual and collective level along racial lines. These representations, in turn, reinforce Canada's national identity as white and imperial, a discourse that traces its origins to the beginning of Canada's national project.
The argument presented in this thesis is based on a Foucauldian-inspired analytical framework that treats global citizenship education not as a neutral field of knowledge, but as a discourse that shapes the ways texts, institutions and individuals can speak, write and represent a particular kind of knowledge about a topic and the ways in which they are limited in construing it. This discourse informs the teaching and learning practices adopted in GCE-infused curricula, turning these texts into technologies of power that, through what Foucault calls ‘spirals of power and pleasure’, (re)create a particular modernist vision of the polity in which students can be transformed into ‘global citizens’. To demonstrate the historical continuity of the global citizenship education discourse in the Canadian context, this thesis relies on a genealogical analysis of the social studies and civics curricula in Ontario from the 1920s to today, focusing on four historical periods, each representing a distinctive phase in the evolution of the discourse around citizenship education in Canada: the interwar era (1920s-1940s); the post-war era (1950s-1960s); the Multicultural era (1970s-1980s); the post-cold war era (1990s-2010s).
To Ari, Luca, Ruben and my parents Orsola and Bruno
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Preface

It has become customary in works informed by critical theories and methodologies which highlight the very political nature of knowledge-production and epistemologies to position oneself vis-à-vis one’s work. Although I am ambivalent about this practice (more on my reluctance below), I will engage with it in order to provide some background on the origins of the present dissertation, and, in particular, the reasons why I selected the topic of global citizenship education and the approach that I have adopted to analyze it. I am a first-generation Italian-Canadian settler woman and my interest in education and curriculum stems from my experience as a high school teacher in Ontario where for five years I taught in three ‘inner-city’ schools. These schools had a high percentage of working class and racialized youth, and a large proportion among the student population had English as a Second Language and special education needs. As a social studies, ESL and special education teacher, and as a graduate of teachers’ college, I tried to adopt what I believed was a progressive teaching practice that entailed an understanding of the learner as a holistic and active subject, an awareness of diverse learning styles and needs, attention to cultural and other forms of differences, and using students’ experiences as a ‘hook’ to activate the learning process. While I was enrolled in pre-service education I also completed a Master's in Women Studies and Gender Relations. While, on one hand, I had grown skeptical about the possibilities of capitalist liberal justice in a white settler society, I held on to the belief that education could lead to change given my own experience as someone who considers the school as a safe space. Attending teachers’ college in the early 2000s, I became well versed in the challenges students who are not a white
male bourgeois Canadian subject face in school and was attracted to progressive and critical pedagogies. These discourses gave me the possibility of thinking through issues of class, race and gender but also, and, with hindsight, most importantly, offered what I thought were both solutions to present obstacles and a hope for the future. My initial optimism, however, was quickly crushed when I started teaching. My students shared with me their struggles to complete their assignments because they were caring for their younger family members while their mothers were cleaning offices at night or were helping their parents in their family-run businesses. These students were often encouraged by other teachers and other school staff to opt for the applied stream because the university-bound academic stream was deemed to be not worth pursuing. Years later I realised that it is the philosophy of progressive education and its various historical formulations in multicultural and global education that provides a logic and justification for this ‘streaming’. What was not said was that these educational philosophies and practices reproduce the unjust systems of domination upon which Canada is founded. It was the very discourse of progressive education that enabled a school administrator to suggest that we, as teachers, were biased by our own academic achievements when we questioned the idea of placing certain students into certain streams and that in many cases college graduates and those in the trades earned more than university graduates. The same administrator also candidly shared her concern about who would fill up her gas tank if everyone went to university... I do not believe these statements were the result of ignorance or the fact that she was more racist, classist, and sexist than the average white Canadian. I do believe, however, that progressive education upholds an exclusionary logic, a logic that stems from liberal ideas of modernity, race and progress. Today I continue to see how the benevolent discourse of progressive education is perpetuated in schools whenever I question the benevolent’ logic of inclusive education for my two special needs sons and look for options to address their challenges.
These personal experiences, consciously or not, have informed the approach that I have adopted in the present dissertation. Yet, I do not believe that fostering a ‘reflexive’ and ‘critical' analysis that renders explicit one's position vis à vis one's work can overcome the modernist trappings that characterize the enlightenment's subject, and particularly so if this subject is white. To position oneself in this way may constitute an epistemic break for Indigenous and scholars of colour who question modernity's universality and epistemic practices, but claiming particularity for the white subject is not escaping the modernity of the Enlightenment subject. In fact, the mobility of whiteness ensures that the white subject can claim simultaneously particularity and universality. This epistemic and ontological mobility is denied to the Other. I am left wondering if, in a time in which identity politics is demonized as divisive and pre-modern both in global education and critical multicultural education, the moment of uncovering white positionality or self-recognition is not simply another moment of modern white critique. To ‘confess’ one’s positionality, therefore, not only fails to sever the nexus whiteness/power/modernity but also to disrupt the "race to innocence" that allow white researchers to forgo accountability. This conclusion applies to the present work as well.

Before I proceed further, I wish to acknowledge the support of the many individuals who have accompanied me on this intellectual journey. I am especially indebted to my supervisor, Sherene Razack, who pushed me to explore new theoretical horizons, and, over the years, has given a sense of purpose to my thinking. Thank you for your patience and encouragement. The other members of the committee, Diane Farmer and Roland Coloma, have shared their time with me and provided invaluable feedback, especially to the final draft of my thesis. I am grateful to the friends and colleagues who had to endure my ramblings about curriculum theory and the future of Canadian
education and who have provided moral support during challenging times. Last, but certainly not least, a heartfelt thank you to those who have always been close to me in this journey’s ups and downs. Ruben, Ari, Luca, mom and dad: this thesis would not have seen the light of the day without you on my side.
CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1 - Questioning Global Citizenship Education

Citizenship, as a type of collective and individual belonging to a political community, has traditionally been tied to the nation-state (Miller 2016). Since the 1990s, there has been an increased interest among both policy-makers and academics, especially in North America and Europe, in forms of citizenship that go beyond the confines of the national polity (Soysal 1994; Tambini 2001). According to its supporters, these new post-national approaches to citizenship - also referred to as ‘global' and ‘cosmopolitan' - respond to a weakening of the nation-state as a result of globalization and the emergence of multi-level forms of governance. Its main objectives are to de-essentialize existing notions of ‘nation' and ‘national identity', highlight the social, political and economic connections between the local and the global, and establish patterns of solidarity and active civic participation across national boundaries.

Education plays a central role in promoting post-national citizenship. Like previous understandings of citizenship, a new sense of belonging and way of relating to the world and others has to be actively instilled into the population and, in particular, youth in order for the idea of post-national citizenship to become accepted. For this reason, those who support this project claim that post-national forms of citizenship education should be included either in the civics curriculum or embedded in the curriculum at large.
In the Canadian context, the promotion of post-national citizenship values has taken the form of the pedagogical approach known as ‘global citizenship education’ (Case 1997; Evans and Hundey 2000; Davies 2006; Davies, Evans and Reid 2005; Pike and Selby 1999, 2000; Richardson 2008; Jorgenson and Shultz, 2012; Myers 2016; Dill 2012; Choo 2018)\(^1\). Global citizenship education (hereafter GCE) refers to a range of educational practices focused on “the knowledge and understanding, skills, values and attitudes that learners need both to participate fully in a globalized society and economy, and to secure a more just, secure and sustainable world than the one they have inherited” (Oxfam 2006). These practices should encourage awareness of global interconnectivity, foster a sense of belonging to a shared global community, and encourage student commitments to take action to address global problems (Wang and Hoffman 2016). GCE can be considered along a continuum that goes from including a broader geographical content in the social studies curricula, to enabling students to become competent actors in the global market and to “(...) a fundamental revaluation of the content, organization and purpose of schooling in line with a transformative vision of education in a planetary context.” (Pike 2000, 64). Yet, despite these internal differences, GCE is indebted to the modernist tradition of progressive education with its child-centeredness, promoting the development of skills, attitudes and knowledge necessary to pragmatically to face the challenges of the present and create democratic global communities (see Newell and Davis 1988; Gordon 2016).

\(^1\) ‘Global Education’ and ‘Global Citizenship Education’ are terms commonly used in the North American context, while elsewhere other labels are used to indicate similar pedagogical projects, such as “Development Education”, “Education for Development”, “Intercultural Education” and “World Studies” (Pike 2000b, 64).
By critically examining the ways in which GCE has imbued Canada’s social science curricula and become a core pillar of contemporary teaching/learning practices about citizenship, this thesis questions the claims brought forward by GCE proponents about this pedagogical approach’s benevolence and discontinuity from previous pedagogies which emphasized more insular and modernist understandings of nationhood, belonging, difference and solidarity. GCE is in fact typically presented as a ‘progressive’ teaching and learning philosophy and methodology suited to meet the needs of students living in the contemporary postmodern globalized world (Smits 1997; Sears, et al. 1999; Davies, Evans and Reid 2005; Gaudelli 2003; Mundy 2007; Stromquist and Monkman, 2014; Suárez-Orozco, 2007). GCE is a ‘transformative’ pedagogy in that it aims at overcoming nationalism, injustice, intercultural conflict and passive notions of citizenship. The new global citizen should be taught “principles of co-operation, non-violence, respect for human rights and cultural diversity, democracy and tolerance” and “(…) encouraged to make links between local, regional and worldwide issues and to address inequality” (Osler and Vincent 2002, 2). GCE’s ultimate goal is therefore not only that imparting of a knowledge suited for a global world, but also that of fostering attitudinal, affective, imaginative and ethical dimensions of education. Global educators encourage “caring attitudes towards other people and other species; concern for the plight of the disadvantaged, poor and the oppressed; and they emphasize the need to challenge and expand insular views of the world” (Pike 2000).

In the Canadian context, GCE’s moral component is often linked to the country’s distinctive ‘culture’. When explaining why Canada has become a fertile ‘terrain’ for the emergence of this approach, special attention in the literature is paid to Canada’s multicultural national identity, and its internationalist and peacekeeping tradition (Pike 1996; Schweisfurth 2006). The fact that the federal government, national NGOs and the population at large broadly support GCE
is also mentioned in the literature as further evidence of the approach’s legitimacy and consistency with ‘Canadianness’ (Trilokekar and Shubert 2009).

Besides its alleged benevolence, GCE is also presented as an influential tool that stimulates students to imagine, and become part of, a new political community beyond the nation-state (Pashby 2008, 23). In challenging nationalist frames of citizenship and citizenship education, GCE scholars conceive the learner not as a nationalized subject who owns primary loyalty to the community of national belonging, but as an individual connected to others through “common humanity, a shared environment, and shared interests”, and somebody who understands that his/her responsibility is that of “creating democratic and just communities both locally and globally.” (Shultz 2007, 249; McIntosh 2004; Nussbaum 1996). This ‘allegiance’ to the world fuels the transformative and future-oriented goals of GCE. Global citizenship can in fact be understood “a hope of a form of order where the rights of individuals and of groups, irrespective of race, gender, ethnicity or creed, are observed by all governments and become the basis of participation in new global spaces that we might be tempted to call global civil society” (Peters et al. 2007, 11-12).

In keeping with this enlightened vision of GCE as a movement for social change, the pedagogical approach "must be visionary and transformative and clearly go beyond the conventional educational outlooks that we have cultivated for several centuries.” (O’ Sullivan 1996, 4). Globalization has changed the way the world is experienced and interpreted, and this transformation requires a re-assessment of assumptions and practices across education (Sassen 2003; Robertson 2003). GCE is in fact based “on the belief that globalization is a new paradigm of the world as an interconnected system that changes the rules of the game for how citizenship operates within this system” (Meyers 2016, 3-4). The rationale for promoting a new global approach to citizenship education is that national citizenship is no longer able to prepare students
for an increasingly globalized, interconnected world in which inequality is soaring (Nussbaum 1994; Enslin 2011). Education professionals are therefore “at an important crossroad” where they must choose to either embrace a global awareness in order to promote the public good or retreat into insularity (Bottery 2006, 111-112). The idea of GCE as a ‘rupture’ from older educational practices is echoed in many scholars in the field (e.g. Pike 1996; Pashby 2008, 2011).

This thesis’ main objective is to provide an alternative critical account of GCE that challenges some of the core assumptions behind the existing mainstream literature on this subject. The remainder of this introductory chapter is devoted to the outline of the theoretical framework and methodology that will guide this work and to preview the content of the empirical chapters that will follow.

2 - Revisiting Global Citizenship Education: a theoretical framework

To challenge the claims that GCE is a benevolent and ‘revolutionary’ pedagogical approach to citizenship education, the present thesis relies on the theoretical insights of critical race and postcolonial approaches (Ahmed 2000; Balibar 1991; Goldberg 1993; Said 1993; Razack 1999, 2002; Thobani 2007). Theorists working in these traditions question knowledge-production conceived as ‘ideal theory’ and the subject’s ‘strategic location’ and highlight how injustice and inequalities are organized by and through Western hegemonic epistemology (Mills 2005). From this perspective, knowledge is not innocent but tied to power and representations of the world and the subject are central in shaping beliefs and actions (Tickly 1999). Critical race and postcolonial theorizations emphasize the need to de-essentialize the ‘universal’ and ‘racelessness’ that animates modern Western discourses, bringing attention to how society is ordered and organized along racial lines. Racist practices are embedded within particular socio-historical contexts and not
conceived as the result of either ignorance or individual agency. Race and racist practices are part of an ongoing Western project of ‘community-building’, which reached its zenith with colonialism. Benevolent notions of belonging and subjectivity such as ‘Canadianness’ or ‘multicultural’ are imbued with race-thinking, that is “a structure of thought that divides up the world between the deserving and the undeserving according to descent” (Razack 2008, 8). In turn, privileged members of the polity become invested in the maintenance of this arrangement and reproduce through ‘unmarked’ and ‘universal’ practices such as humanitarianism, development and education (Pratt 1992; Heron 2007; Montgomery 2005a; Montgomery 2005b; Razack 2004; Gillborne 2005; Mills 2008; McEwan 2009; Kothari 2006; Biccum 2013; Leonardo and Zembylas 2013).

Approaches inspired by postcolonial theory also provide a compelling critical rereading of the globalization discourse, which is framed through the lens of empire (Rao 2000; Loomba 2015). Inherent in postcolonial scholarship is an effort to understand and deconstruct the contemporary world at various geographical planes, from the local to the global, in relation to the discourses and structures of the colonial era. Postcolonial scholars focus on the ongoing strength of empire after the demise of colonialism in many parts of the world and highlight the role of Western imperialism in the present. One of this scholarship’s key tenets is the emphasis on the continuity between the early imperial era and today’s globalization discourse. The distinction between previous and contemporary global networks of people, goods and ideas is more the fruit of a temporal distinction (modern vs. archaic/premodern) than any ontological difference. Globalization is typically understood as a set of processes that have compressed time and space and that increase the “interdependence” of societies; yet, even empire was built upon networks and ebbs and flows of resources, goods and ideas (Robertson 1992; Appadurai 1996; Manning 2005; Lake and Reynolds 2006). During the height of empire at the turn of the 20th century, social and political networks
were already ‘global’ as attested by the existence of transnational phenomena such as the women’s movements, humanitarian and educational associations and the imperial press system (Magee and Thompson 2010, 26). The same can be said of technological advances, which in the imperial era reduced geographical distances and time constraints in human movements. Empire can, therefore, be considered as a precursor to globalization. As Hopkins notes, what were empires if “not transnational organizations (…) created to mobilize the resources of the world? Their existence and their unity were made possible by supranational connections. Their longevity was determined by their ability to extend the reach and maintain the stability of these connections” (Hopkins quoted in Magee and Thompson 2010, 22).

Postcolonial theory also points to the continuity of the identity of the citizen in imperial times and in the current ‘globalized' world that defines settler societies such as Canada. In the globalization discourse, the lives and identity of citizens have become more cosmopolitan. But a cosmopolitan ideal was at the core of the imperial project as well. ‘Imperial citizenship', although not a legal status, was one of the most important identities in settler societies (Gorman 2006). If empire built a sense of community among settler nations, it had, therefore, a cosmopolitan edge, based on internationalist and humanitarian principles. It gave settlers across the globe a transnational identity and a sense of community with an origin and a future goal - that of establishing the liberal capitalist order and the liberal peace around the globe (Hall 2002).

Yet, despite the veneer of cosmopolitanism, an imperial identity hid a nationalist purpose. As Hopkins (2008) notes, ‘imperial power promoted a form of cosmopolitanism that strengthened its own sense of national identity”. Notions of imperial identity have shaped notions of Canadianness both at home and abroad (Berger 1969). The sense of imperial entitlement which accompanied Canadianness began to be challenged only in the post WW2 era by the demise of biological racism.
worldwide anti-colonial struggles, civil rights movements and the arrival of immigrants from the former colonies (Darwin, 1999; Thobani 2007).

Another commonality between imperialism and globalization discourse that postcolonial theory highlights is their alleged ‘inclusionary’ features. Imperial citizenship was modelled on a cosmopolitan notion of citizenship and moral allegiance to a wider community and was formulated as an attachment to the local, the national and the empire as a whole. In this reading, all imperial subjects were deemed to be equal (Gorman 2006). Yet in practice imperial citizenship was based on exclusion. Although settlers felt that they had a shared origin and shared traditions and values despite their different location, their sense of self was created in opposition to those who did not belong to the community. The dialectical relationship between the settler subject and its other was inscribed in the juridical order thorough citizenship and shaped state policies and practices and systematically defined him in relation to outsiders. While some others were easily assimilated into the national community expanding the boundaries of whiteness, other non-Western immigrants and refugees were differentially included and obtained a perpetually precarious and conditional entitlement to belonging (Gorman 2006, 26). Settler colonies were therefore resistant to the entry of Jews, Eastern and Southern Europeans, and shut the gates to non-white residents of the British Empire (Huttenback 1972). Indigenous people in Canada were also historically constructed as “outsiders within” and have always been at risk of erasure, genocide and annihilation both materially and symbolically. These exclusionary practices, although less overt, still characterize Canada as a settler society today, despite their self-professed ‘globalized’ identity (Thobani 2007; Coulthard 2014).

Another feature that postcolonial and critical race approaches foreground is the recurrence of ‘moral’ themes of benevolence and civility that characterize imperial and globalization
discourses. These approaches question the attempts of Western subjects to ‘develop’, ‘aid’ and ‘rescue’ individuals or communities within and outside of their national boundaries (Orford 2003; Razack 2004a-b, 2007; Heron 2007; Coleman 2006; Goldberg 2006; Silbey 1993). These benevolent practices performed either as state-sanctioned policies or stemming from the seemingly apolitical sphere of civil society rely on notions of ‘savages’ or ‘victims’, thus helping to reconstruct a Western subject and collectivity as morally sound and autonomous whereas the beneficiaries of aid are dependent, oppressed and lacking autonomy (Mutua 2001; Razack 2004; Mohanty 1991; Ong 1988). In this way, these practices rationalize and secure relations of domination (Foucault 1998 a-b; Beasley 2005; Boyd 2004; Razack 2007; Mutua 2001; Riggs 2004; Thobani 2008).

These benevolent practices, whether they involve development or peacekeeping, are centred on the notion of care (Razack, 2004, 2009; Mutua 2001; Orford 2003). Care is central to the practice of white civility. On one hand, it continues the practice of epistemic and bodily annihilation of non-Europeans by allowing the white subject to inhabit the body of the Other and to speak for her/him (Razack 2009). On the other hand, care is a modality of re-iterating an anti-conquest sensibility denying the advantages of those practicing it and in hiding their contribution in creating these very conditions of oppression. The white self is the one that gains from the practice while imagining itself as making the world a better place. Caring about the Other and knowing his experiences once we encounter him/her makes it possible to legitimize a premise of the global cosmopolis, the constitution and reinforcement of a nascent global civil society through which the Westernized becoming global citizen can legitimately extend his autonomy and agency beyond the Western family of nations and intervene in areas outside of Western liberal peace. The global civil society the citizen inhabits thus becomes a site necessary for Western citizens to perform their civility in a space imagined as beyond the nation-state and to re-articulate whiteness
as members of a civilized family of nations (Razack 2004 a, b). Indeed, the civilizing mission was not the purview of a single nation but that of Western nations (Anghie 2006). In this reading, contemporary global civil society, with its efforts to spread universal values with the promise of salvation, truth and salvation, is the “analogue of the Western missionary movements of the past” (Anderson and Rieff 2004; Anghie 2006).

3 - ‘Critical’ Global Citizenship Education and its Limits

Postcolonial and other approaches centred on race have made their entrance into the citizenship education literature in general, and GCE in particular. Postcolonial theorists question the value of Western education as an emancipatory force and bring to the fore schooling’s role in maintaining inequality and marginalising non-Western knowledges by emphasizing how in a postcolonial era education continues to be permeated by the imperial power/knowledge matrix (Hickling-Hudson et al. 2004; Asher 2009; Decuir and Nixon 2004; Subedi and Daza 2007; Coloma et al. 2009). Postcolonial scholars foreground how colonial education continues to civilize and modernize local populations in former colonies, and how, in turn, race, colonialism and empire continue to shape education in settler societies such as Canada (Brydon 2004; Willinsky 2006; Richardson 2006; Kanu 2006; Battiste et al. 2002; Donald 2009; Ng-A-Fook and Milne 2014).

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The ‘critical’ shift which occurred in the field of GCE in the early 2000s has questioned previous and more liberal accounts of this approach. While a liberal GCE conceives the global citizen as being ‘responsible’ for the Other - thereby maintaining a position of imperial superiority - in critical GCE students engage in “dialogue with the Other from whom they learn” (Andreotti 2006, 7). A critical GCE requires that the becoming global subject “transform [their] views/identities/relationships – to think otherwise” (Andreotti 2006, 1) and they experiment other forms of being while not reproducing universals and colonial relations. Once the global subject can question the present as the sum of past injustices and incorrect knowledge, new ways of acting in the world and bridging the local to the global can be performed. To avoid the pitfall of liberal GCE, these scholars have therefore called for the inclusion of post-colonial and indigenous knowledges and race-sensitive pedagogical practices (Merryfield 2000, 2001; Papastephanou 2003; Noddings 2004; McIntosh 2004; Pike 2008; Andreotti et al. 2010; Subedi 2010). According to these scholars, the move from ‘soft’ (i.e. liberal) to ‘critical’ GCE serves as a guarantee that this pedagogical approach does not reproduce Western imperialism and the white man’s burden (Andreotti 2014; Andreotti et al. 2010; Andreotti and de Souza 2012; Merryfield 2001; Merryfield and Subedi 2006; Pashby 2012; Jefferess 2012; Wright 2012).

The critical shift in GCE literature has provided a welcome contribution to the debate over this pedagogical approach, broadening the scope of its study beyond the liberal tradition that has traditionally characterized this area of research and linking it to other theoretical developments occurring in other disciplines. Yet, there are some limitations in the current critical literature on GCE that this thesis seeks to address.

While the incorporation of different perspectives and the proclaimed ‘openness’ of the field gives GCE a veneer of democratic debate, it also speaks to the moral and moralizing nature of this
approach. As a hegemonic discourse, its boundaries are in fact still tightly policed (Gee 1996). Critiques challenging the assumption that the knowledge-production underlying GCE is transparent and innocently mirroring the real are cautiously reworked.

Imports from more critical approaches to Western knowledge-production, liberalism and subjectivity are ‘poached’ in a manner that neither question e the master narrative of liberal Western progress nor the white subject’s modern epistemic privilege. Although postcolonial and postmodern ideas related to self, community and power have become common in GCE, these imports have been selective. At first sight, critical GCE, with its attention to the decentering of the Western subject and emphasis on positive images of the other, may seduce us into thinking that we are facing something new. Yet, it is the encounter necessary to know the Other that ensures the re-configuration of a racial divide in the post-national and postcolonial era. This moment of recognition guarantees the re-enactment of the colonial encounter. In these elaborations, the radical insights of postmodernism and postcolonialism are erased and made to work to renew the critical tradition of the enlightened white subject (Arneil 2007).

Moreover, even in its most postmodern and postcolonial formats, GCE’s normativity - the idea that this approach can promote a ‘better future’ entrenched in a set of norms and values about perceived political, economic and cultural conditions - cannot be detached from the universalist claims that haunt more liberal versions of GCE. If critical GCE is about knowing the Other through

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3 As Loomba (1999) warns, while the talk about decentering may make us believe that a shift in unequal power relations is occurring or sought, “this notion of a decentered subject is the latest strategy of Western colonialism.” (Loomba in Dei 2006, 17). For critiques of the function of ‘positive images of the other’ to combat racism, see Wallace 1998, Mbembe 2001 and Pratt 1996.
an epistemology attuned to the Western subject’s positionality and the use of reflexivity, “knowledge of the self” and “knowledge of the other” and “knowledge of the world” still require universalism and foundationalism to make a truth claim. In sum, GCE despite its various reformulations cannot but reproduce racialized and colonial modernity into the present.

While utilizing theories of post-colonialism, this scholarship does not radically question the project of modernity. Eurocentrism, universalism and modernity are typically understood as simply in need of critique and reformation, rather than constitutive of the issues that critical GCE is set out to ‘solve’. In other words, critical GCE still believes in the possibility of creating a democratic global society without questioning liberal precepts such as globalization as the "end of history" and the emancipatory potential present in the unfinished project of modernity (Fukuyama 1992; Habermas 1996; Hesse 2007). Critical GCE also continues to believe in a subject that can reformulate itself thanks to insights gained from the past and other voices. The global citizen and educator in this literature is a (post)modern white subject who becomes tolerant of the Other and ‘must' incorporate her. The critical global citizen is one who, for instance, asks herself the following questions: "How is modernity defined in global citizenship work? What political and ideological frames ground this understanding? How is the relationship between modernity and colonialism defined? Whose notion of time and progress is deployed in this conceptualization? What analyses of power relations are at work? How are abyssal lines established? How are they contested? What counts as knowledge and whose knowledge counts?" (Andreotti 2011, 392). Whichever the answers may be, the global white subject continues to be a reflexive and a self-critical one, a subject with enlightened characteristics. Ultimately, the answers can increase our ‘knowledge' about history and the world but do not undermine white subjectivity and agency. Reflexivity does not overcome modern subjectivity; it requires it (Pillow 2003).
Criticality is a trait of the critical global citizen (Pashby 2011). The capacity for critique is, however, a trait of the modern white subject, something that modern Other does not possess and is therefore ‘engulfed’ (Ferreira Da Silva 2007). Moreover, while the critical GCE subject is open to other knowledges, s/he is a recalcitrant when it comes to renouncing to the privilege of universalism. The reluctance to forgo the ‘critical spirit’ and universalism, together with the yearning for an ‘extension’ of citizenship beyond national boundaries and into the global, reminds us of the ubiquitous nature of whiteness. For Loomba, the talk about decentering the subject may make us believe that a shift in unequal power relations is occurring or sought, yet “this notion of a decentered subject is the latest strategy of Western colonialism.” (Loomba in Dei 2006,17).

**4 - The making of the universal subject: the curriculum as apparatus**

The present thesis builds on existing postcolonial and critical theory applied to global citizenship education while at the same time attempting to address some of the strictures that characterize the existing ‘critical’ literature described in the previous section. The premise of the argument developed in this work is to treat GCE not as a neutral field of knowledge, but as a discourse that shapes the ways texts, institutions and individuals can speak, write and represent a particular kind of knowledge about a topic and the ways in which they are limited in construing it (Hall 1992). Like other pedagogical discourses, GCE’s is socially constructed and based upon historical contingencies, and it is constituted by a set of rules that and procedures that allow for knowledge production through specific pedagogical interactions. Pedagogical discourse enforces the instruction and practice of certain skills and content within a particular social order and pedagogical discourse constructs specific identities, thus functioning as a technology of regulation (Bernstein 1990, 1996).
In following Hooks' materialist interpretation, in this thesis ‘discourse' is considered as constituting the basis of "forms of practice" tied to "physical and material arrangements of force." (Hook 2001, 530). In the specific case of this research, these arrangements of force consist of the teaching and learning practices adopted in a GCE-infused curriculum in Canada and other Western countries. Curricula, as officially-mandated programs defining the experiences of the learners in schools\(^4\), are composed of "forms of knowledge whose function are those of regulating and disciplining the individual" (Popkewitz 2003, 458). In this thesis, the curriculum is therefore understood as an instance of an *apparatus*, which, according to Foucault, is a "thoroughly heterogeneous set consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral, and philanthropic propositions." (Foucault cited in Agamben, 2009, 2; Popkewitz 1997, 132) Rather than a descriptive account of power, the apparatus is "part of an ontological reckoning of it as a multiplicity of forces. It is strongly relational, emphasizing a particular arrangement and conjunction of plural forces." (Bussolini 2010) The apparatus as a ‘technology of power' is pivotal to processes of subjectification and community building, given that it directs the individual on how to see, feel, act and understand the world, the self and the other (Agamben 2009; Bussolini 2010). The curriculum as apparatus normalizes what the student is and what s/he must become a member of society. It teaches students established economic and social values and dispositions. The curriculum can also be used as a means to assimilate new members of society (e.g. immigrants) so

\[^4\text{According to Egan, while the definition of 'curriculum' is ambiguous and contested in the educational field, the term can refer to "either all the experiences occurring in a school setting or simply a blueprint for achieving restricted objectives in a school setting, or includes the statement of objectives as well, or also the evaluation of their achievement (…)." (Egan 2003, 10).}\]
that they could become like ‘another-one of-us’ (Apple 2004). At the same time, the curriculum can privilege certain knowledges over others and affirm certain students over others (McLaren 2009). Feminist curricular scholars have emphasized that as a form of knowledge production based on rationality, objectivity and linearity, the curriculum in the Western world has traditionally been a raced, classed and gendered text that represents the values of white, middle-class males (Tyack and Hansot 1990; Grumet 1988).

Understood in these terms, the deployment of curricula represents an example of what Foucault called ‘governmentality’ (1979b), namely "the art of governing in which the tactics of regulating society would interrelate with the patterns of personal decision making and reasoning through which individuals judged their own competence and achievements" (Popkewitz 1998, 542). The Foucauldian notion of governmentality makes visible the hidden relationships between curriculum and broader social, economic and political relations in a given community. Nicholas Rose speaks to the importance of governmentality when considering citizenship education: "Government is achieved through educating citizens in their professional roles and in their personal lives- in the languages by which they interpret their experiences, the norms by which they should evaluate them, the techniques by which they should evaluate them." (Rose 1998,76). The curriculum is the main tool through which a particular vision of the polity is reproduced. By mirroring power dynamics that define individual societies, curricula are therefore ideal texts to study the modern and contemporary global social imaginary and landscape. They allow us to map how hierarchies are erased, rebuild and or maintained in the present. Potentially, they can also represent sites of resistance in which it is possible to decenter Eurocentric knowledge (Yatta 2003).
In order to foreground its key features and trace its evolution over time, this thesis analyzes the discourse surrounding GCE as it has been deployed in Canadian curricula through a spatio-temporal axis. This approach is based on the insights of Ferreira da Silva’s work on the evolution of Western modern thought, and in particular on the concepts of ‘globality’ and ‘historicity’ (Ferreira da Silva 2007). For Ferreira da Silva these terms represent constitutive discursive practices that aim at differentiating subjectivities and societies within modernity.

‘Globality’ is a socio-political field of meaning that uses space to associate certain regions with certain types of subjectivity (Ferreira da Silva 2007, 39). In everyday parlance "globalization" is often taken to mean a homogenization through the dissemination of ‘Western' (i.e. modern) ideals and culture to non-white (pre-modern) parts of the world. This liberal vision thus entails a complete homogenization of global space and the purging of racism as an issue of the past. Yet in this project some bodies, even if in physical proximity, are marked as being from ‘elsewhere' and not being autonomous subjects. According to Da Silva, contemporary representations of societies and individuals maintain the co-constitutive premise of the racialized globality of modernity. Nations continue the work of globality given that they are associated with the qualities of the minds of inhabitants of a particular territory (e.g. ‘Canada as the North Strong and Free’; Ferreira da Silva 2007, 166). Because globality affects the perception/representation of the body, the Other is always recognizable, even when living in proximity to whiteness, as geographically and mentally different and as a risk to the liberal polity (ibid., 214).

Similar racialized dynamics characterize the temporal dimension that defines the GCE discourse, namely that of ‘historicity’. To be outside of the universal of humanity is to have a consciousness mediated by contingency and space. It is only Europe that is determined by historicity-time and by self-determining subjects and polities; the Other comes from regions
overdetermined by space. The liberal vision of the world consists of a modern core and a premodern periphery and, through progress, or, more recently, globalization, modernity can be spread across the globe. It follows that for the benefit of the world Western modernity must ‘expand’ and subjects that have been excluded must be included in the present. This is an impossibility for Ferreira da Silva since, despite the possibility of bringing ‘them’ in ‘our’ present, globality will always have them constructed as geographically and mentally different (Ferreira da Silva 2007, 118).

Ferreira da Silva’s understanding of space and time as co-constitutive of the ontological relations of race works well for an analysis of a settler society such as Canada. In analyzing the relationship between Blackness and Canadian imagined geography, critical black feminist scholar Katherine McKittrick highlights Canada “has and is still defining its history as Euro-white, or nonblack.” (McKittrick 2006, 92). Blacks constitute a “surprise” in Canada’s imagined space even though they have been in the country since the 17th century (Mathieu 2010; Winks 1997; Bolaria and Li 1988). The same erasure from Canada’s imagined and material geography has occurred with the Indigenous population and non-European immigrants such as the Chinese and South Asian (Tomiak 2017; Thobani 2007).

This thesis argues that the discursive practices of historicity and globality have informed - and continue to inform - the structure of the social studies curriculum in Canada. This structure is ‘spiral’. The term is borrowed from Bruner (1966), who used it to refer to a representation of cognitive structures based on the notion that early learning provides the foundation for later, more complex learning, and that ideas and topics should be presented in a form that is appropriate to the
developmental stage of the learners\textsuperscript{5}. In a spiral curriculum pedagogical content is organized according to an ‘expanding horizons’ approach, which emphasizes learning first about what is close and familiar to the student and then moving to more complex and distant ideas (Wade 2002). As applied to Canada’s social studies curricula, the ‘expanding horizon’ approach entails that a subject such as history should be introduced at the level of the family, community and then nationally and globally; in turn, geography should start from the close and observable and then move on to the farther and more abstract (Shields and Ramsay 2004; Mackay and Gibson 1999).

The dynamics underlying the organization of the teaching and learning in the curriculum described above are not, however, neutral and innocent, and more akin to the ‘perpetual spirals of power and pleasure’ that Foucault describes in his genealogical analysis of the History of Sexuality (Foucault 1978). The spiral curriculum, while claiming to reflect the needs of learners, is instrumental in seducing the child into becoming a modern subject when she/he encounters the world and the Other. The spiral structure creates a subject who gains pleasure from "(…) exercising a power that questions, monitors, watches, spies, searches out, palpates, brings to light” (Foucault 1978, 45). This organization of the curriculum is therefore not about just content but also about how to govern the child. The spiral curriculum is instrumental in the reproduction of a particular subject, a subject that is an enterprising modern ‘imperial’ agent whose epistemological and material power is determined by globality and historicity (Foucault 1982; Savoia 2012). These dynamics occur both diachronically and synchronically. Diachronically, the spiral curriculum defines the white imperial subject by confirming what Fabian calls a ‘denial of coevalness’ (Fabian

\textsuperscript{5} Bruner’s ‘spiral curriculum’ model influenced curricular reform in the 1950s and 1960s in the areas of math, physical sciences and social studies (Efland 1995).
2002) between him and those who do not mirror his profile. Western societies will be studied in terms of progress, while non-Western societies are presented as ‘stuck in time’; similarly, Western subjects as able to transcend their environment, while others are engulfed by it. Synchronically, by looking at different types of societies and/or economies in the present, the spiral curriculum allows the learning subject to re-instate himself at the apex of history while allocating the others in a temporal lag. This dynamic establishes racial hierarchies and prevent moves towards decoloniality (Mignolo 2011).

A Foucauldian understanding of ‘perpetual spirals of power and pleasure’ also points to the driving forces that compel individuals to follow the logics of globality and historicity that characterize the spiral curriculum. In this reading, learners are ‘seduced’ to reproduce these dynamics thanks to the ‘pleasure’ that the will-to-know-the-other entails. According to Foucault, knowledge, power and pleasure are tightly interconnected, with power/knowledge needing pleasure to seduce its subjects (Dean 2012). In this context, the will to know and help the Other are undergirded by pleasure experienced the powerful subject who feels morally superior (Narayan 1995; Grewal 1996, 2003; Heron 2007). This feeling does not only occur on the ground in development projects but also in the classroom through, for instance, reading texts about the Other (Sensoy and Marshall 2010).

The power dynamics underlying this ‘spiral' vision of the curriculum are apparent in the way the discourse of global citizenship education in Canada has been deployed over time, and in particular how it has reproduced and weaved together representations of the ideal citizen as a subject and his relations with the community where he is inserted and with others beyond this community. The analysis of these representations and their evolution constitutes the core of the empirical chapters in this thesis; the following section outlines the methodological framework used to study them.
5 - Tracing Global Citizenship Education as discourse: methodological issues

The methodological approach used in this thesis to perform a critical analysis of global citizenship education is grounded in the educational research inspired by Michel Foucault’s vast and eclectic work (Varela 1999, 2001; Hunter 1996; Hultqvist, Baker; Marshall 1996b; Olssen 2005; Canavanaugh, Curtis; Peters; Fendler, 1998; Popkewitz, 2004; Tamboukou, 2000). More specifically, this thesis relies on a Foucauldian-inspired genealogy to trace the origins and evolution of the discourse supporting GCE (Dean 1992; Sheurich and Bell 2005). Cousins and Hussain liken Foucault’s genealogy to case history, where the aim is not to reconstitute the past, but instead, “evidence is related to the problem which is to be investigated” (1990, 3). For Anais “Genealogists undertake historical investigations of the emergence of certain epistemological structures and their associated discourses, as well as how knowledge, power, and claims to truth interact both to form cascades of practice and to reinforce the discourses that they emanate from” (Anais 2013, 125). When applied to analyze textual data such as curricula, genealogy presupposes a ‘reversal' which allows questioning the ‘origin', ‘emergence' of a discourse showing how they are not attached to the real in the present but finding new sources of their emergence (Hook 2001, 6

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6 In this context, 'text' refers to a concrete manifestation of practices organized within particular discourses. Examples of text include written passages, oral communications, nonverbal communications, and visual forms of communication such as photographs, paintings, and sculpture. The education curriculum, like policy statements, textbooks, newspapers, and visual media can, therefore, be viewed as a text embodying discourses that articulate ideas, beliefs, values, and practices.
In questioning the emergence of GCE this work looks for alternative ‘routes' and attempts to find them not beyond but within the nationalized context of Canadian citizenship education. As noted above, mainstream GCE literature refers to the approach's emergence from development and peace education in the 1960s and the ethical liberalism characterizing Canadian political culture in the same period (Lyons 1996; Mundy et al. 2007; Pike 2008; Richardson 2008). In going against GCE's benevolent narrative of ‘origins', this thesis analyses a variety of documents related to citizenship education in Canada prior to that period, going back to the 1930s when education for national identity was already a concern (Manzer 1994; Pratt 1996; McDonald 1978). It is in this broader historical context that it possible to consider GCE as a component of a contemporary discourse of white benevolence that relaunches colonial race-thinking in the postcolonial present.

In following Hooks methodological principles of genealogical analysis this thesis considers “the conditions of possibility” that allow for the emergence of GCE in education curricula (Seale et al. 2003, 144; Foucault 1998, 369-389). Emergence can be defined as "the deployment of various processes and power relationships in various systems of subjection within which things appeared as events on the stage of history." (Tamboukou 1999, 209) To analyse the emergence of GCE, this thesis tends to the simultaneous evolution of the power/knowledge matrix present in the modern system of subjection that is the nation-state and the globalization and cosmopolitanizing of the social sciences which declare the nation-state as moribund and call for a reconceptualization of our understanding of self, community and world (Fine 2003; Pieterse, 2006; Szeman 2007, Connell 2010). As this thesis seeks to reconstruct the emergence of the Canadian citizen-subject as a global citizen and the alleged break this constitutes from previous forms of citizenship education, this effort requires a critical engagement with history to get to the present. Genealogy is, in that sense, “effective history” because its intent is to problematize the present by revealing the power relations upon which it depends and the contingent processes that have brought it into being (see Dean,
1994). As Foucault (1991: 82) writes: "The search for descent is not the erecting of foundations; on the contrary, it disturbs what was previously thought immobile; it fragments what was thought unified; its shows the heterogeneity of what was imagined consistent with itself."

Genealogy as a method also presupposes aiming at “discontinuity”, thus interrupting a notion of teleological progress inherent to narratives of citizenship and citizenship education (ibid., 533-535). Thus, rather than tracing only what is unique to GCE, going against teleological history and ‘unity’ in knowledge, this thesis searches for the presence of educational concepts and goals which in the past had the same ‘function’, namely that of responding to the necessities of a socially constructed ‘real’ and its ‘crisis’ (ibid, 533). This method is particularly useful since uncovering the emergence of the global citizen requires that the researcher position herself vis à vis the present which in this thesis is not understood, as for mainstream GCE scholars, as the teleological culmination of a series of events or as one of the stages of a developmental history of humanity, but as “a stage in the struggle between forces” (ibid.).

Genealogy seems to be particularly apt as a technique for the present inquiry, for GCE situates itself historically in the ‘present’, as emerging from the necessity of a new type of citizenship, but also as the last step in the evolution of Western liberal thinking. From a genealogical perspective, GCE can be considered as a moralizing discourse that fabricates the present, indicates solutions to its problems and promises a better future. As a methodology of “critique and suspicion” (Hook 2005, 5), genealogy can de-stabilize the good moral subject of the Canadian nation par excellence, the citizen. From a critical point of view a non-political, "natural" subject cannot exist (Foucault 1980).

In operational terms, the genealogical analysis of the evolution of social studies curricula in Canada will be performed through the application critical discourse analysis (hereafter CDA;
Hook 2001, 2005; Anais 2013). CDA seems particularly apt for a Foucauldian inspired genealogy of the “global citizen” in Ontario’s citizenship education given that this methodological approach brings “social theory and discourse analysis together to describe, interpret, and explain the ways in which discourse constructs, becomes constructed by, represents, and becomes represented by the social world.” (Rogers et al. 2005, 366). This type of textual analysis focuses on the ways that power manifests itself through language, thus identifying and demystifying the reciprocal power/knowledge relations that beget, and concomitantly, are inscribed within the discursive construction of reality. CDA pays attention to the materiality of power, namely the historical conditions of possibility of knowledge production and social practices, thus highlighting how the ‘truths’ in a discourse benefit certain systems and groups (Yates and Hiles 2010). As a method to analyze data, CDA seeks to find patterns and trends in texts foregrounding not only what is ‘said’, but also “all the discursive rules and categories that were a priori, assumed as a constituent part of discourse and therefore of knowledge.” (Young 1981, 48 in Hook 2001, 522). The patterns and trends extrapolated from the textual data are then organized along key recurring themes, or ‘discursive nodes’. In this work, the three key nodes that define GCE as discourse consists of 1) the profiling of the student’s ‘self’ as citizen; 2) students/citizens’ relationship with the communities in which they are inserted and 3) students/citizens’ relations with the ‘Other’ (i.e. non-Western and Indigenous subjects). This tripartite structuring of the GCE discourse reflects the way modern ‘child-centred’ pedagogy is organized, in particular its emphasis on students’ individuality and their engagement with society beyond the classroom (Walkerdine 1984; Baker 1998, 1999; Cavanaugh 2001). To reconstruct the genealogy of the ‘self’, ‘community’ and ‘Other’ nodes in the Ontario curriculum the thesis utilizes what Ferreira Da Silva has defined “discursive formations of modernity”, which have been pivotal to the making and maintenance of the enlightenment’s subject, namely ‘globality’ and ‘historicity’. The thesis seeks for references to
historicity and globality across curricular documents and look at how, and, if so, how, notions of ‘self’, ‘community’ and ‘Other’ have changed over time. By examining historicity and globality vis à vis subject, other, and community, the thesis traces continuities in the making of the global subject in citizenship education.

Case selection and source material

The genealogical method to study the textual data outlined above will be applied to examine the GCE-infused curriculum in one Canadian province, namely Ontario. As noted earlier, Canada has been at the vanguard of GCE theorizing and implementation in school curricula (Holland 2004; Mundy 2007). Moreover, some of the distinguishing features of the nation's imaginary (i.e. multiculturalism and its activism in fields such as international development and peacekeeping) are particularly consistent with GCE philosophy (Lyons 1996; Mundy 2004). Given that education in Canada (a federal system) is under provincial jurisdiction, the drafting and implementation of curricula fall into each province's sphere of responsibilities. The reasons for the selection of Ontario as lead case study stems from the fact that this province, given its size and clout, has historically been a leader in educational policy in Canada, and has exerted substantial influence in the development of educational policies nationally (O'Sullivan 1999). Crucially, the Ontario Ministry of Education has been one of the first to support the incorporation of GCE into the curriculum (Pike 1996). Ontario has also a long-standing interest in educating youth to become good citizens that dates back to the 1840s, and therefore represents a rich source of material to study the evolution of citizenship education over time.
The primary material examined in this work comprises elementary and secondary social studies curricula and other relevant policy documents produced in Ontario from the 1930s to the 2010s and includes the following texts:

1) Ontario Department of Education’s Program of Studies (‘POS’), Courses of Studies (‘COS’), and Curricular Guidelines (‘CG’) for Social Studies (geography, history and civics)

2) Teacher resource books and manuals incorporating a GCE perspective and similar materials

3) Reports by the Ontario Department of Education, Ontario Ministry of Education, Council of Ministers of Education Canada and educational organizations

4) Articles related to citizenship education in national and local newspapers.

The choice of the social studies curricula as primary source of data is based upon the fact that social studies, since it was introduced as a subject in the Ontario educational system in the 1930s, has been tasked with forming the ideal Canadian citizen, an individual who is able to deal with modern social problems such as urbanization, poverty, and immigration. As Cavanaugh notes, social studies “promised to provide the next generation with citizenship skills to curb the difficulties associated with a highly diversified and changing society” (Cavanaugh 2001, 403). These difficulties have included “rapid technological innovation, industrialization, urbanization, immigration from non-English-speaking countries, the declining role of the church in public affairs, the rise of scientific rationality, and a belief in universal humanism.” (Cavanaugh 2001,

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7 A full list of texts analyzed in this work is available in the thesis' appendices. In terms of locating these texts, most contemporary documents are available on provincial educational websites, online archives and databases for educators and researchers. Other historical documents are located in archives such as the Ontario provincial archives.
410; see also Sears 1994). The analysis of these curricular documents is complemented with educational policy documents commissioned by the Ministry of Education and related departments. These texts provide relevant information on how the pedagogical discourse in Ontario has evolved over time, and, from their content, it will be possible to extrapolate important connections between the field of education and broader social, economic and political dynamics that have shaped Canadian society in the last century (Joshee 2004, 2007).

These texts are organized in four historical periods, each representing a distinctive phase in the discursive trajectory of citizenship education in Canada: the interwar era (1920-1940s); the post-war era (1950-1960s); the Multicultural era (1970s-1980s); the post-cold war era (1990s to 2010s). By utilizing this periodization the thesis aims at questioning the claim in mainstream literature on GCE that the emergence of the ‘global citizen’ in Canada’s school curricula since the 1990s represents a true ‘epistemic break’ from modernist and imperial understandings of self, community and Other. As Mignolo notes: “‘Coloniality of knowledge and of being’ is hidden behind the celebration of epistemic breaks and paradigmatic changes. Epistemic breaks and paradigmatic changes belong and happen within a conception of knowledge that originated in the European Renaissance (that is, in that space and at that time), and through the Enlightenment reached the heart of Europe.” (Mignolo 2011, 278-279). By examining curricular texts drafted in these historical periods, the thesis seeks to demonstrate the continuity of the process of re-articulation of the Enlightenment subject vis à vis historical contingencies (Mignolo 2011; Foucault 1996; Flynn, 2005). Each of these historical phases, in fact, encompasses important shifts in the articulation of Canadian nationalism, which, in turn, have had a significant impact on the definition of ‘Canadian citizen’, and on how these changes have been reflected in pedagogical practices (Breton 1988; Mackey 1999; Harper 1997; Broom 2008). The evolution in the trajectory of Canadian nationalism over time will be examined more in detail in the thesis’ empirical
chapters, in the sections outlining the historical socio-economic context in which curricula in Ontario schools were conceived and implemented.

6 - Thesis preview

The thesis is organized in the following way. Each of the empirical chapters included in this work (Chapters two to five) cover the developments characterizing citizenship education in Ontario in the four selected historical periods. These chapters are structured in a similar fashion, starting with an overview of the relevant socio-economic historical context in Canada for the period under examination, then moving to the analysis of the key developments characterizing pedagogy of the time, before outlining a narrative that captures the dominant ‘globalizing’ educational discourse as it transpires from the official social sciences curricula and other relevant pedagogical texts produced in Ontario in the same period. The first of this chapters (Chapter 2) examines the developments characterizing citizenship education in Ontario in the interwar period. While paying attention to the pedagogical ‘break’ constituted by progressive education, this chapter foregrounds aspects of the curricula that have been less analysed by educational scholars, namely the influence of the ethical liberalism and liberal internationalism on the era’s pedagogy, focusing on the ways in which these philosophical traditions have shaped conceptions of self, community and care for the other in the classroom. Chapters 3 examines developments occurring in the two decades following the second world war. With the Cold war as a backdrop, the chapter examines debates within Canada about national identity and the rise of ‘new internationalism' as a tool of liberal global order. It then moves to the analysis of key educational policy documents of the time, the Hope and Hall-Dennis Reports, showing how, despite their stated goals of reform, they did not break with the universalizing dynamics that characterized pedagogy in the previous era, and how
their 'progressive' tenets were reproduced in the postwar curriculum. Chapter 4 covers the beginning of 'multicultural era' in Canadian history (1970s-1980s), illustrating the ways in which multiculturalism as a new philosophy and set of policies was received and adapted in Canada’s educational system. By critically examining multicultural pedagogy’s key tenets, this chapter shows how this approach still reproduces dynamics of globality and historicity and its exclusionary discursive practices, as attested by the ways tropes of the ‘Canadian child’, ‘immigrant child’ and ‘Indian child’ were deployed in early multicultural curricula. Chapter 5 is the last empirical chapter and examines more recent developments in the evolution of citizenship education in Canada (1990s to 2010s), paying special attention to the origins of the contemporary discourse about GCE. This period is characterized by the liberal hope for a peaceful ‘end of history’ in the aftermath of the demise of the Cold War, and a renewed Canadian international activism through activities such as peacekeeping, but also a time of anxiety due to the fear of terrorism and, more recently, economic insecurity. This is also a time when the debate over globalization exploded. The chapter traces how the debate seeped into pedagogy in Canada, influencing the turn to ‘critical multiculturalism’ in education and its applications in contemporary curricular practices. The concluding chapter (Chapter 6) recaps the main tenets of the argument presented in the thesis and then addresses its theoretical implications for current debates over GCE. In particular, this chapter questions the viability of pedagogical models that claim to able to overcome difference among individuals without addressing the fundamentally unequal structures of power that characterize the society in which these educational experiments take place and the relations between this society and the rest of the world.

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Chapter 2

Progressive Education and the Making of ‘Canadianness’ in the Interwar era (1920-1940s)

Chapter summary

The present chapter examines the developments characterizing citizenship education in Ontario in the interwar period. The chapter starts with an overview of the socio-economic context characterizing Canada from the 1920s to the 1940s, then moving to the analysis of the key developments characterizing the pedagogy of the time. While paying attention to the pedagogical ‘break’ constituted by progressive education, this chapter foregrounds the influence of the ideologies of ethical liberalism and liberal internationalism on the era’s pedagogy. The second part of the chapter looks at how these philosophical traditions have shaped conceptions of self, community and care for the Other in the interwar classrooms. Using as source material the social sciences curricula and other relevant pedagogical texts, this section reconstructs the dominant educational discourse that characterized citizenship education of the time, showing how efforts to create ‘global citizens' in the classroom were already present in early years of Canada's journey towards autonomy and independence from the British empire.
1 - Interwar Canada and the rise of ethical liberalism and internationalism

In the post World War I era Canada experienced substantial economic and social transformations (Patterson 1987, 1970). This period was characterised by rapid industrialization and urbanization, the latter fuelled by large inflows of new immigrants. In the 1920s parts of the country were undergoing an unprecedented economic boom. This was especially so in the case of Ontario, as the province became an industrial hotspot thanks to the exploitation of its lumber and mineral resources and the development of the automobile and manufacturing industry. This was an era of optimism, with notions of progress and modernity dominating the public discourse. The advent of the Great Depression in 1929, however, put a damper on this optimism, leading to a period of political unrest. The labour movement claiming more rights for workers was particularly restless, but also other members of society became more politically engaged. It is in this period that Canadian women fought to gain representation and eventually won suffrage. As a response to this economic and social turmoil, the Canadian government became more involved in the lives of Canadians with the introduction of the first significant welfare measures and large investments in public works projects to support the economic recovery and increase employment levels.

These rapid socio-economic transformations highlighted some of the challenges that Canada as a country faced regarding its own identity. While the Great War had evoked a sense of national unity among Canada's English-speaking middle class, it had also triggered shocks along the country's fault lines of ethnicity, language, class and religion (Mitchell 1996). From the point of view of Canadianness, the Dominion’s identity in the interwar period was one in which Canadianness (the national) was still anchored in British identity (the Empire; Igartua 2006, 6). By the end of WWI Canadians transitioned into an era characterized by industrialization, urbanization and middle-class Canadians dealt with the crisis by creating a national identity
couched in a particular idiom of nationalism informed by a common Canadianism rooted in Anglo-
conformity and a citizenship framed in notions of service, obedience, obligation and fidelity to the
state (Mitchell 1996, 360).

In the interwar era, therefore, the question of Canadian identity and nationhood loomed at
the centre of the struggle to shape the new order. This struggle is well illustrated by the migration
and integration policies of the time. In this period Canadian immigration legislation restricted
access and residency in the country to individuals of non-Europeans descent (e.g. 1923 Chinese
Immigration Act; Boyd and Vickers 2000). These exclusionary practices were also deployed
towards Asian immigrants already present in the country, who, despite being disenfranchised, were
spatially segregated (Stanley 2011). Segregation was also the outcome of the assimilationist
regime encompassing legal, social and educational policies that aimed at ‘Europeanize' Indigenous
communities (Howlett 1994).

In parallel to the unfolding of these exclusionary practices, and, as argued in this work,
consistent with their underlying premises, a new dominant political-philosophical discourse was
taking root in Canada in this period, namely ethical liberalism. This political philosophy puts forth
the notion of "a society founded on the principle of universal human development, in which all
persons have equal opportunities to develop fully their special abilities and participate freely in the
political, economic, social, and cultural life of their community" (Manzer 1994, 148). In this liberal
ideal, the subject is one in development and able to change, and the state has a role in promoting
individual growth so all that individuals can actively take part in the life of their community. With
ethical liberalism, the government's intervention in the public sphere is legitimate in that it fosters
individual growth and equal opportunity in social participation. Tightly connected to the
consolidation of the welfare state, ethical liberalism represented a step forward towards a reformed liberal society through an ever-evolving critical response to the present.

As a new political rationality and form of governmentality, ethical liberalism was instrumental in maintaining the liberal peace. Ethical liberalism endorses state intervention to reform the most negative aspects of capitalism. Since the mid-19th-century compassion had become "party to liberal forms of control and government" (Reid-Henry 2014,423) and humanitarianism had been appropriated in imperial and state official discourses. Far from being a moral stronghold untouched by politics, humanitarianism is a means through which the project of a liberal polity is constantly reconstituted allowing for the management of security and other economic, political and social risks (Calhoun 2008; Reid-Henry 2014). The ‘politics of care' therefore overlap with the more domineering aspects of nation and empire (Razack 2004; Thobani 2007; Reid-Henry 2014).

If ethical liberalism is deeply enmeshed with ideas of progress and modernity so is another discourse that emerged at the end of the 19th century and became prominent in the interwar period in Canada, namely liberal internationalism (See Fuchs 2004; Sylvester 2005; Alexander 2009). Internationalism in this period meant co-operation among individuals, groups, nations and the development of international law. In the British imperial context internationalism was a moral argument. An international consciousness was considered necessary for progress, continuity and order at the international level (Sylvester 2005). Internationalism, which will become a constant feature of Canadian identity throughout the 20th century, reached its heyday after WW1. Internationalism became part of the Canadian social fabric. In the 1938 book Canada looks Abroad, MacKay and Rogers state that “Canadians believe they have obligations towards their fellow Canadians, members of the Commonwealth of Nations and also to promote peace in the
world under the League of Nations” (MacKay and Rogers 1938, 249). The rise of humane internationalism as a national political rationality in Canada thus begins earlier than generally accounted for by Canadian educational scholars who identify it in the post WW2 era and the emergence of international education⁸.

Internationalism had a multi-pronged effect on the British nation and its Canadian sibling⁹. The 1920s and 1930s are marked by a new imperial vision that saw the British empire as an as a peaceful, egalitarian, and interracial family. Internationalism was part of Great Britain’s imperial imaginary in the early 20th century (Baughan 2012). While the civilizing mission of empire becomes ‘internationalized', it is not detached from an imagined liberal commonwealth of whiteness. Internationalism shared with its modern siblings, nationalism and empire, the ability to rank humanity. If nation and empire were based upon assumptions of a universal image of the white man and orderly organization, so was internationalism. As Mackenzie (2006) notes, the League of Nations' internationalism did not oppose an imperial world. As a matter of fact, it contradicted neither Darwinian notions of racial superiority nor the more humanitarian imperial agenda based upon the civilizing mission aiming at improving the Others life through empire. Internationalism was, therefore, a form of reformed imperialism which was now controlled internationally and rendered internationally accountable (Mackenzie 2006, 256). If in the present it has become common in public and academic discourse to consider globalization and global

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⁸ See, for instance, Mundy (2007) and Lyons (1996).

⁹ The post WW1 internationalism in education is called by Goodman (2007) the ‘lost history’ of internationalism, as only recently it has received more attention in the field of history of education.
consciousness as the fruit of modernity\textsuperscript{10}, interwar liberal internationalism makes us see how they are instead the \textit{precondition} of modernity (Robertson 1992, 2001; Da Silva Ferreira 2007)

Liberal internationalism in the interwar era with its emphasis on national ‘interdependence’ and its representation of the world as a community - can be understood as a critical response to the crisis of modernity caused by the WW1 the crisis of empire and insurgent anti-colonial struggles. Also, the Western faith in the salvific powers of reason had not led to a state of peace and justice but caused destruction and death (Rosner 2012). If WW1 put in crisis the ideal of Western progress and the salvific effects of science challenging the west, the emergence of internationalism was able to further the west’s progression towards “rational spaciousness and secular luminosity of the Modern” (Wynters 2000, 120). Internationalism thus saved the modern racial and political order of the West in a moment of crisis and allowed for the continuation of imperial humanitarianism under the guise of benevolent empire.

\textbf{2 - From Ethical Liberalism and Internationalism to Progressive Education: Pedagogy in Canada in the Interwar Era}

The developments highlighted in the previous section had important repercussions on pedagogy in Canada. The dominance of ethical liberalism and internationalism in public discourse was reflected in the emergence of progressive education (hereafter PE) as dominant pedagogical approach among school officials, political leaders and social reformers, and as one of the drivers of school reform in this period. This approach's objective was social reformation by responding to

\textsuperscript{10} See, for instance, Giddens 1990
the challenges of the present and improving a society marked by war and economic depression (Heyking 1998; Lemsco and Clausen 2006; Patterson 1986; Christou 2013). PE's foundations can be traced to the European philosophical thought of Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Herbart, Froebel and Hegel and American pragmatists such as Dewey and Kilpatrick (Johnson 1968, 132). PE constitutes a critique of the humanist curriculum with its passive forms of learning individualised and active learning through content that relates to the lives of learners. Progressive educators also argue that education should lead to the realization of the holistic individual’s potential and to the making of self-directed and moral citizens. Following Dewey, progressive educators believe that learning as a social activity should be ‘hands-on’ and experiential and which will lead to participating in socially-relevant activities in the world (Kaplan 2013).

Moving away from drill and rote-learning, PE emphasizes how it is the child and his interests that should determine the subject of learning. The child is an agent, not an empty receptacle. Children should learn by doing, and thus special attention is paid to the ‘activities' to be carried out in the classroom; subjects are made interesting to the child by giving concrete examples. Discipline in the classroom is reconceptualized as well. The teacher as woman is caring and understanding and the child must feel ‘free' and become enlightened by developing into an autonomous and self-regulating subject (Wakerdine 1985, 1990; Steedman 1985). The ultimate goal of PE is thus the creation of the autonomous male subject of the enlightenment. Progressivism also aims at bringing ideals of liberal democracy into the school. The overarching goal of a progressive education was that of fostering child development to make an adult capable of autonomous decision making (Johnson 1968, 133).

This educational philosophy brought attention to the problem of individual differences in public and a concern for subject matter and structure in learning (Johnson 1968, 139). Progressive
pedagogy rests on the respect of diversity meaning that each individual has specific needs, abilities, ideas and cultural identity and the development of skills that allow youth to become critical and engaged citizens. The attitude that this critical active citizen should adopt has also strong moral undertones. The subject undergirding PE mirrors the moral subject undergirding ethical liberalism within the nation and liberal internationalism outside the nation.

If the interwar period is one of change and turmoil, it also one of progress and of novelty, then there is a need for a pedagogy that allows students to become active and competent decision-makers capable of overcoming the challenges of the present. PE was also a response to the fast-changing pace of modernity, of heightened possibility of travel and communication, to a society that was becoming more complex. Supporters of progressive education wished to erase the gap between schooling and society so that children could meet "the demands of modern complex civilization." (Moore 1928, quoted in Christou, 2013, 16).

The spread of progressive ideas into citizenship education occurs in the context of an apparent discursive shift in the way Canadian identity is perceived and taught. It is in the interwar period that the ‘imperial' dimension of Canadian education begins to dwindle since it is the time of the rise of the Canadian nation and the enactment of the Canadian Citizenship Act in 1946. However, this shift should not be overestimated. This type of perspective depends on the commonsensical notion that nation and empire are two opposite forces which cannot co-exist. Nationalism and empire did co-exist in Canada as in other dominions. In the interwar era, educational systems in Canada and Britain were still closely connected and teaching a form of
'imperial citizenship' was one of the educational foci\textsuperscript{11}. According to Benjamin Bryce (2017), education in this period was fundamental in rebalancing the relationship between Britain and the dominions and attaining more economic and political autonomy from the metropole. Teachers and politicians drew on an international support network searching for new ideas in citizenship teaching while striving to assert Canada’s belonging in a changing empire.

While using imperial ties to promote Canadian nationalism may seem a paradox, imperial subjectivity helped British Canadians to mark the country as British and white, providing a rationale for the assimilation of non-British immigrants and Indigenous populations. The maintenance of imperial subject was key to legitimizing Canada’s political autonomy given the overlapping of Britishness and modern whiteness (see Coleman 2006)\textsuperscript{12}.

Thus, even in a ‘progressive’ context, the school’s main purpose remained that of ‘Canadianizing’ children, in particular those from immigrant backgrounds (Bruno-Jofré’ 1998). In 1927, the Ontario Minister of Education stated that education “Is exercising a wholesome Canadianizing influence. Parents and pupils are making contact with Canadian history, ideals, modes of life and government.” It should be noted, however, that in the interwar period, the education of immigrants referred mainly to European settlers. Black and Asian children experienced segregated schooling and indigenous people were forcibly removed from their

\textsuperscript{11} ‘Imperial citizenship’ was not a legal status, and it referred only to civic and cultural behaviours. ‘Canadian citizenship’ became a legal category only in 1946.

\textsuperscript{12} In 1921 55\% of Canada's population was of English, Scottish and Irish descent and 285 were of French descent. 145 were of other European heritage. Out of the 8.8 million inhabitants, 100.000 were defined by the Canadian census as ‘Indians’, 65.000 from Asia and 18.000 of African heritage (Bryce 2017, 609).
families and communities (Stanley 2011; McLaren 2004; Fournier and Crey 1997). The racial ‘colour line' was still firmly in place even in this alleged ‘progressive' era (Osbourne 2000). Far from being apolitical and civil, progressive education was individualizing and totalizing technology that created hierarchies among individuals and collectivities.

Another ‘progressive' innovations introduced in this period was the attempt to break disciplinary boundaries with the creation of various ‘fusion' courses under the ‘social studies' label that involved themes from history, geography and civics. In the choice of the content for these courses, the emphasis was put on the international dimension and on ways in which students could make a difference in tackling difficult problems at home and abroad (Fuchs 2004)\(^{13}\) These themes were reiterated over the years and becoming more sophisticated. The purpose of these offerings was to achieve “mastery of the connexity and structure of a large body of knowledge (…)” (Bruner 1960 in Harden and Stomper 1999). ‘Fusion’ courses with their internationalist features as they were offered in the interwar period are consistent with a ‘spiral’ understanding of the curriculum. This spiral structure, with its incessant connection both within and among subjects in space and time, its organization of knowledge and intervention on the student is a suitable trope for Enlightenment’s modernist project of a truly ‘global’ citizen. The next sections analyze three key components constituting of this early ‘globalizing’ pedagogical discourse as emerging from the curriculum documents elaborated in this period: the construction of the self, the relation between the self and the community and the encounter with the other.

\(^{13}\) For a detailed account of the rise of international education in the west, see Fuchs 2004.
3 - Interwar curricula and the revisioning of the ‘imperial subject’

Prior to the adoption of the Canadian Citizenship Act in 1947, Canadians were legally considered to be British subjects. The continuous connection with the British Empire meant that there was no uniquely ‘Canadian citizenship' template available for pedagogical delivery. In the interwar period, there was nonetheless a growing governmental concern over Canadian identity and a belief that the school, as primary forces of socialization, was the place where a distinct ‘Canadian subject' should be formed (Johnson, 1968; Tomkins 1986; Bruno-Jofre 2002; Wilson 1970). The social studies curriculum, with its combination of themes borrowed from geography, history and civics, became the primary pedagogical tool to achieve this goal.

The social studies curricula introduced in the interwar era was organized according to an expanding horizon approach, whereby students begin with studying their own home and school, and then move on to learning about ‘town and country’ and the rest of the world (See, for instance, POS 1937, 59). Through this spiral structure in which themes and ideas are continuously encountered from the simplest to the most complex, the student knows the world, and him/herself. Following PE’s tenets, the particular ‘self’ that is inculcated in the child’s mind, body and character, is a universal one, one that is in touch with the “larger interests of mankind” (POS 1938, 10). When it comes to his ‘mind’, the universal child has ‘enlightened’ features, typical of the modern man. He is open, inquisitive and delighted in doing “small tasks which they can perform

14 Programme of Studies for Grades 1 to VI of Public and Separate Schools, 1937, Ontario Ministry of Education
15 Programme of Studies for Grades VII to VIII of Public and Separate Schools, 1938, Ontario Ministry of Education
16 The choice of utilizing masculine pronouns and adjectives for the subject in the analysis of curriculum documents aims at foregrounding how the pedagogical discourse around the ‘global citizen’ in Canada is gendered. This approach
with deftness and skill, and in a sense of visible and tangible accomplishment which such task offers.” (POS 1937, 5)\(^{17}\). He is “intensely” interested in the “character and purpose of the material objects around them” (ibid.). The universal child is a rational problem-solver who is asked to look at social problems of the past and enticed to solve them through the discussion of contemporary issues (POS 1938, 13)\(^{18}\). He has also democratic credentials, as he is training to become an engaged citizen in a democratic system characterized by universal education, franchise (albeit only for some) and minority rights (POS 1938, 23)\(^{19}\). Active and critical engagement is what differentiates democratic citizens from those who are educated in dictatorial regimes such as that of Nazi Germany. The child is also a ‘doer’, and learning should be considered in terms of “activity and experience rather than knowledge to be stored” (POS 1937, 6). The interwar curricula strongly emphasize experiential learning as a way to “clothe factual material with interest and reality.” (POS 1938 14, emphasis added\(^{20}\)). Through practical activities such as map-making and dramatizations of events students learn about the world, and with it, the skills to be a modern subject. Experiential learning, in fact, allows for the emergence of ‘character’ - what Dewey defined as the "interpenetration of habits" - that requires both reason and action\(^{21}\). Learning by doing, however, should not be considered as a neutral practice. Experiential learning is a

\(^{17}\) Programme of Studies for Grades 1 to VI of Public and Separate Schools, 1937, Ontario Ministry of Education

\(^{18}\) Programme of Studies for Grades VII to VIII of Public and Separate Schools, 1938, Ontario Ministry of Education

\(^{19}\) Ontario Department of Education (1938), Courses of Study Grades IX and X, Social Studies, History, 23,

\(^{20}\) Programme of Studies for Grades VII to VIII of Public and Separate Schools, 1938, Ontario Ministry of Education

\(^{21}\) Dewey, quoted in Althof and Berkowitz (2006).
normalizing pedagogical technology which is deeply racialized (in its pedagogical goals) and racializing (i.e. it is through these specific practices that subjectification occurs. Through experiential learning students' feelings, judgements and skills change. Therefore, by ‘guiding' students' experiences in the classroom, a ‘tailoring' intervention can be made in the selection of the proper attitudes, feelings and skills to be acquired by the student. Experiential learning is thus aligned with the larger political project in which the learner is inserted. In the Canadian context, this project is tied to empire, and experiential learning is another of the powerful conduits that allow for the reproduction of an imperial white subject.

The use of ‘mapping’ as experiential learning tool introduced in postwar curricula illustrates this point. To acquire knowledge about the geographical landscape that defines their surroundings, students are asked to create ‘pictorial maps’ (POS 1937, 64). Through these maps, the student learns the skills and attitudes of the modern imperial cartographer. He learns to survey the land which he sees already “developed by hardy and enterprising settlers”. As an imperial settler, this first mapping requires a doctrine of *terra nullius*, given that the fruits of European civilization (i.e. farming) allow the child to imagine the land being empty before and brought to modernity by “hardy and enterprising European settlers” (Razack 2002, 3). Since this exercise necessitates an aerial view, the child learns that he can move spatially and that he endowed with the unmarked and unbound privilege of whiteness (Mohanram quoted in Razack 2007, 78). It is therefore through experiential exercises such as that of ‘pictorial maps’ that the child learns about his racial imperial identity. The progressive learner-citizen then mirrors the same cartographic struggle of early white settlers who inhabited and controlled a space that was inhabited by

22 Programme of Studies for Grades 1 to VI of Public and Separate Schools, 1937, Ontario Ministry of Education
Indigenous populations and other non-Europeans acknowledging their presence as either irrelevant to nation-building or as problematic (McKittrick 2006. 95; Razack 2002). The geographic erasure that learners engage in through the progressive geography curricula allows for an initial understanding of European historicity and the Others' engulfment and lack of co-evalness. The national narrative of Canada as a white settler society which relegated Aboriginal people to a pre-modern time and Black and immigrants of colour as late arrivals is already confirmed in this pedagogical exercise. The geographical exercise with the aerial view that erases human activities prior to the arrival of settlers allows for the indigeneization of the settler citizen (Johnston and Lawson 2005)

Besides emphasizing practical experience, another mechanism though which the postwar student’s ‘self’ is built is via the training and strengthening of the student’s ‘character’. In the curricular documents of the 1930s and 1940s, the social melioristic tendencies of PE are in fact tied to ‘character education' (Christou 2013; Winton 2010). The goal of education is not just that of helping the child understand the society in which he lives, but also the duties and responsibilities he has towards other members of society (POS 1937, 58)\(^{23}\). Students, therefore, must acquire both the right knowledge and character to face the future and its challenges (Christou 2013). The ‘right' character creates a citizen who is "courteous, self-respecting, accepting of responsibility, self-reliant, co-operative and able to control his emotions." (POS 1937, 59)\(^{24}\) Schools should guide the child to form a “desirable attitude” predicated on “justice, humility and Christian mercy” (POS

\(^{23}\) Programme of Studies for Grades 1 to VI of Public and Separate Schools, 1937, Ontario Ministry of Education

\(^{24}\) Programme of Studies for Grades 1 to VI of Public and Separate Schools, 1937, Ontario Ministry of Education
The outcome is the creation of a moral and just ‘helping subject’, someone who takes care of others (POS 1937, 62).

The shift to character education indicates how the modern subject of PE is an active and enterprising and always developing. Character education in the discourse of PE is no longer about moral decision-making and virtues but about creating, as the then Ontario's Minister of Education, Duncan McArthur, called them, "habits of mind" (McArthur 1940) that lead to desirable social practices aiming at improving society. These practices include deliberation, problem-solving and participation in governance. Character education provides learners with the capacities to find solutions to moral questions, social problems and defines parameters for social behaviour while linking them to their wider cultural community (McKenzie 2004).

By viewing moral education as the ability to act efficiently and thoughtfully regarding social improvement, the progressive curricula of the time gave new significance to the role of students’ intellect within moral education. PE does not, in fact, encourage the teaching of specific moral tenets and values; instead, it emphasizes a flexible and critically subjective approach to moral education, an approach that reflected Canadian society’s growing complexity and needs in the interwar period. While traditional educational methods created subjects who had a sense of good strictly determined by the community’s sense of appropriateness, with PE there is a shift in both political rationality and techniques of subjectification. The new subject of Canadian education has a deontological morality (Fuchs 2004). He is an ‘individualist’ who should pursue his/her own

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25 Programme of Studies for Grades 1 to VI of Public and Separate Schools, 1937, Ontario Ministry of Education

26 Programme of Studies for Grades 1 to VI of Public and Separate Schools, 1937, Ontario Ministry of Education
definition of the good life but who also has a responsibility towards his own community, not as an aggregation of individuals who have the same rights, but as individuals who also have equal rights to pursue their own good. The new subject thus created is guided by “social individualism”, a philosophy that encourages individuality (a tenet of liberalism) “while keeping steadily in view the claims and needs of the society in which every individual must live.” (POS 1938, 7; emphasis)27.

In this progressive vision, the critical and civil subject is connected to a wider modern community. Yet as critical race and post-colonial scholars have highlighted, this universal and humanist subject, understood as representing all humans, is not a freestanding agent, but a subject who nonetheless belongs to a particular community with which he shares certain attitudes, desires and skills. Despite the attention that the progressive curriculum gives to individual differences, the child's characteristics are group ones, and so are his “useful abilities and desirable attitudes” that teachers should help form in students (POS 1937, 8-9)28. These collective characteristics are racial. The curricula developed in the interwar period allow for a double discursive move onto the Western subject. The first is the securing of the modern pedagogical subject as ‘man’ who is constituted as a universal white subject through Western sciences such as child study and psychology (Ferreira da Silva 2001) subject/object of the curriculum is already constituted as a universal white subject. The second move is to rely on the practice of 'classifying' as a ‘natural' way of learning. This practice reproduces the types of characteristics necessary for the ‘development; of the enlightenment subject "bound by rules of development and ways of assessing

27 Programme of Studies for Grades VII to VIII of Public and Separate Schools, 1938, Ontario Ministry of Education

28 Programme of Studies for Grades 1 to VI of Public and Separate Schools, 1937, Ontario Ministry of Education
of deviations" (Baker 1998, 117). This imperial nationalist white subject is concerned about the maintenance of Canada as a white man's country, as it attested by the fact that British settlers in this period maintained a privileged relationship to the British imperial community (Abele and Stasilius 1989). The progressive child-centred curriculum thus becomes a means for re-organizing imperial relations of racial domination in the interwar period, a time in which Canadians come to know themselves - through, for instance, the 1931 Statute of Westminster, which officially granted Canada autonomy from the United Kingdom - as post-colonial subjects. This is the moment of transition from settler colonialism to ‘settler postcolonialism’ in which the Canadian subject is no longer colonized but continues to colonize (Johnston and Lawson 2005, 362).

4 - The making of a civil community in the interwar era

The curricula developed in the interwar period strike a delicate balance between two contending schools of modern educational thought, namely the one emphasizing the individuals’ interests and the one emphasizing community. The individual is central in the pedagogical discourse as references to ‘individuality' in the form of "individual talent" or difference attest (see, for instance, POS 1941, 7). Indeed, "(...) society is best served, not by requiring all its members to develop according to a similar pattern, but by affording opportunities for each to develop, to the fullest extent possible, the innate capabilities that he has, so far as they are socially valuable." (POS 1941, 7). These individual differences are, however, made to work for the collectivity. Teachers are thus encouraged to continuously reward the child with success so that he keeps yearning to be a member of the group (POS 1941, 9). Although attention is still given to individual traits, the community is now at the centre of the educational endeavor, since the child must understand the type of society in which he is living, while the school must “choose and accept as his own those ideals of conduct
and endeavours which our society approves” (POS 1942, 8). This communitarian turn in the pedagogical discourse started in the 1930s as a result of the influence of PE in Canadian curricula, but it was in the 1940s that a stronger communitarian view of citizenship surfaced. Growing concerns over issues of war and peace meant that debates over the need for a sense of community became more pressing and more heavily policed (Lemisko and Clause 2006).

By attending geography and history classes, students are thus encouraged to study their communities, social customs and historical evolution. Following the expanding horizon approach, students start by learning about the smallest of communities, their family, as an interdependent system in which individuals collaborate to establish the welfare of all its gendered and classed members (POS 1937, 61-62). The social system observed is then expanded, so the child learns more about a larger world and focuses on the interactions between neighbourhoods and town and country (POS 1937, 64-65). At this point, the child can only know the other child with whom he shares the similarity of family life. In studying children' lives from "Civilised not primitive communities” the child learns that there are others with whom, despite some differences, they share similarities: they are civilized and co-eval (POS 1937, 6)

Students also learn how the community they belong to came together and acquired its own particular traits. The emphasis is on the impact of the environment and how it influenced the ideals and spirit of a settler society such as Canada (POS 1938, 13\(^\text{29}\)). "The story of the development of the community is the story of how its inhabitants, with the racial character, traditions and aspirations peculiar to them, attempted to meet the situations which arose from the interaction of

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\(^{29}\) 1938 Programme of Studies for grades VII and VII. See also 1939 Programme of Studies for grades IX, X, XI and XII, Social Studies, Geography
physical environment and social outlook, or the intrusion of the unforeseen." (POS1940, 14) By studying geography and history, students should experience the feeling of being part of a ‘community of fate’ that has overcome obstacles and solves unexpected problems (POS 1938, 13). This capacity of ‘overcoming nature’ is a recurrent trope of whiteness. The superiority of the white community is reiterated throughout the curriculum; students are in fact to focus on the relationship between environment and history to understand the making of Canada offering simultaneously a diachronically view of white progress and a diachronically view of the Canadian community as being part of the Western family of nations. While today a commonsensical manner of organizing the study of history requires that we examine the present and then move to the study of the past so that we move from the lived experience of the child to what requires abstraction, is also a means to enforce in the child a teleological understanding of time that is one of the characteristics of modernity but also a means to situate the learner qua also knower at the apex of a long history of communal progress.

Besides understanding the origins and evolution of the community they belong to, students learn about its “racial character, traditions and aspirations” (POS1940, 15) and how to live in this community. One of the school’s purposes is to provide “Education for Social Living” (POS 1940, 5) in which students are to be trained to become socially effective in a democratic society inspired by Christian principles. Teachers should teach students about their citizenship and develop the qualities that allow students “to work with other people” (POS 1940, 5), develop “an appreciation of regional relationships”, “an interest in social problems” and “a sympathetic understanding of other peoples” (COS 1939, 4) The social studies curricula insist on the

30 1940 Programme of Studies for Grades VII and VIII
importance of community and the skills and attitudes necessary to “act in a socially acceptable manner”, “to develop a socially satisfactory personality” and to contribute to the welfare of the group (1942, 5-6). Students should form “desirable attitudes” (POS 1937, 8) for the community to which they belong: helping others, working with others to get things done, loyalty to friends, family, school and community (1940 POS). The aim is that of creating citizens who can live effectively in a democratic society, since "the development of the individual takes place largely through social participation." (1942, 6). Good citizenship is not limited to learning about the functioning of a democratic society but is about performing citizenship in "behaviour, thought, speech, and interests." (POS 1942, 9). This entails that all individuals must be ready to make sacrifices for the well-being not only of the self but also of the group (POS1941, 5). The democratic individual is thus realized through communal practices that bound him to others, as “(i)n no other way can the truth be so surely realized that citizenship duties and responsibilities as well as rights and privileges, and that, in service for others, we find ourselves.” (POS 1942, 9)

This idea of an engaged and altruistic citizen presupposes a modern and complex society whose foundations go beyond family and clan ties. Relationships are not regulated by blood, as in traditional societies, but by ‘reason’. Individuals in modern democratic societies live in groups such as the family, the church, the business association, the club. Canadians as modern subjects see themselves as the inhabitants of a modern and complex society whose social relations and

31 Ontario Minister of Education (1942). Programme of Studies for Grades VII and VIII.
32 The documents are: Ontario Department of Education. (1941). Programme of Studies for Grades 1 to 6 of the public and separate schools. Toronto: The King’s Printer; Ontario Department of Education (1942). Programme of Studies for Grades 7 to 8 of the public and separate schools. Toronto: The King’s Printer.
agency go beyond the pre-modern local ‘here' and extend to the national and even further into the ‘there' of the empire and the world (POS 1941, 5). If a modern society is not based upon blind faith in tradition and religion, it is instead based on "co-operation", a practical, instrumental and collective form of reason which requires “self-control, intelligent self-direction and the ability to accept responsibility.” (POS 1941, 6). So modern democratic living is ‘group living’ regulated by reason and civility and by individuals characterized by a fine balance between authority and autonomy.

The type of community that the curricula outline is a civil(ised) one. Civility in citizenship education refers to the skills and attitudes necessary to accommodate the needs of others, to create a socially just society, to understand others’ points of view and the ability to find common grounds (Billante and Saunders 2002). Civility is the precondition of social order and what distinguishes a group that has moved away from "the state of nature" (Peck 2002, 359). Civility in democratic society represents an attitude and action that is intended to create a balance between personal needs and desires and conflicting public interests (Bryant 1995). Civility, however, is not for everyone. Civility is understood as being the pinnacle of temporal progression for a certain type of humanity and can be geographically located in the west (Coleman 2007). Civility is tied to race-thinking and the colour line, given that civility is what makes individuals experience the rights and responsibility of citizenship. The civilized are fit for citizenship while the uncivilized are not (Ibid). Civility, like culture, then becomes a metaphor that stands in for race when we speak of the civic nationalism that at times surfaces in this curriculum.

The ‘civil' values that are at the core of Canada’s identity are enshrined in the country's membership to the British Commonwealth. Canada, the US, and the Commonwealth represent a transatlantic community that developed in accordance with the "racial character, traditions and the
ideals of the peoples” (POS 1942, 27). In curricula of the time, the Commonwealth is defined as a "widely scattered empire, embracing many races, languages and religions, came to its present form by a process of growth-sometimes by conquest-but largely by discovery, settlement and trade" (POS 1942, 28). The British Empire is divested of it more oppressive and crude economistic features and practices. By becoming ‘Commonwealth’, through its foundational beliefs in freedom, the Empire became more enlightened, “foster(ing) self-government in its dominions and for its possessions training for the native to become self-governing” (POS 1942, 28). If in the past colonies were seen as valuable economically to the motherland, nowadays the empire is more of a group of “sister nations within the Commonwealth.” (POS 1940, 13); in the case of those “where the people are unable to assume full responsibility for their own government”, the administration is carried on more and more in “the interests of the native people, who, if not actually self-governing, are being trained to become so” (POS 1942, 28). The British Commonwealth is thus in the present and a leading partner in transforming the old insular nationalism into an internationalist nationalism. Internationally the commonwealth is seen as an agent for peace, a bulwark of freedom and democracy, as an honoured international voice and a group that embraces a quarter of the world’s people. The commonwealth is a micro international community in and of itself33.

By presenting the imperial commonwealth as a benign entity that rules in the interest of the natives, the curricula of the time became one of the ideological tools though which the winners

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33 The British Empire, indeed, was often portrayed as a model for the League of Nations. Post-Versailles internationalism merely developed concepts of trusteeship which had emerged from the first world war, ideas that were themselves based upon a vision of a beneficent, idealistic imperialism, an imperialism controlled and made internationally accountable.” (Mackenzie 2006, 256)
of wars were able to justify the maintenance of material power over the colonies. Internationalism is thus closely associated with humanitarianism since empire is 'helping' the colonies grow to political and social maturity. Liberal internationalism is both fitting for nationals and empires, blurring national boundaries and creating a re-nationalized and white civil space which once again overlooks its own boundaries buttressed by white universality.

For Lemisko and Clausen, the greater emphasis on communitarian ideas in the curricula of the interwar era was due to the media pressure that questioned the department of education's understanding of the importance of winning the war (Lemisko and Clausen 2006, 115). This trend, however, can also be read in terms of the ongoing quest to build a modern white citizen in Canada. The integration of the liberal atomistic individual within a communitarian framework was, in fact, instrumental in grounding individual autonomy in a communally shared identity (Friedman 1994). Communitarianism is, in fact, a means through which we make claims about the "nature of persons and human identity not least that persons are embedded in communities" (Arthur, 2). In the interwar era communitarianism, with its notion of embedded values and communities, offered a potent vernacular to adjust the Canadian subject for the new times.

The role of communitarianism, however, is not simply a conservative voice arguing for more tradition and more established identities, as this would be counter to the discourse of modernity as ever-changing and the intelligence of the individual in facing a reality in flux. By normativizing a set of values and ideas, the introduction of communitarian themes in the curriculum was instrumental in the reproduction of 'race' as culture and/or civility. The role of 'community' is to hook the individual to a larger group to fix an anthropological-racial identity. The 'we' of communitarianism is, in fact, a necessity in constituting a racialized white subject (Balibar 1993; Ahmed 2000).
The communitarian argument that individuals do not exist outside of a community becomes productive politically to form a racialized community. But communitarianism also enriches the moral horizon of the inter/national citizen of this era since for communitarians, a community is not solely an aggregation of individuals it is an aggregation of individuals with common (teleological) ends. While the communitarian emphasis locates the Canadian citizen in time and space, it does so in a typical modernist fashion through race. In this manner, the citizen as individual who is both national and international is now created as part of a community of ‘another one of us’ or of peers. The mingling of individualizing and social (communalising) technologies in the curriculum both in theory and practice thus allows for the continuous reproduction of racial boundaries of whiteness. If the focus on the individual in progressive pedagogy allows for a totalizing power over the individual, then the communitarian optic allows for a complementary, yet equally totalizing technology of the social. Individual liberalism and communitarianism are not opposites but supplement one another in the depiction of the white self in a community. Through these two technologies the settler subject, like his imperial parent, becomes post-colonial and international, a subject that embodies the new civility of the present and the overcoming of the harsher and more insular nationalism and economic competition. If the new international subject is the ‘end of history’ for the period, it also marks territorially the here and there (from local to global) with a new civility from which the ‘other’ colonials, those of the possessions and the mandates, cannot access.

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34 See Buchanan (1989) for an analysis of the relationship between liberalism and communitarianism.
5 - The Spiral Curriculum and the Engagement with the ‘Other’

By the end of the 19th century, the British Empire came to see itself as a vehicle of expanding liberal aspirations. Liberal imperialists believed that reformed empires could transform ‘backward’ countries by securing liberal values, establishing liberal institutions and transforming colonial subjects into modern citizens (Navari 2000). This attitude is reflected in the pedagogy of the time. As noted above, the spiral model that defines the curricula student is made to learn from the familiar. In this journey, the student must first learn that there are different types of societies, and that the nature of each society depends on its physical environment (globality) and that these societies evolve over time (historicity).

By continuously ‘moving’ through space and time the child is acquiring more geographical knowledge and contemporary primitive societies are used as proxies to understand ancient primitive societies. In this manner “he is carried back through time beyond the beginnings of recorded history” (POS 1937,70). After studying contemporary primitive societies, students examine the origin of social life in the prehistoric era, early forms of settlement and finally the ancient civilizations of Babylonia, Assyria, Phoenicia and so forth (POS 1937,70). While it is assumed that the children will not acquire a systematic understanding of the development of social life what they must form through the year is an understanding of the growth of social life and an interest in the past, out of which emerged the present” (POS 1937,71).

These themes are developed further in other parts of the curriculum. The child, for instance, must learn about the great discoveries of a certain part of humanity and how these communities have enlarged the world by influencing social life in their own lands and in the ‘new’ lands. By figuratively “rolling back the clouds”, students must understand that by the end of the twelfth century “(…) the lure of the unknown was beginning to urge the European to enquire what lay
under the clouds that enshrouded the edges of his flat world.” (POS 1937,75). The child learns that European adventurers came with riches and knowledge about new lands, but they also had to overcome challenges. It is through the experiences of the enterprising white subject as an adventurer and explorer that the world is revealed to the child. From the stories of these brave men abundant geographical knowledge will emerge and through their stories students will learn about “(…) strange new peoples in their desert, jungles, or tropical home.” (POS 1937,76). The goal is to let the student explore the world ‘feeling’ like explorers did, see “strange new peoples’ outside of Europe and he, like the scientist of Enlightenment, will see the ‘racial’ appropriateness of their foods, clothing, weapons to their environment and the child is also encouraged to think about how “such peoples could improve their lives.” (ibid.). In doing so the Canadian international citizen will be able to leave unquestioned his central role in global history. Feeling and interest that are central to this curriculum that ensures the transmission of the white civilizing mission35.

The social studies courses of the time use local, national and world events as a launching pad to learn about history and geography, and students are encouraged to focus on the geographical and historical elements that can explain the present through the past. In this uninterrupted development of history, the student once again embarks on the spiral of power and pleasure, given that his analysis goes from the local to the wider national community, on the beginning of the national saga with the settlers’ arrival to today’s achievements of progress and development. The assembling of the world according to globality and historicity allows for the representation of the world as organic and as a system with a single historical trajectory which also constitutes

35 The document states that chief value of the course will be in the “interest aroused” in the material and the ‘zeal’ with which he will engage in the work. (POS 1937, 760).
continuous measure against which all races are measured against. This organic and mechanical
view of the world, nature and society is typically modern and characterizes the interwar era social
studies curricula. The world as an interconnected system homogenizes spaces and allows for the
erasure of the Others’ agency thus legitimizing white intervention and white supremacy indicates
the ongoing imperial worlding of the globe.

Another means of maintaining the coloniality of modern power in the interwar era is
through simulated ‘encounters' with others. Not all others are equal in studying the lives of children
in other ‘civilized' countries the child sees how the world is similar from here-to-there. Despite
superficial differences, they are simply another-one-of-us. Among the racial characteristics which
are shared, there is also civility and modernity. The others-among-us will be encountered when
students focus on ‘contemporary primitive communities’ with whom the becoming Canadian
citizen does not share co-evalness. These are “the primitive peoples of the polar regions, the
tropics, the desert, and those who live on the fringes of the civilized communities of the temperate
regions (…)” (POS 1937, 69).

In studying the others-among-us students concentrate on the modern relationship between
‘geographical environment and mode of life’, that is modern race. The child works with maps and
globes to delineate the areas where civility is absent, and time is immobile. The child has is
introduced to modern globality and white historicity by identifying the civilized and the backward
according to geography, but also according to the ‘laws of nature’ that conceptualize racial
difference as a response to the environments’ challenges. As the 1937 Programme of Studies for
Grades 1 to VI of Public and Separate Schools states, “children should (…) be encouraged at all
times to associate the peoples they are studying with the part of the earth on which they dwell.”
Indeed, in studying the primitive communities there is no mentioning in the curriculum of interdependence between us and them, there is no flow between the here and there. The notions that ‘they’ do not share our present and civilization is then confirmed by the fact that students then analyze "ancient primitive societies" (prehistorical societies, ancient Egypt, ancient Rome). This part of the curriculum firmly places contemporary primitive communities on the same existential plane of ancient primitives. Indeed, in the curriculum they are placed sequentially, indicating that the same conceptual and analytical tools to understand these communities are necessary. Even ancient primitive societies are different since some will be destroyed or disappear (the inferior races), while others will flourish and become civilizations that can undergo the challenge of time through transformation indicates that they are on the path of history. These societies are the Greek and the Roman which confirm Europe's exceptionality. by becoming different, by being rebuilt. in terms of globality, the fact that the civilizations which have had a longer impact in history, such as the Roman and the Greek, confirm the exceptionality of Europe.

The encounter with the other through geography and history has also a direct, practical dimension. The classroom imagined in the curricula of the time is very similar to the contemporary classroom where teaching and learning are correlated by pictures and ‘enlivened’ by poems, songs and dances of the land (POS 1937, 66). The desired pedagogical result is that of knowing more about people from other lands but also students should feel a certain ‘familiarity with these lands and peoples as if they had visited those countries. The curriculum, therefore, is already encouraging a more benevolent type of imperialism while one of the main tenets of modern knowledge-production remains in place: the white gaze. To have visited comprises to have seen and in the case of these communities from seeing the student will then feel a sense of civilizational
affinity with “some” Others. This empathy is created by reading stories, singing songs and performing dances typical of that culture (POS 1937, 66). Once empathy is created, familiarity must be established between the Canadian child and his Other civilized peer. To stimulate interest in the other teachers are encouraged to use stories and images and then to work on an “enterprise” or project in which the student plans his trips, visits to a local school, watches adult men at work, and attends a festival. At that point the student can write a diary about the trip and letters to new friends in the country, make drawings and then share their work with the class by presenting their diary, dramatizing their trip and/or showing objects typical of that country (ibid, 76-69).

The goal of creating students with an inclination for internationalism is attested by the sympathetic understanding of other cultures and peoples with whom the Canadian white child shares a place in modernity and by the definition of various social relations as relations of ‘interdependence’ (Baughan 2013, Sylvester 2002a). Interdependence as a trope animates the curricular documents, textbook, popular, academic and political discourse in Canada at the time. This term is part of the political vernacular of internationalism along with terms such as international understanding and co-operation. Through the trope of interdependence, a triple move occurs: the modern representation of the world characterized by an imperial global colour line and its consequent and social relations are naturalized, political relations are moralized (i.e. development of sympathy) and the relationship of interdependence justifies the re-enactment of

36 See, for instance, Mackenzie King’s Speech “I Speak as a Citizen of Canada” at the Supreme Court of Canada in Ottawa on January 3, 1947. The occasion was the reception of Canadian citizenship under the new Canadian Citizenship Act. See also Mackay, R. (1938) “Canada looks abroad (1938), which was published under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of international affairs.
imperial encounters in the interwar era. The international as a form of worlding re-configures hierarchically racialized selves and communities and substitutes the most to the brute worldview of empire and reactionary nationalism and offered a new a more humane and civilized worldview of the nation and empire (see Gorman 2008).

Interdependence is a central theme in the interwar curricula. The family and the closer social units of the local city and countryside are depicted in grades one and two as interdependent and indispensable for “the primary necessities and the amenities of civilized life, co-operating with one another to make life orderly and secure” (POS 1937, 61, emphasis added\textsuperscript{37}). Interdependence allows for the flow of goods, services and people. This flow itself is regulated through civility. Civility makes the political (liberal capitalism) natural and moral. Indeed, the ebbs and flows of this closed system define a liberal view of the world dating back to Enlightenment. However, the interconnected world is one that exists only for “civilized, not primitive communities” (POS 1937, 67). These communities must be brought into the flux of modernity.

In studying child life in civilized lands, a surprisingly contemporary activity that is common practice in the global classroom or in teaching about globalization is suggested. Children are to find in their own homes products from those countries and Canadian products in the homes they visited through their imagination. However, the focus in not on imports and exports, we are told, but on the fact that countries, like peoples, are dependent as well (POS 1937, 66). The activity is interesting since it allows to extend the here to there already going from the local to the global. perhaps even more apparently innocent is the practice recommended in the document to let

\textsuperscript{37} See also POS for grades 1 to 6 of 1937 pp. 59, 61,63 and 66.
students trace the routes they have travelled to visit the countries which once again reinforce the notion from here to there as a homogeneous space without boundaries of race. In this space, there is diversity since the students must understand differences, but these are minor differences.

Throughout the curricula of the period, feelings of care and compassion for others and other cultures constitute a central tenet of children's citizen education. The moral relationship of care and belonging that binds the Canadian citizen to his national community is extended beyond the Dominion's borders through pedagogical practices such as map-making or imagining spatial and temporal travel or meeting the other. Moral relationship of care is not limited to the members of his community (the local) since the child will study other communities both of the past and the present. In the social studies of the progressive era the white “will to know” is infused with a “will to care”. Care, therefore, is a practice that remains through Canada’s transition from the imperial to the national. As it will become apparent in the next chapters, the will to care is a technology through which liberalism and its privileged subject will continue to re-constitute the modern white of the Enlightenment in an alleged post-imperial, postcolonial and a post-national Canada of today.

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Chapter 3

Citizenship Education in the Age of Internationalism and Racial Liberalism (1950s and 1960s)

Chapter summary

The present chapter examines developments occurring in the two decades following the second world war. With the Cold war as a backdrop, the chapter examines debates within Canada about national identity and the rise of ‘new internationalism’ as a tool of liberal global order. It then moves to the analysis of key educational policy documents of the time, the Hope and Hall-Dennis Reports, showing how, despite their stated goals of reform, they did not break with the universalizing dynamics that characterized pedagogy in the previous era, and how their ‘progressive’ tenets were reproduced in the postwar curriculum. As for the previous empirical chapter, the second part of the present chapter uses postwar social sciences curricula and other relevant pedagogical texts as source material to reconstruct the dominant ‘globalizing’ educational discourse that characterized citizenship education of time, showing the continuity with the interwar era, and, as it will become apparent in the following chapters, to contemporary pedagogy in Canada.
1.1 1 - Postwar Canada and the Rise of the ‘New Internationalism’

The postwar era was a time of great transformations that had important implications for the way Canada approached issues of citizenship and pedagogy. Domestically, Canada witnessed a period of economic boom, characterized by parallel rapid processes of industrialization and urbanization (Fahrni and Rutherdal 2008; Triadafilopoulos 212, 57). The prosperity generated in this period, however, was not equally shared among the population. Political tensions were also brewing, as evidenced by the rise of Indigenous people’s activism, anti-colonial movements, people of colour demanding citizenship rights in the West, the radical student movements in universities and secessionism in Quebec (Palmer 2009, 4; Thobani, 2007, 148; Adams 1995, 39). In this context, a doubt was cast on Canada’s long-time self-image as “a British colony that marched progressively and valiantly to its particular variant of nationhood (…)” (Palmer 2009, 4-5).

To counter these tensions, the Canadian government adopted an interventionist approach to economic and social policy, which led to a substantial expansion of the welfare state (Anastakis 2008). Canada’s economic prosperity and its liberal policies functioned as a powerful pull factor in attracting new migrants in the country. Between 1946 and 1950, over 430,000 immigrants arrived, exceeding the total number admitted in the previous 15 years. Although in the post WW2 era the largest number of immigrants was from the UK, an increasing number came from other European countries such as Germany, Netherlands, Italy, USSR and Poland. The upward trend continued until the late 1950s and then declined since Europe was rebuilding itself economically and the Canadian economy slowed. By 1962, however, the economy had recovered, and arrivals increased for other six successive years (Boyd and Vickers 2000, 7).

These migration flows were not only shaped by economic needs; Canadian immigration policies played a crucial role in shaping the type of individuals allowed to enter the country and
become citizens\textsuperscript{38}. Canada’s immigration policies excluded non-European migrants on the basis of race and became the ‘principal instrument’ for the “Keep Canada White” policies (Thobani 2007, 92). Until the 1950s the voluntary enfranchisement of Indigenous people meant that they lost their “Indian Status” which was incompatible with Canadian citizenship. To become a Canadian citizenship meant renouncing to native identity. This practice was rendered illegal only in 1982 (Miller; Green 2001; Johnston 1993).

While in the period preceding the end of WW2 liberal democracy did not question the lack of equality among non-Europeans within and beyond the boundaries of Western nations, the 1950s were characterized by a normative shift that rejected notions of race, hierarchy and discrimination. As Triadafilopoulos states, “the emerging normative context was given systematic form through human rights instruments, the doctrines of equality and self-determination, and antiracist discourse. Norms helped propel the refashioning of the international system and contributed to important changes in the domestic politics and policies of liberal-democratic states. The postwar period thus constituted a ‘critical juncture’ of the highest order in the history of the membership politics of liberal democratic states.” (Triadafilopoulos 2012, 56)

In the 1950s Canada’s maintenance of progressive positions within the UN and the Commonwealth made it harder for the country to maintain its discriminatory immigration policies. Caribbean partners within the Commonwealth were the most vocal critics of Canada’s policies. Maintaining a racist immigration and citizenship policy become more arduous given by the 1960s

\textsuperscript{38} It should be noted that in 1947 the ‘Canadian Citizenship Act’ was introduced. This document residents in the country gave for the first time the possibility to obtain Canadian citizenship (beforehand residents could only become British subjects).
the newly sovereign post-colonial nations constituted two-thirds of the United Nations General Assembly and anti-racist resolutions became sharper and more frequent. The Canadian government, along with its British counterpart, was aware of the potential for civil unrest if racial disadvantage was not lessened and racial policies changed (Thompson 2014). As a result, some of the pre-war barriers facing the naturalization of Chinese and South Asians were removed. The Chinese Immigration Act was repealed in 1947 and Japanese Canadians gained enfranchisement in federal elections in 1948.

Yet, while racial liberalism was emerging as a hegemonic normative ideology both at the international and national level, citizenship and immigration policy received only cosmetic solutions to blunt their more overtly racist tenets (Triadafilopoulos 2012, 70; Thobani 2007). The 1947 Citizenship Act, for instance, continued to organize communities and bodies hierarchically according to patriarchal notions of gender, class and race (Bohakert and Iacovetta 2009, Mackay 1999, Thobani 2007). In terms of immigration policy, the range of Europeans racialized as able to adapt to Canada, and therefore more likely to become Canadian citizens, was expanded, (Troper 1993; Triadiapolous 2012, 61). Canada’s 1952 Immigration Act still identifies ‘desirable’ immigrants as those coming from Australia, United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa and selected European countries. In turn, non-European and Jewish immigrants could be denied entry because deemed as unable to assimilate. Canadian immigration laws, therefore, continued to have a racializing function in the making of Canada's ‘mosaic' body politic (Smith 2007; Brodie 2002; Coleman 2006)39.

39 It should be noted that only with the 1967 Immigration Act - which introduced the point system - formally opened the country to immigrants other than European and American (see next chapter)
Biological racism’s demise had an impact on Canada’s immigration policy and the country’s overall nation-building project. To overcome the previous sense of self and community based upon racial Britishness, a belief in a new and more coherent Canada had to be produced. Prime Minister Lester Pearson summarizes this “new nationalism” in this way: “A nation is more than its parts... there is a Canada above its regions...there is an unhyphenated Canadianism above what is English-Canadian or French-Canadian or any other of the cultures that have contributed to our nation.” (Pearson quoted in Mann 2012, 486). In 1965 Pearson went as far as to define Canada as a “multiracial society” (Mann 2012, 487), thus paving the way for the emergence of the multiculturalism discourse that characterized the 1970s and 1980s (see next chapter).

The issue of Canadian identity became particularly pressing in this period because of the radicalization of Quebecois nationalism. The federal government’s goal was to find ways to address Francophone aspirations within a united Canada. One of the key documents to address this question was the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (also known as the ‘B&B Commission’) established by the government of Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson in 1963. The work of the B&B Commission played an important role in shaping the discursive landscape of Canadian nation-building, paving the way for the creation of Canada’s multicultural nationalism. The B&B final report provides a means to re-imagine the nation as moving beyond 19th-century nationalism with the presence of English and French as cultural and linguistic ‘races' and the acknowledgement of other ethnic groups as contributing to the mosaic. The Commission's aim was to recommend what "steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two ‘founding races’, taking into account the contributions made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution” (B&B Commission, quoted in Esman 1982). The philosophy of pluralism and cultural difference thus infuses the B&B Commission’s knowledge production.
The framework of biculturalism and bilingualism within which multiculturalism would later be lodged, however, reconfirms the privileged position of the French and British languages and cultures in Canada and it reifies those cultural (qua racial and linguistic) identities as Canadian while the others (the ‘third groups’) would be multicultural (Haque 2012; Thobani, 2007, 144; Lalande 2006). The ‘third groups’ contributions are to reinforce the Canadian nation not transform it and the contributions of others are limited by their ability to assimilate in the country’s genuine bilingual and bicultural framework (Thobani 2007, 156-172).

In intervening in the present, the report also remoulds the Canadian past. The tensions between the French and the English become a “national virtue” (Harney quoted in Mackey 1999, 63). In this sense, the work of the B&B Commission is a further step on the moral trajectory of the Canadian nation in which liberalism confronts the present and through reason is able to accommodate difference. As Walcott (2014) notes, the Commission utilized a governing strategy of an alleged post-racial modernity since it shows the possibility of “managing race and making it disappear- one of the central organizing principles of the modern nation-state of Canada” (Walcott 2014, 132). According to Eve Haque, the new discourse of cultural/linguistic racism present in the Report of the B&B commission reworks notions of white subjectivity and collectivity, articulates a new language of exclusion and protects the ongoing project of settler colonialism (Haque 2012, 4).

Internationally, the 1950s and 1960s represented the height of the Cold War and the time when the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, divided the world into spheres of influence. Canada joined the anti-communist camp. However, as Cavell notes, its siding with its southern neighbour raised “complex issues of national self-representation; if the Canadian state was anti-communist, it was also anti-American.” (Cavell 2004, 5). Indeed, this period saw the
production of a new Canadian nationalism that was based upon an autonomous cultural identity (Whitaker, 2004). The 1950s and 1960s also coincided with the formal demise of empires and the beginning of the process of decolonization, which brought new independent states on the world stage. In this emerging world order, Canada positioned itself as a nation of multilateralists and internationalists, as attested by its commitment to newly created international and regional organizations such as the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. As noted in the previous chapter, in the interwar period internationalism was the leading ideology that shaped the way Canada identified itself and its role in the world. After WW2, this ideology re-surfaced, but its raison d’être was adapted to fit Canada’s new political, economic and social reality. The post-war internationalism was strategically deployed as a moral and rational discourse to keep communism at bay and to secure the geo-strategic and economic basis of the liberal order established after WW2 based upon collective security, the pacific settlement of disputes, decolonization, and free trade. Many organizations were instituted to mitigate conflict and ensure defence. Canadian internationalism mirrored the goals of Wilsonian internationalism. Internationalism served to make Canada as a Western nation and in the post-war era, while not aspiring to the position of superpower in the Security Council, the Canadian government argued that the "country deserved to be treated differently to less developed states" (Ravenhill 1998, 309). Internationalism was central to the placing of Canada on the global scene as a middle power. Moreover, internationalism placed the country “between the polar extremes of Moscow and Washington, and (later) North and South, and of distinguishing Canadian liberal internationalism from the foreign policies of its powerful Southern neighbour" (Molot 1990 in Ravenhill 1998, 309). Internationalism also rationalized and legitimized Western intervention around the world. Through internationalism, the liberalization of the world becomes an indisputable moral mission. The Right Honorable Malcolm Macdonald, then High Commissioner of the UK in Canada, spoke
of the rise of Canada as an internationalist and enlightened nation endowed with a humanitarian spirit. In observing the nation “(…) growing steadily in influence and authority, one of the rising hopes of stern unbending humanitarians, a nation of destiny.” (MacDonald 1946, 162). This sentiment is shared by the then Prime Minister, Mackenzie King.

"(…) the unity of Canada is vital to us it is also of great importance to the community of nations. Only be extending throughout the world the ideal of mutual tolerance, of racial co-operation and of equality of among men, which form the basis of Canada's nationhood, Canadian nationality comes to serve Humanity." (King 1946, 95).

The prime minister makes a move which is also mirrored in the pedagogical practice of the era. He uses an 'expanding horizons' move fabricating the "here to there" as a homogeneous space that can be understood from here thus enabling white universal will and agency. Indeed, the moral configuration of Canada (equality, diversity) can be extended onto the world.

It is through the discourse of liberal internationalism that Canada's civilizing mission is propelled (Mazower 2006; Melamed 2006). By the 1950s 'development' was part of the Canadian national narrative and Canada had provided developmental assistance to underdeveloped areas such as Sri Lanka (Ceylon), India and Pakistan. In an article by Hume Wright (1951), the author states that while respecting the right to sovereignty of people living in underdeveloped areas so that they can formulate policies without 'external interference” (Wright 1952, 265). Yet, the discourse of development as the internationalist one assumes a Western cosmopolitan right, that of dialogue with the other with and to establish transactions with him. From a performative and moral point of view, internationalism reinforces white autonomy and agency through this discourse. A discourse that is now freed from the constraints of the scientific elucidations of race and that can instead be sustained through the equally teleological notion of 'development'.
Development assistance thus becomes a moral imperative of the modern and postcolonial white nation (Razack 2007).

It would, therefore, be naïve to consider the notion of international understanding and liberal developmentalism championed by peace activists in the pre-war and postwar era as disconnected from the hegemonic centres of power/knowledge (Kuehl and Dunn, 1997; Rosenberg 1982). Internationalism did not come exclusively from below as the result of an anti-war movement, its genealogy can be traced to imperialist efforts to civilize the other, to the institutionalization of international organizations such as the UN, UNESCO and Bretton Woods. If the rhetoric and tropes of imperial governance relied upon savages and ‘brown' women being saved from brown men by white men, the civilizing mission and the promise of a better life buttressed by internationalism' progress, liberal democracy and peace did the same. If empire was written/justified in history and as the fruit of the European Enlightenment, so was internationalism.

The unfolding of Canada’s post-war ‘internationalization' was a process of representing the world that only formally collided with imperialism. In fact, both share an important characteristic: they anthropologize human aspirations (i.e. what we want as humans) and moralize the power to act upon and for others (i.e. acting as a liberal necessity). Reginald Trotter, a Canadian academic and schoolbook editor of the time, noted that Canada, as other white settler societies in the Commonwealth, is a colonial power. The peoples living in the Canadian North do not partake in their governance making them colonials. These people are of “(...) aboriginal stock, Eskimo and Indian and necessarily dependent upon the Dominion.” Thus, the Canadian government and nation are responsible for promoting the social and economic welfare of these ‘dependent people’ and assist them in the transition from a primitive culture to becoming full citizens of the Canadian nation through assimilation. What is not mentioned is that Aboriginal peoples would need to
disappear to assimilate and become citizens, so that “(…) they shall enjoy the same political rights as other subjects of the Canadian Crown.” (Trotter 1946, 216). It should be noted that while the 1947 Citizenship Act includes “Status Indians” through the criteria of *ius soli*, the Indian Act did not allow Status Indians to vote. The Citizenship Act thus strengthens the imperial dimension of “project Canada.” Indigenous people are still seen as “axiomatically subordinate because of deficiencies in culture, morality, politics, economics and other measures of capacity for sovereignty.” (Greene 2001, 72). The 1969 Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Affairs (also known as the White Paper) proposed the abolition of the Indian Act and the Indian Affairs branch and the quick assimilation of Indigenous people into Canadian society (Haque 2012, 40). Yet in this document, the "Indian" is still described as the cultural other who is also legally different from other Canadians. It is this legal distinction that the authors of the white paper claim to be the cause of the "disadvantage" suffered by Indigenous people (ibid.).

Canada’s treatment of Aboriginal peoples shows that internationalism and colonialism can peacefully co-exist. The imperial thrust of Western nationalism is not erased by internationalism as the national narrative would like us to believe. Nationalism and internationalism are not only compatible but co-constitutive of a new imperialism (Razack 2004) The possibility of uttering empire within internationalism alerts us to the fact the change is more formal than substantial. Internationalism civilises nationalism and catapults it in a post-imperial stage without modifying

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40 The term is by Joyce Green (2001).
the *coloniality of modern power*\(^\text{41}\). Indeed, Aboriginal children are forcibly removed from their communities to be ‘educated’ in residential schools. Segregated schooling is also experienced by Black youth in Nova Scotia and Ontario until the 1950s (Saney, 1998). The educational segregation of Indigenous and Black children from mid 19\(^{th}\) century to the late 20\(^{th}\) century speaks to the complicity of PE in defining the racial contours of the ‘child’.

The post-war period is also often presented as the time of the demise of race as a biological category. The official discursive shift from the division of humanity according to race to ‘culture’ and ‘ethnicity’, legitimized and diffused by the United Nations through documents such as the Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the UNESCO Statement on Race and Racial Discrimination (1950), was pivotal in creating a new international order in which while ‘race’ was unutterable (Lentin 2004; Alleyne 2010; Hazard 2011). By the 1960s the basic liberal principle of human rights for individuals was firmly embedded in Western culture. In the Canadian context, for instance, in 1960 the federal government led by John Diefenbaker passed legislation establishing the Canadian Bill of Rights, spelling out the fundamental right of a citizen not to be discriminated against by reason of race, national origin, skin colour, religious belief or gender. Yet, this racial liberalism turns out to be instrumental in the making of a global post-imperial liberal order animated by the post-colonial white subject and its other. This benevolence towards the other allows for the difference of race to be reconstituted and mobilized through power enabling a distinction between those whose cultural background keep them from entering

\(^{41}\) The "coloniality of power" is an expression coined by Anibal Quijano to name the structures of power, control, and hegemony that have emerged during the modernist era, the era of colonialism, which stretches from the conquest of the Americas to the present.
modernity and those whose, instead, propel it (Razack 2007; Rankin 2010). Overall, the post-world war internationalism, as more recently the discourse of globalization, allowed to know the present, temporally and spatially, as a world awash in the constant flux of modernity, characterized by a web of flows of goods, peoples and ideas that are already international.

2 - Progressive Pedagogy and the ‘New Internationalism’: the Hope and Hall-Dennis Reports

In the post-war period, there was a recognition in pedagogical circles that the social and economic transformations that Canada was undergoing, and especially in terms of the composition of the population due to immigration, were challenging existing the educational system (Lewis 2010; Manzer, Wilson 1970). The Canadian government, therefore, turned to special commissions to give policy solutions to the public problems schools were facing (Lewis 2010). One of the most influential ad hoc groups created at the time was the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario, whose final report issued in 1950, known as the Hope Report (henceforth HR), became the blueprint for the curricula developed in the following decade. The HR advised on how to respond to the crisis and challenges of the present and supported the importance of social studies in the secondary curriculum as central in the making “good citizens” (HR 1950: 110).

Relying on an expanding horizon model of pedagogy, the Hope Report emphasizes how educating the modern Canadian citizen begins with the study of local community and the home and while the child matures the horizons in time and space expand (HR 1950, 169). "The aims (…) include: to help the child to understand something of the world in which he lives; to develop proper attitudes toward other people; to gain knowledge of his own country; and, later, to extend his knowledge of, and interest in, life in other lands." (ibid. 169). The "aims do not change" when the
child grows; only the horizons expand. This helps in making the child more tolerant of others and so his interest in other lands' increases (ibid.). This vision of the world is imbued with power. Epistemologically, the knower is not ostracised by spatial boundaries of any sort. Aside from possible political man-made boundaries, the world is the white knower's oyster. The spiral of power and pleasure that characterizes the progressive curriculum ensures that power is transmitted through the 'new' knowledge that is comprised in the curriculum, but the modality of learning will remain the same: reiteration of modern notions of historicity and globality. PE thus continues to be a strategic discursive apparatus in making and governing Canadian citizens through an endless pedagogical bond between the individual and the racial collectivity through time and space.

‘Internationalism’ is another key tenet of the post-war progressive pedagogical discourse, and it is a recurrent theme in the Hope Report and in curricula of the time (Kuehl and Dunn, 1997, 64). Internationalism in education meant fostering notions of co-operation that went against narrow and parochial understandings of nationalism (Rosenberg 1982). In the Hope Report, we see how peace, order and justice ensuring capitalist prosperity are, as during imperial expansion, understood beyond the boundaries of the nation, and characterized as a series of international ebbs and flows of goods, peoples and ideas. If justice and the good life can be reached within the boundaries of the nation, they can also be achieved internationally. What is interesting is that internationalism as imperialism allows for an expansion of white autonomy and agency beyond national boundaries thus overcoming a spatial distinction between here and there escaping localization and thus maintaining white autonomy as universally applicable and performable. Internationalisation comes to characterize the work for peace of men for after the WW1 under the aegis of the League of Nations and the Commonwealth of Nations and this is a "highly significant attempt to meet the political needs of a nationalized world." (HR 1950, 9). If its rise is tied to the aftermath of two world wars, internationalism was also key for the regulation of ‘decolonization'
and to legitimize Western interventions in the world. In these efforts to create a modern, ‘internationalized’ Canadian citizen, social studies is seen as strategic (HR 1950: 169).

Besides the Hope Report, the other key official pedagogical text of the post-war era is the 1968 Hall-Dennis Report (hereafter ‘HDR’). This document, which was drafted by the Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario (set up in 1964)\(^\text{42}\), speaks to the necessity to reform education in Ontario. The committee recommends a “fresh approach to the development of attitudes with respect to Canada, its past history, its present character, and its aspirations for the future” (HDR 1968, 93). The present is recognized as being a struggle to establish a national identity characterized by a "multicultural nature and its bicultural base, and the need to develop a national spirit that transcends the bounds of narrow nationalism (…)" (HDR 1968, 93). In this context, the committee had to identify the needs of the child as a person and as a member of society, set forth the educational goals at a provincial level, outline curricula objectives for children from the kindergarten, primary and junior divisions, propose the means by which these objectives may be met and present a report to the Ministry of Education. (Later on, the report would include all grades up to grade 13). Ultimately, the committee agreed that an education for the ‘modern’ world was one that focused on each child’s unique needs and interests in relation to the dynamic outside world.

As it was the case for the Hope Report, the Hall-Dennis Report is steeped in the tradition of progressive education (Cole 2013). It traces a genealogy of aims of education based on "complete living" as done by Herbert Spencer and Dewey's progressive and pragmatic vision of

\(^42\) The full title of the report was *Living and Learning: The Report of the Provincial Committee On Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario* was officially presented on 12 June 1968.
education and ‘growth' and ‘development". One of education's key objective is to develop "competence for a suitable occupation". The report also emphasizes the need to integrate immigrants and indigenous people as members of the community. While everyone was encouraged to maintain certain components of his or her cultures, especially language, it was also assumed that integration took time, usually a generation. Special attention is therefore given to the immigrant child.

The HDR is considered a ground-breaking document that re-shaped Ontario's educational system, a bold and provocative example of ‘Edutopia' that was in line with the progressive educational philosophy by the then deputy minister McCarthy (Bennett 2011). Popular media such as the Toronto Daily Star characterized it as "a revolutionary blueprint for education" (cited in Bennett 2012, 5). Canadian educational scholars of different perspectives have identified the report as embodying the spirit of the 1960s, according to which education could create a just world and that it promoted the tolerance, understanding in the internationalist spirit of the UN and that education had to make students cognizant of global issues such as nuclear threat air and water pollution (O’Sullivan 1999). As the report states: “We stand today in the dawn of our second century and assess the field of future education…we must not lose sight of the human needs that the new dawn brings…we have in our hands the means of change for human betterment …for the people of Ontario, for all Canadians, and hopefully... [for] all mankind. (p. 9 in O’Sullivan 1999, 312).

Overall, far from idealistic, the Hall-Dennis Report, as its predecessor in the 1950s, is a modernist, 'enlightened' text and continues the worlding process that curricular documents and educational documents have historically done in Canada. The Report secures the ongoing making of a white global subject who can make the ‘liberal' world a better liberal world. If anything, the
Hall-Dennis Report portrays a liberal utopia that moralizes the political, that is “politics is the problem and ethics is the solution” (Walker 2003, 273), and considers education as a non-political endeavour. The future of the national and/or global collectivity in the Hall-Dennis Report remains therefore simply a better form of the present. It tells us how the white subject and nation go from particularity to universality while the other either remains in particularity or must be helped to become the universal subject.

Through a critical reading of the Hope and Hall-Dennis Reports and the geography and history curricula drafted in the 1950s and 1960s, the next sections examine how the post-war pedagogical discourse constructed the Canadian citizen's self-image, his relations with his own community and others beyond Canada.

3 - Shaping the Universal Child: Self and Citizenship in Post War Curricula

Canada’s post-war pedagogical discourse reasserts the role of progressive and child-centred education as the fruit of scientific thought of educationalists such as Pestalozzi, Froebel and Rousseau. As the Hope Report states: "The underlying aim of every new movement contributory to the broad programme just described has been to enable pupils to act for themselves. The vitality of this aim is all important. For the most part, development must take place as an incidental to the

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43 The history curricula produced in the 1950s are the 1959 History Intermediate (grades 7 and 8) a two-year course on Canadian history on the 19th and 20th century, the 1952 World History COS for grades 11 and 12 (Curriculum S.9) and the 1954 COS grade 13 Canada and the Modern World History (Curriculum S. 10). The grade 9 and 10 Social Studies-History Curriculum of 1942 was reprinted without changes from the 1942 COS.
progress of the pupil through school.” (HR 1950, 35). A child-centred education thus implies that the student should be treated as an active participant, and education must cater to the student as a holistic being.

The child-citizen outlined in postwar pedagogy is consistent with the modern liberal ideal developed in previous decades. The child-citizen is a subject who transcends both boundaries and him/herself for the communal good both at a national level and an international one through reason which is defined as the “(...) result of the moral and intellectual development” and “(...)the distinguishing mark of the human race.” (HR 1950, 37). The growth of the child mirrors that of the citizen since schools should foster “the growth of self-direction, self-control, and the ability to engage in group activities which require planning by all members of the group.” (109). Moreover, pedagogy should aim at furthering "man's unending search for truth" (DHR 1968), which will free us from the shackles of ignorance or indoctrination. Education as a ‘search for truth' has also a pragmatic dimension which will change the world. Indeed, progressive education for the 1960s will enrich all children's lives since "it will illuminate the dark world of the blind and bring the deaf into communication with the hearing" (ibid.), but it will also create human beings that oppose any type of discrimination. This type of education "will make all men brothers, equal in dignity if not in ability; and that will not tolerate disparity of race, colour and creed." (ibid). The modern subjects hailed in the reports should also become moral active makers of the present and future. Canadian children are to become part of a community who possess "(...) in our hands means of change for human betterment that few people of the world enjoy." (HDR 1968, 9). Collectively we have a moral mission that echoes that of the white man’s burden that is “We must find a way

44 For the influence of progressive education on the Hope Report, see also Axelrod 2005 and Davies 2002.
to their application that will germinate the seeds of a more fruitful way of life, not only for the people of Ontario but for all Canadians, and hopefully the harvest will make its contribution to all mankind.” (HDR 1968, 9). The moral project of the Canadian citizen as the heir to the imperial subject continues.

While different abilities and interests are recognized and welcomed, the liberal child-centred tradition does not, however, welcome other types of difference as in race, class and gender (Sium 2014, 16). The qualities of the universal child as developed in the curricula of the time are those traditionally been embodied in white males. This is the case, for instance, of the ideal of the child as ‘problem solver’. The child as a problem-solver means that the child is also a social reformer, never a passive pawn in the inexhaustible flux of modernity. His objective is now that of saving his own and other societies from any crisis, democratic deficit, economic underdevelopment, exponential population growth. If empire was the end of history in the pre- and inter-war era, democracy is the key trope of the new political and racial vernacular. As in the past, the white subject's actions while questioning the past and present as evidence of the subjects struggle and victory over modernity's speed continue to reformulate liberal globality and historicity. Modernity and thus liberalism are global projects in which we participate as already modern national subjects suffice to think that Fukuyama's end of history is a global project. The learner-citizen of the 1950s and 1960s can never be a passive citizen. The passive citizen is premodern and cannot be white. A passive stance contradicts the modern construction of imperial whiteness. Indeed, the subject of Enlightenment is an active agent and reason is the lead in reform particularly through the temporal ‘strategy’ of critique which adapts liberal thought to unforeseeable contingencies and boosts liberalism in the future.
The anxiety around indoctrination is evident in the pedagogical discourse of the time. Indoctrination is identified in educational texts of the period as a characteristic of the past and of contemporary totalitarian regimes. The Cold War atmosphere is evident in comments regarding the “blind adherents to Communism” (HR 1950: 29). To be critical and to develop critical thinking skills is the sign of liberal modernity. If education were about storing information there would be no growth of the individual and he would be fixed in time, not continuously evolving and incapable of engaging in one of the white self-communities who know but cannot walk in the path of history. Critical thinking is represented as the Kantian way out of the accusations of liberal indoctrination and the perils of the demise of a global liberalism. Critique (whether progressive or conservative) is a necessary component of liberal education since this is one of the devices through which individuals and collectivities constantly re-constitute themselves and the liberal project. This critical attitude surfaces in the history curricula. The 1959 Grade 7 and 8 History Intermediate Division⁴⁵, for instance, states that history should not be taught with a nationalist bias erasing wrongdoings (1959, 2). In the case of British and Canadian history, they are so many positive accomplishments that there is no need to shy away from the past's faults of the past (1959, 2). It, therefore, acknowledges that previous forms of history teaching as biased (1959, 2)⁴⁶. If in the past we omitted some of the errors committed by Canada or Great Britain and we taught that our side was right and the other side was wrong, history becomes propaganda. (1959, 2-3). In this way, a liberal critique of an irrational or extreme nationalism is developed as not describing the truth in

⁴⁵ The official name of the guideline is History Intermediate Division Grades 7 and 8. Curriculum 1 l(c) 35M, 1959.

⁴⁶ 1959 History Intermediate division, grades 7 and 8.
the present of the past (1959, 3). This is instrumental then in making student capable of ‘judging’ the right types of nationalisms spreading in the world.

This liberal project is typically unnamed in educational accounts of the time and is subsumed under the apolitical term ‘democracy’. Students are to study democracy as a way of life, the difficulties of it and the roles and responsibilities of citizens (1952, 16). Yet, democracy is tightly intertwined with a certain type of humanity as it is evident in the following passage from the Hope Report in which individuals who support PE are those:

“(…) who believe in peoples’ abilities to find solutions to human problems. They are idealists who believe in democracy as an ideal and are not loyal to institutions. They see less need for steadfastness, loyalty and courage than for resourcefulness to meet new situations. They are impressed by the achievements of science in the relatively brief period that investigation of the natural world has been unhampered by fixed beliefs and other controls of authority. Hence, they declare that it is not only desirable but imperative that men should be similarly free to work out a solution for peaceful living in national and international societies, and that no cherished pattern of thinking should be allowed to stand in the way.” (1950, 25, emphasis added).

Curricular revisions of the 1950s and 1960s aimed at making youth understand Canada’s place in the modern world and cultivating attitudes of respect for democracy and diversity. Echoing more recent theorizations about deliberative democracy and citizenship education citizenship in the 1990s, the Hope Report states: “In a democracy everyone participates in some measure in the role of governor, as he or she contributes to the sovereign will of the people” (1950, 38-39). The rights and obligations of democracy are burdensome, but they should not be relinquished since demagogues or dictators can easily take over. These ideals are reflected in the curricula’s emphasis

47 See, for instance, Enslin et al. 2001 and Stitzlein 2010
on the student as ‘deliberator’. Students “by reason of their greater maturity are in a position to
grasp the importance of problems of their own days and to acquire the judgment and the skills in
discussing them.” (COS 1954, 3)\(^{48}\). School should aim at building subjects who can deliberate on
many problems. Far from being simple pawns in the hands of elites, the Canadian subject of the
1950s is trained to become an active member of civil society. Given the centrality of experience
in PE as the medium of teaching/learning, classes should capitalize on the simulation of
deliberative settings. Co-operative work involved in discussing current global events simulates
what the white deliberator must do while allowing him to experience the pleasure in occupying
that subject position through the teacher’s praise. Holistically the learner is to “experience a
growing awareness of Canada’s place in the modern world and his own place in Canada…” (COS
1954, 3). This is done through modern pedagogical practice in which students are active and their
learning constantly supervised through journals, discussions and debates.

While the Canadian subject is represented as a deliberator, citizenship is not about civics
or voting; it is a civil(ised) subjectivity who is interested in all that concerns democracy. It is not
a ‘political citizenship' but an agentic and affective subjectivity. This subject embodies the
principles of Western democracy. The type of social or civil citizenship evoked is totalizing and
must be performed, it is not simple intellectual knowledge. The envisioned citizen mirrors official
narratives about Canadian citizenship. In introducing the 1947 Citizenship Act in the House of
Commons, Cabinet Minister Paul Martin Sr. stated, "Citizenship means more than the right to vote;
more than the right to hold and transfer property; more than the right to move freely under the
protection of the state; citizenship is the right to full partnership in the fortunes and in the future

\(^{48}\) COS grade XIII History- Canada and the Modern World (Curriculum S. 10) 1954
of the nation." (Lewis 2010, 479). This is not about political citizenship, the making of citizenized subjectivities is about honing agentic and affective selves.

'Merit' is another key term of Canada's postwar pedagogy. "Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit." (DHR 1968, 11). The notion of an education rendered accessible on the basis of merit supports the liberal capitalist notion of individual meritocracy and does not aim at even questioning access on the basis of discrimination. Race, religion, and language should not impede his access to schooling and therefore citizenship but renders it conditional upon individual merit. The Hope Commission was instrumental in increasing the streaming practices available in the province through the language of PE in which the unique needs of every child were met. This meant that their different needs were being met through segregated educational paths (i.e. vocational, commercial and special education (Curtis 2014). Vocational and special education high schools were directed to meet the educational 'needs' of immigrant, racialized and working-class students (ibid). As Dei (1996) argues, Canadian education with the promise of progressive education has a ‘racial, cultural and gender “othering” of [Black] students’ (Dei 1996, 44). Focusing on the individual child and his needs, interests and abilities it is the discourse of PE that allows for the legitimization of differential schooling which prepares children for their role in a new Canadian society which constantly reproduces itself not only as a hierarchical community but also polity in which some have more potential to become citizens (see pp. DHR 12-13, 1968).

The postwar pedagogical discourse attests to the revitalization of progressive education in Ontario, proving the discourse’s metamorphic adaptability and its strength in maintaining the centrality of the white subject in the face of alleged everchanging reality and society. The modernizing force of progressive education continues to be deployed in the 1950s and 1960s
making Canadian citizens as members of communities of racial fate. The modernization of the Canadian subject means that s/he is re-constituted as white constantly given that s/he has to fulfill the promise of a perfectly teleological End of History (Fukuyama 1992). The making of this subject runs parallel to the making of the Canadian nation-state, which in its modernization is also undergoing a civilizing process. The agency of the postwar Canadian subject continues to be a caring one who belongs to a caring Western Keynesian welfare state, a type of dynamic that will continue until the 1970s.

4 - Tying the individual to a community of faith in post-war curricula

As it was the case in the previous decades, Canada's post-war pedagogical discourse does not stress the individual over the collectivity. Instead, it hails the citizen as an individual while simultaneously binding him to a larger community of fate. In the Hope, Report Canadians are defined as "heirs of the pasts and stewards of the future and while we can take pride in our inheritance, we can ill afford to bury our talents in the soils of satisfaction" (DHR 1968, 9). Following the Western traditions of republicanism and liberalism, the resulting concept of citizenship is an amalgamation of the understanding of the citizen as an individual tied to a community and the individual as a bearer of rights (Williams 2009). Citizenship then works as the handmaiden of civility in that it always goes beyond legal status. To realise his freedom, the citizen needs a community: "the role of the citizen is, above all, to participate with other citizens in collective self-rule by reasoning with them over what they, collectively, ought to do — what will be just and advantageous for the community and its members" (Williams 2009, 46-47). In pedagogical terms, this is represented by the progressive goals of educating for "social
responsibility, service to all, and adaptability to change, and explicitly to be educated to work and get along with others.” (DHR 1968, 71).

The inextricable links between the individual and community are apparent in the curricula of the time. In the 1959 Grade 8 History component, for instance, students study their local community focusing on its historical origins so then a student can fit “his own community in the general picture” (1959, 14-15). This commonsensical statement should not be underestimated given that this rescaling from local to national is strategic in naturalizing the white citizen-subject as both particular and universal while locating the subject in a broader community and onto the path of Western history. As a result of engaging in activities in which students superimpose the local onto the national the learner experiences the same familiarity which characterizes his relationship to the local community with the national one thereby binding individual and community. “History comes to life when the pupil can relate it to the present and to his own community” (ibid., 15).

A key component of the ‘communitarian’ dimension of citizenship education is the emphasis on the everyday, practical nature of citizenship. The practical nature of education for citizenship is an ideal which must permeate the whole educational programme. “It is a cumulative product of the entire school life, and the necessary behaviour patterns can be developed only when ample opportunity is provided for adequate practice” (HR 1950, 164). All school activities should be organized as activities to create “habitual modes of action” that shape the future citizen (ibid., 165). Citizenship is to be taught across school subjects and the social studies, English and religious studies.

49 COS - History Intermediate Division Grades 7 and 8. Curriculum I I(c) 35M, 1959.
education seem to be particularly appropriate for the task (ibid., 166). Citizenship is thus not about voting or knowing about the national legislative system, but it is a more diffused component of daily conduct within in the nation which is to be performed at home, the community, the school (ibid, 165). Student councils, clubs and extracurricular activities should give students opportunities to practice the habit of citizenship (ibid.). Thus, children must be instructed in ideals and types of behaviour, but, above all, must live in situations in which these behaviours are practised. In the progressive fashion, the social dimensions of being a citizen are created through ‘simulation' of the liberal democratic experience, for the school must provide: "meaningful social experiences in situations that require the exercise of qualities of helpfulness, self-direction and acceptance of responsibility." (DHR 1968, 71).

The responsible citizen so created is eager to solve practical social issues in the community. These issues include concerns about poverty, immigration, war and more generic threats to the liberal peace and progress. These ‘missionary’ objectives are intrinsically meshed with religious precepts, resulting in the establishment of a kind of ‘civic religion’. As the Hope Report maintains, "[t]he schools of Ontario exist for the purpose of preparing children to live in a democratic society which bases its way of life upon the Christian ideal” (HR 36, emphasis added) Christianity and morality are one and the same, since they both require adherence “to ideals that lie outside oneself and that transcend one's personal interests." (ibid. 36-37). The values schools uphold are "respect for religion and the principles of Christian morality and the highest regard for truth, justice, loyalty, love of country, humanity, benevolence, sobriety, industry, frugality, purity, temperance and all other virtues" (ibid 123-24). This is an important passage of the text attesting to its immutable modernity, for there is a move from religious education to virtue talk that reminds of ‘character education’. The move from morality to character requires a subject who is no longer subjected to
a passive moral education but is engaged in an active character education that is ‘holistic’ and performative.

Another communitarian pillar of the curricula of the time is collaboration in the classroom. Collaborative learning allows for students to work in pairs, small groups and in whole classes in the case of debates. Students may also be asked to interact during a lecture to solve a problem, question or formulate responses (MacGregor 1991:1-4). It encourages the individual to partake in a communal activity which allows for the creation of a “community of fate”. If individually the subject is made responsible for his own success, this success is simultaneously tied to the group’s success. The centrality of dialogue and voice in this progressive classroom is pivotal since it imposes onto the classroom and its bodies the liberal collective good showing how progressive pedagogy works as an ensemble of technologies of individualization and totalization imbued with political and historical contingencies.

While curricula of the time encourage the development of free thinking, the emphasis on community implies the concurrent need to instil a sense of conformity in pupils. The Hope Report’s section titled “The Force of Habits, Customs, and Conventions”, for instance, seeks to instill in students the acceptance of rules that are taken for granted by the majority of the community (HR 1950, 29-30). If honesty and love are universal values, there are habits, customs and conventions that are part of the “society in which the school is placed” (1950, 29). The document asks what the relationship between the moral development of the child and the enforcement of the community’s mores should be (ibid). Conformity, in this case, is not to be obtained in a traditional manner through force but through "self-determination, self-control, and voluntary co-operation." (HR 1950, 31).
One of the ways in which conformity is instilled into pupils is through the deployment of what the Hope Report calls ‘pleasure’ and ‘sympathy’ (HR 1950, 170). The economy of imperial pleasure begins innocently at the nursery and kindergarten level when students learn how to cooperate with their fellows, learn to respect their property and teachers' roles through feelings of pleasure or "satisfaction from the approbation of others, and of dissatisfaction from their disapproval" (ibid). In junior elementary school, the same pleasure regime will be activated as the child learns to conform to school rules and to the rules of his neighbourhood community by learning to respect traffic signal property and to appreciate the work done by neighbours for the community. In the senior elementary years, the student will acquire more knowledge about the community by studying the labour exchange, the use of money and the interdependence of urban/rural areas. Eventually, the scope of the knowledge will expand and include the country. Along with that each year the student will be exposed to stories of other peoples and, in this case, he will develop feelings of "sympathy and friendliness" (HR 1950,171). It is through pleasure and feelings of sympathy - from learning about how the west helped the rest, how in Canada the government is doing all that is possible to avoid the disappearance of Indians, to helping the other within the nation through the welfare state - that the child’s conduct is regulated and it will be along the same feeling that race as a structure of feeling and as a structure of agency will be acquired.

If modern power moves through bodies enabling them, then race is sustained not only through the articulation of specific attributes of the subject (i.e. autonomous, mobile, ever-changing) but also through material practices such as communal work in the class. It is through the communal educational activity that the autonomous ‘I’ becomes part of an autonomous ‘we’ particularly when working collaboratively to make a better society, a better world, or find solutions to ‘colonial’ problems.
The commonsensical assumption that progressive pedagogies can subvert power relations and create a non-hegemonic consciousness is questionable, however (Ladtika, 1994, Gore 2002, Perumal 2008). If progressive and radical pedagogies can subvert power relations, these practices also have normalizing effects. It is the instructor who decides what type of voice must be heard, what can be said, the type of knowledge that is deemed worthy. Progressive pedagogical practices may also be regulated via the knowledge-production made available. Communal learning can only accept a limited amount of diversity and difference, and resistance and conflict may be erased (Perumal 2008). Racial difference is erased in the universalism of progressive education. Those who partake in the dialogues that occur in the citizenship classroom will only be those deemed to be another-one-of-us while the others-among-us cannot deliberate.

5 - ‘Worldling’ and Intervention: the Other in Postwar Curricula

Educational curricula of the post-war era stressed the need for a history of the local community so the learner can "fit his own community into the general picture" (1959, 14-15). This activity of continuous re-scaling is strategic in placing the Canadian citizen in the Western space of universality and temporally in the present. The study of other lands and cultures had the goal of making the unknown known and to “overcome chauvinism and jingoism”, as Benoit Brouillette, then President of the Canadian Association of Geographers, stated in 1955 (Brouillette 1955). To know the other and other cultures is imperative for the modern citizen given that chauvinism and jingoism constitute a threat to white autonomy.

The curricula of this period attempt to instil a moral imperative in students who ought to realize the growing interdependence of nations and peoples "in the modern ages" and the need for
tolerance, neighbourliness and co-operation (POS 1952, 3). By studying other countries, students learn about similarities and differences among countries and cultures and thus become tolerant of difference. If in the previous curricula the same will to care is evident in the civil and capillary discourse of the British Empire, the move towards an ‘internationalized' view of the world does not challenge the racialized relationship of stewardship between Europeans and others. If an imperial education is characterized by a "knowing possession of the world” so is an internationally-oriented one\(^50\). The internationalization of the world keeps in place the hierarchical division of humanity according to the modern indicators of globality and historicity, it re-centers white autonomy and deliberation over others in the name of care, progress and modernity

Along with the rhetoric of internationalization, postwar curricula reproduce a recurring term in the liberal political vernacular of the time, namely ‘self-determination’ (Hannum 1996). Self-determination is considered as a hallmark in the trajectory of progress, representing a “marked advance towards a more rational world in terms of political freedom.” (POS 1954, 10)\(^51\)

Communities are compared and contrasted as either ‘progressed’ or ‘in the march towards progress”, but so are the individuals who are members of these communities. Indeed, during the 1950s the discourse of internationalism did not recognize the principle of self-determination universally. It is only in the 1960 UN Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial

\(^{50}\)Willinsky (1998: 73) uses the expression “the knowing possession of the world” to characterize imperial education.

\(^{51}\)Program of Studies 1954 Canada and the Modern World, Grade 13
Countries and Peoples that self-determination appears as right in the context of decolonization (Hannum 1996)\textsuperscript{52}.

Internationalism strategically replaces the old benevolent imperial discourse of ‘civilising' the native through a new ‘aspiration' for social change and self-determination in Asia and Africa. The desire for a postcolonial condition on the part of the ex-colonies is, however, explained as a result of the European influence, since they have caught a glimpse "...of the ideal of a better world which has so stirred the nations of America and Europe for the past 150 years, and they are determined to make it their own, to have their part in it." (POS 1954, 10). At the same time, the desire for self-determination beyond the west is unsettling traditional political, social, economic structures and potentially destabilizing the liberal peace, rendering the second part of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century one of the most challenging periods in all history (POS 1954, 11). Decolonization, Cold War and the threat of nuclear conflict constitute the present simultaneously as threat and opportunity: "Never before have all the peoples of the world been involved in great changes altogether. Our old world drops away; we move ahead to a new, a world of one humankind." (POS 1954, 11)

This view of one world and one humanity is not new but imperial. What remains unchallenged is the stewardship of the west and this ‘new’ phase as a step in the trajectory of Western progress. Internationalism, like empire, makes Western desires and goals global erasing the other as a political actor through the UN and experiments in mutual aid and security. Canada is represented in the present as a white nation with “significant power, one whose voice will be

\textsuperscript{52} Self-determination appears as a principle already in International documents such as the 1945 UN declaration of Human Rights but it was not a fundamental right in the 1945 UN regime.
heard with respect, a nation whose influence in co-operation with others can count for much” (POS 1954, 11). Once deterritorialized the liberal dream becomes a worldwide (global) yearning with an anthropological quality (i.e. this is what humanity wants/ universality). Indeed, the good life within a liberal order is what all humanity desires, those who wish another order do so either because they live in extreme poverty and are open the allure of communism. While the major issues in the present are the opposition between communism and liberal democracy and the search for self-determination and a better life in Asia and Africa. The liberal response to these crises rests upon UN interventions, mutual aid and security programs (Marshall plan, NATO, UN technical aid, Point four programme, Colombo plan). In this new world order, Canada is depicted as a strategic middle power in the new internationalist order (POS 1954, 12).

The Canadian ‘Other’ is not limited to those beyond the country’s borders. Internationalism is deeply embedded in Canada’s national narrative. Internationalism, like empire, allows for the continuous construction of ‘conquest’ as ‘settlement’, ‘migration’, ‘contact’ erasing the full force colonial violence but also to depoliticise European colonialism and present it as part of humanity’s progress towards modernity. In terms of Indigenous people, this will mean that it will be easy to write them out of history either through the trope of the “dying race” or the “assimilation” one. By the 1950s, however, Canada’s Indigenous people could no longer be imagined as a ‘dying race’, since their numbers had increased, and their birth rate is the highest among ethnic groups.

This state of affairs is acknowledged by the Hall-Dennis commission (HDR 1968, 111). The commission recognizes that the Indigenous population lives in conditions of isolation and poverty and that “prejudiced stereotype” of the “Indian” haunts the classroom and that this must be removed to “restore dignity to the individual and his pride in family, home, and heritage.” (ibid.). While the assimilation approach used in the past is seen as unsuccessful by the committee,
educators must be sensitive to the child’s ‘cultural background’ so that educational her/his
experiences are rewarding. “Indian children are not born into a vacuum, but into families that are
integrated into a given type of human community, which may or may not be integrated into the
larger society which we call Canadian.” (ibid.). Indigenous peoples are characterized as the
continuation of a “silent type of community”, functioning without the benefit of full literacy, with
a “prescientific and empirical” type of knowledge of the natural environment (ibid.). Also,
“Indian” communities are homogenous and there is little “cross fertilization of ideas, skills,
attitudes” (HDR 1968 112), these communities are not part of industrialized society and among
them “there is little psychological awareness or recognition that they need other human beings
outside the reserves and that other human beings need them.”, although they are aware of being
far more Canadian than other communities that exist on our common territory (HDR, 112).

The Hall-Dennis Report classifies Indigenous children as different from ‘sophisticated
urban’ or even ‘rural’ children in Canada. Therefore, their pedagogical needs are different. The
possibility of making a distinction between children because of their abilities, attitudes,
experiences is typical of PE. By doing so, however, the white subject of PE is normalized and re-
centred (Baker 1998). Indigenous people (together with recent immigrants) are mentioned in
"Special Learning Situations" which contains all the children that diverge from the universal child
of progressive education. However, progressive education, with its goal of integration in society,
"should make it possible to begin to climb up the ladder to higher education from their unique
vantage point." (HDR 1968, 113). Therefore, PE allows for the fact that societies, cultures and
subjects that are differently ranked in terms of progress can become ‘another-one-of-us’.

If until the 1960s the socialization of Indigenous people was based on forced assimilation,
now ‘integration' becomes the key term. This objective, however, requires that Indigenous people
bind themselves to the liberal project of the settler state, thus continuing to suppress their cultures, modes of living and political agency. They also need help to achieve this goal. As Razack notes “Colonizers always claim a commitment to the improvement of racialized peoples.” (Razack 2011, 269). Pedagogical texts of the time thus continue to hide the colonial and imperial violence that divides the universal white child from the other children and it is through the anthropological and sociological discourse that ‘the pain’ of Indigenous people is stolen by the universal subject speaking in the text.

This paternalistic approach the original inhabitants of Canada is elaborated in the history curricula. The course 1959 ‘Canadian History’ for intermediate grades, for instance, begins in grade seven with an overview of the original inhabitants of the continent ("Indians" and "Eskimos"), the early visitors, the French, the fur trade and ends in grade 8 with the Confederation era. The text suggests a reading for the section on the first inhabitants of Canada, Canadians of Long Ago, already anticipating in the title that these early inhabitants are either excluded from, or threatened by, modernity. Yet the title also implies rooting in a remote past Canada as a liberal project and as a historical end. As Spivak notes, a crucial step in colonialism's epistemic violence consists of imposing (Western) textuality upon others. "The worlding of a world on a supposedly uninscribed territory…thinking basically of the imperialist project which had to assume that the earth that it territorialized was in fact previously uninscribed" (Spivak 1990, 1). Through ‘worlding’ then the other is represented, known and annihilated politically but also in a moral discourse such as citizenship the other is the beneficiary of our depoliticized affective agency.

53 History Intermediate Division Grades 7 and 8. Curriculum 1 1(c) 35M, 1959.
These ‘worldling’ dynamics are apparent in the geography curricula of the 1950s. The capability of individuating difference and tolerating it is seen as necessary for the present given that “(...) in this second half of the 20th century interdependence, that the interdependence of all the earth’s inhabitants is becoming even greater, due to inventions increasing the ease and speed of transport and of the transmission of thought.” (Brouillette 1955, 2). Geography is then linked to the making of citizens who love their own country but also have a specific quality that is “world mindedness” (Wallace Atwood quoted in Brouillette 1955, 3). to strengthen peace and human solidarity. Despite ‘race talk' in biological terms is erased at this time, the racial structuring of ‘man' and of the subject of geography is still strong. What comes to the fore is that "the influence of man dominates that of nature, at least in the temperate zones," (Brouillette, 1955, 5). As the statement emphasizes, whiteness is still "recognizable".

This racialized vision of a post-imperial vision of geography and man shapes the geography curricula. The 1954 COS grades 11 and 12 Geography of the Earth, for instance, contained strong anthropological undertones with references to race, globality and historicity. Geography, like history, allows for insight into the present given that "The contemporary world can be better understood by learning about the customs and the living conditions of the peoples of the earth and therefore the study of geography is a valuable resource of culture as well as of knowledge." (COS1954 3). This is an interesting statement for three reasons: firstly the racial rationality of enlightenment geography is maintained (environment type of society and humanity), secondly, the humanitarian/moral aims of geography are maintained and finally we see how geographical knowledge maintains itself as practical knowledge of the world as in the Kantian and Enlightenment matrix. It is instrumental in the performance of white subjectivity and citizenship. This goal of geography is maintained across different curricular levels and across scales (e.g. the local community, Canada, North America, the world). Students are to understand and later act
upon an understanding of the interaction between physical and cultural environment and in the spirit of PE students are to gain specific attitudes, such as "an appreciation of social problems" and "a sympathetic understanding of other peoples" (COS 1954, 3). The moral is mustered to sustain a white performance but also to moralize what is political such as social problems.

A Kantian understanding of geography as a means to understand man and the world and to make political and moral decisions on the basis of reason and knowledge is apparent in the geography curricula of the time. In the 1954 grade 11 geography curriculum, for instance, students look at the world as a planet and general elements of geography. After that students look at “Human occupancy in Natural Regions”. The focus is on “Man in Rainy tropical lands”, “Man in Deserts and Semi-deserts”, “Man in mid-latitude west coasts, mid-latitude east coasts, and mid-latitude continental lands” and "Man in Cold Lands" (COS 1954, 5-6). This is not an apolitical vision, however. Students will survey the world learning about geography and level of development of humanity with Europeans at the top of the hierarchy. Moreover, in the section of world population and in particular in the section on “Problems of population distribution” students look at population density and migration, distribution of food and raw materials: surplus and deficiency areas; and, finally, in “Programmes for the development of world resources: United Nations. Colombo Plan, Point Four Programme (1954, 8), students learn to operationalize the knowledge acquired in geography, learning to gauge the problem and intervene in the lives of others.

The racialized dynamics underlying the geography curriculum are also present in the history curricula. The 1952 world history course for Grades 11 and 12, for instance, aims at
understanding the sources of European and other civilizations\textsuperscript{54}. While acknowledging the existence of other ‘great’ civilizations it also stresses how of all this evolution what really matters is "the crowning achievement in this long evolution of institutions and ideas to be found in the evolution of democracy with its ideal of social equality and of government." (COS 1952, 3) and students must focus on the role Britain has played in this development. The curriculum does recognize the emergence of new powers. The 1947 grade 12 world history curriculum introduces to students the study of China and India (1947 is, incidentally, the year in which there was the dropping in Canada of the head tax.\textsuperscript{55} Yet the inclusion of these ancient civilizations in the modern world does not mean a decentering of Europe or whiteness but furthering the point that both India and China need a ‘white’ hand, mind and heart in becoming modern. Although "developments in China" became a curricular topic in 1947 in the Modern World History Curriculum in grade 12 (Circular H.S. 9, 1947) the representations made available in curricular documents and textbook depicted China through a Western gaze as an ancient civilization who had then not stepped into modernity. The later reform of the old empire into a republic was understood as due to the Western influence. Yet China also became part of the security council of the United Nations and that made it a topic to be studied (Chia 2013, 203). However, despite its inclusion in the education of an international student, China was represented as 'out of history' and 'isolated' from the world thus definitely not modern if modernity as the curriculum notes is about an increasing interdependence. In fact, in the document, the study of India and China is confined to the grade 12 world history

\\textsuperscript{54} 1952 COS grades XI and XII World history (Curriculum S.9). This COS replaces the former courses in ancient and medieval history of grade 11 and modern history of grade 12.

\textsuperscript{55} On the representation of China in Ontario curricula see Chia 2013.
course under the section *Ancient cultures: New Importance in World Affairs* (1952, 16). So while as Chia argues, China is constituted in textbooks of the era as needing a jolt into modernity by Western nation states which transfigures at the national level the white man’s burden, in the curriculum document, the trajectory/motor of history is Europe and in the last section which is “The World until 1945” continues to be a celebration of European historicity and the ‘inclusion’ of China and India reinforces rather than weakens the modern division of the world in areas of modernity and others of yet-to-come modernity (i.e. a racial us vs them mentality).

The World Studies program is an important site where the preparation of an international "Pupils should have a visual image of the countries whose history they study." (1952, 4). The 1952 curriculum includes in the study of world History the study of the ancient civilizations of India and China and the rise of nationalism in Burma, Indonesia and Israel, the new members of the Commonwealth (Pakistan, Ceylon, India; 1952, 16). If the focus on non-Western realities may be praised as an opening up to the other, the strategic inclusion of these non-Western nations in the final section of the curriculum "The World Since 1945" makes us think that these countries have just emerged into history through Western imperialism and their adherence to Western nationalism. The result will then be a continued celebration of European historicity and these nations in the making remind us that for some modernity is yet to come and race, culture nation will be responsible for that. the inclusion of these ancient civilizations in the modern world does not mean a decentering of Europe or whiteness but furthering the point that both India and China need a ‘white' hand, mind and heart in becoming modern. Mid-century notions of self, other and world are re-arranged in this document but still maintain what David Scott names the ‘political

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56 See also Chia 2013, 204.
rationalities of colonial power" which lead to" the reconfiguration of colonial power, its redistribution and redeployment in relation to new targets, new forms of knowledge, [as well] its production of new effects of order and subjectivity." (Scott 1995, 213 in Tavares 2003, 437)

The worlding of the other is not restricted to the geography curricula. The 1952 grade 11 and 12 World history course aims at ensuring an understanding the sources of European and other civilizations, connecting the past to the present to better understand the latter and understanding how the crowning achievement of modern history is the achievement of democracy with its emphasis on social equality and good government.

In grade 11 students study the progress of ‘man' from the cave to the ancient civilizations of the Mediterranean, China and India, Greece, Rome and then focus on the medieval and renaissance world which means re-centring the gaze onto Europe. Through this movement, the world is de-territorialized and reterritorialized within the confines of Europe. The rest remains out of history. After the study of the rise of nationalism and the first explorations, grade 12 students focus on the modern world and the rise of parliamentary democracy and free trade in Britain, the spread of liberalism in continental Europe and responsible government in the white colonies (1952, 14). The reterritorialization of modernity continues and includes Canada and the USA. In studying the modern era students learn about how modernity and liberalism are characterized by faith in reason and distrust of religions and traditions.

If the post-war high school geography and history curricula have a global reach, enlightenment notions of white globality and historicity are necessary to provide a humanitarian apolitical logic. The will to care for Others belongs both to the subject and to his nationalized community, it is part and parcel of a racial journey to personhood. The enlightenment roots of this will to care are evident in the recognition of the other in certain parts of the world as people lacking
either morality or self-determination and on the option of historicity since the same others have not /can not catch up with modernity. However, the will to care functions as rescaling liberalism from the west to the east and temporally propelling the liberal present into a liberal future.

It is the knowledge contained in these documents that speaks to the racial journey to personhood of the knowledge-producers (as Canadian citizens) and it is through this narrative of the greatness of Europe that each student will be able to make a connection between himself and a specific collectivity. This sense of imperial belonging will then be reinforced through the knowledge contained in the textbook and the progressive pedagogical methods, all which will procure pleasure to the members of this collectivity- from learning about how the west helped the rest, how in Canada the government is doing all that is possible to avoid the disappearance of Indians, by helping the other within the nation through the welfare state. But also through more active practices such as simulating travelling across the world, meeting the other, participating in debates and performing group work in which the subject deals with the "Other". The narrative of progressive education seems to constantly mirror that of racialized modernity placing the white subject constantly at its center. While differences in language and the differences among European cultures are welcome and manageable within the Western nation, other cultural differences that distinguish some as the others among us are not welcome. Their cultural differences need fine-tuning, while cultural difference as an individual right can be promoted within Canadian society. As it was the case in the interwar period, other group rights, in particular those that question the Canadian national project, must be sidelined through education.

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CHAPTER 4


Chapter summary

The present chapter covers the beginning of ‘multicultural era' in Canadian history (1970s-1980s), illustrating the ways in which multiculturalism as a new philosophy and set of policies was received and adapted in Canada's educational system. By critically examining multicultural pedagogy's key tenets, this chapter shows how this approach still reproduces dynamics of globality and historicity and its exclusionary discursive practices, as attested by the ways tropes of the ‘Canadian child', ‘immigrant child' and ‘Indian child' were deployed in early multicultural curricula. As for the previous empirical chapters, the second part of the present chapter uses social sciences curricula and other relevant pedagogical texts as source material to reconstruct the dominant ‘globalizing' educational discourse that characterized citizenship education of the time, showing its continuity in the history of Canadian pedagogy.

1 - Canada and the Emergence of Multiculturalism
Some of the socio-economic trends that defined Canada in the 1960s, such as the growing diversity of its population due to immigration, were perpetuated in the following decades. The 1971 census, for instance, shows that half of the households of the city of Toronto was born outside of the country. Similarly, figures published by the Toronto Board of Education in 1976 confirm that more than half of the students did not claim English as their native language (Bhatnagar 1983, 165). At the same time, given the strength of the social movements in the United States and Canada, assimilation and ‘Anglo-conformity’ of the newcomers were no longer expected. On the contrary, ethnic diversity becomes touted as an asset for the country (O’Bryan 1976, Berry 1977; Palmer 1976, 110). As noted in the previous chapter, the B&B Commission and other policy documents of the late 1960s had outlined the guiding principles behind this new vision of Canada as a multicultural society. In the two decades that followed, this vision was turned into reality, and multiculturalism became Canada’s official policy. Then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's announcement of the federal policy on multiculturalism (October 8, 1971) contained the now familiar observation that the time was overdue for Canadians to become more aware of their rich tradition of cultural diversity: “For although there are two official languages, there is no official culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other. No citizen or group of citizens is other than Canadian, and all should be treated fairly.” (Trudeau quoted in Richter 2011, 37). Trudeau’s main commitment was to establish government support in enhancing ethnic groups’ contribution to Canadian culture, overcome cultural barriers so that all groups could partake in Canadian society, foster cultural exchanges among groups and support newcomers’ acquisition of one of the national languages. The policy called into being a new vision of society; one which refuses to sacrifice diversity in the name of unity and which places the cultures of Canada’s many groups on an equal footing (Young 1979). With the establishment of ‘multiculturalism within a bilingual framework’, along with the recognition of Aboriginal rights to self-government, Canada
had officially adopted a model of “poliethnicity and multinationality” (Kymlicka 1995, 22 in Ungerleider 2007, ix).

Multiculturalism as a national policy was entrenched in various official documents of the 1970s and 1980s. Canada's ‘multicultural heritage’ is mentioned in the 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms while ‘ethnicity’ and ‘diversity’ are elements of the 1988 Canadian Multicultural Act (Richter 2011, 38-41). The Multiculturalism Act sets out the Federal Government's commitment to "recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society," and acknowledges that multiculturalism is a "fundamental characteristic of Canadian heritage and identity." (CMA 1988, 31 in Day 2001, 174).

Liberal commentators welcomed the introduction of multiculturalism in Canada, pointing at the fact that it represented an important step towards creating a harmonious and democratic society (Richter 2011, 41-42). In praising Canadian multiculturalism Kymlicka (2003) states that Canada, while is not the only nation to have multicultural policies, is an exceptional case because of the extent to which it has “built these practices into its symbols and narratives of nationhood” (Kymlicka 2003, 375). As an updated progressive version of nationalism, multiculturalism is deemed to be able to overcome some of the limits of traditional nationalism such as its exclusionary notions of ethnicity. With multiculturalism, ethnicity is no longer understood as a collective political means to express the demands of a group over social, cultural, racial, religious, and/or structural inequalities (Bell 1975). The state addresses demands from below linking racism and anti-racism to combat intraindividual forms of discrimination and allowing them to be explained through prejudice and ignorance. Multiculturalism speaks to the settler nation’s ‘new’ capacity to include diversity (Carr 2008). In turn, diversity becomes a distinctive feature of Canadianness. In
this way, multiculturalism becomes a tool to achieve pragmatic political goals in a politically acceptable manner (Peter 1978 in Fleras 2002).

Yet, as critical scholars have noted, an apparently benign and progressive discourse such as multiculturalism has been central in maintaining Canada’s racial governance (Thobani 2007; Walcott 2014). \textit{Since its inception multiculturalism within a bilingual and bicultural framework has worked as a hegemonic dividing practice at a time when} the postwar liberal state - with no possibility to rely on biological notions of race \textit{to define its own identity} and under pressure from rise of various national and international social movements (e.g. the civil rights movement, Quebecois nationalism, Indigenous resistance and the struggles of immigrants of color against racial rule in Canada) - needed a justification for its very existence (Singh 1998, 475; Ghosh and Abdi, 2012; Thobani 2007; Anderson and Frideres, 1981). \textit{Multiculturalism became pivotal in propelling into the post-racial present the white settler nation-building project} (Haque 2012, 5).

The adoption of multicultural policies in the family of white settler societies in particular, and Western nations in general, speaks to the potential of multiculturalism in maintaining white privilege in the present (Mitchell 2003; Gordon-Walker 2016). Multiculturalism reiterates the notion of British and French as the founding members of the nation through language and culture without mentioning race (Walcott 2014, 130). \textit{In this project}, Euro-Canadians are represented as without race/ethnicity thus maintaining the notion of whiteness as “transcendence” of race, while non-European individuals living in Canada are considered as ‘others’. The latter requires ‘cultivation’ in order to become full citizens, while the former possess an ‘inherent’ capacity for citizenship and can offer “stewardship into Canadian citizenship” for others (Walcott 2014, 130 see also Thobani 2007; Bannerji 2000; Mackay 2002, Day 1998).
These dynamics are clearly apparent in the ways multicultural policies have impacted Indigenous people in Canada. As noted in the previous chapter, since the mid-1960s the federal government had been engaged in a series of consultations with indigenous leaders to deal with unresolved issues, such as for instance land claims. These consultations led to the 1969 White Paper\[57]. The White Paper reveals the limits of modernity’s liberal discourse of multiculturalism. The document conceives equal treatment as the alternative to both assimilation and separatism and “offers great opportunities for Canadians to demonstrate that in our open society there is room for the development of people who preserve their different cultures and take pride in their diversity.” (Quoted in Kernerman 2006, 72, fn. 27). The White Paper also attempts to erase Aboriginal claims to sovereignty, autonomy and land and by assimilating Aboriginal people into the multicultural tapestry (Andersen and Denis 2011) Canada is a pluralist and just society in which diversity is encouraged “within a common framework (or common limit) of equal citizenship.” (Kernerman 2000, 72). Self-determination must, therefore, occur within a multicultural framework, that is as ‘nations’ within the Canadian state (Day and Sadik 2002). Legal equality among all groups or equal opportunity without differentiation will thus lead to the flourishing of cultural identities within a framework of equality-commonness. Aboriginal people, however, have adamantly rejected this equating of their Aboriginal position with other ethnic minorities as a form of colonialism (Curthoys 2000; Short 2005). Multiculturalism de facto erases the ongoing colonization of Canada since it decenters Indigenous claims for sovereignty and land claims and imagines Indigenous communities to be asking for “cultural recognition” (St. Denis 2011, 309; MacDonald 2014). Multiculturalism, therefore, represents another attempt at managing, if not

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57 1969 Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy
eraser, Indigenous presence. As Glen Coulthard points out: “In the Canadian context, colonial relations of power are no longer reproduced primarily through overtly coercive means, but rather through the asymmetrical exchange of mediated forms of state recognition and accommodation.” Recognition and accommodation do not overcome the colonial legacy; they constitute a new form of colonial governmentality that limits Indigenous agency (Paine 1999; Lawrence and Dua 2005, St. Denis 2011). Seen from this perspective, multiculturalism, while for its supporters can lead to the creation of a postcolonial polity and the dismantling of the colour line, actually reinstates colonial modernity in the postwar era (Coulthard 2104; Alfred 2009; St. Denis 2011; MacDonald 2014).

2 - Education and Pedagogy in the Multicultural Era

Changes in Canadian society and the rise of multiculturalism as an official policy were reflected in the pedagogical discourse of the time. Until the 1970s most of the programs of Boards of Education across the country aimed at assimilating the immigrant child into Anglo-conformity and there was no appreciation of the cultural and emotional cost of assimilation (Biullivant 1981, 59). Writing in that period, Palmer and Trooper (1973) state that "Until very recently ethnicity and cultural pluralism, major facets of the Canadian social reality, were allowed no formal place in the school curriculum experience. This neglect was not accidental. It was a natural outgrowth of institutionalized pressures for cultural uniformity or, more correctly, for reinforced British or British-French values reflected in Canadian society generally and school curricula specifically" (Palmer and Trooper 1973,15). As a result, Ontario working -class and racialized youth ended up in classes where teachers had very low expectations and progressive terminology such as “flexible curricula”, “student needs and interests” became equated with “intelligence” and “ability” (Smaller
2014, 90). The streaming that ensued meant that the majority of these students filled vocational programs whereas middle-class white children were ten times less likely to do so (Curtis 2014).

The emergence of multiculturalism as official policy in Canada had an impact in re-envisioning schools and curricula, in particular giving attention to the socio-economic disparities that characterized minorities, and in fostering pluralism and diversity (Michalski, 1977). As it had been the case in the past, Ontario was at the forefront of these trends, as it was one of the first provinces to embrace multicultural education and implement it in school curricula. In 1975 a new provincial curriculum policy was drafted, *The Formative Years - Education in the Primary and Junior Divisions*\(^{58}\), a document which informed the school curricula developed in Ontario until the late 1980s. The *Formative Years* outlines the new objectives that curricula should follow: to “develop an understanding of such concepts such as community, conflict, culture, and interdependence; learn the social skills and attitudes upon which effective and responsible cooperation and participation depend; develop and retain a personal identity by becoming acquainted with the historical roots of the community and culture of his or her origin and by developing a sense of continuity with the past; begin to understand and appreciate the points of view of ethnic and cultural groups other than his or her own”\(^{59}\).

The *Formative Years* and the other policy documents drafted in the following years such as the text for teachers *Multiculturalism in action*\(^{60}\) apply the key tenets of multicultural education.

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59 The Formative Years (Circular P1J1): Provincial curriculum policy for the Primary and Junior Division of the public and separate schools of Ontario. Toronto: Ministry of Education. 1975, pp. 22-23.

which by the mid-1970s had become a popular pedagogical approach in countries of immigration in the Western world (Sleeter and Grant 1994; Nieto 1992; Bennett, 1986). Educators define Multicultural Education differently according to goals, practices and social groups involved. For some, this approach addresses issues of race and ethnicity (Bennett 1986); others add gender (Baptiste & Baptiste, 1979), language (Hernandez, 1989), social class and disability (Banks & Banks. 1989; Gollnick and Chinn 1986; Grant. 1977). Among its key goals, multicultural education should strive to achieve “equivelency in achievement; more positive intergroup attitudes; and developing pride in heritage” (Kehoe & Mansfield, 1997, 3). Students will learn about new issues and learn from the perspectives of other ethnic communities and become decision-makers and agents of change. Multicultural education is thus an approach that prepares students to overcome prejudice and racism, learn about ethnic and race relations to reduce prejudice and racism and become interculturally competent (Bennett 1999, 11; Lewycky 2007) and ready to live in an "ethnically and racially diverse nation and world." (Banks 1993, 28). Multicultural education also constitutes a moment of recognition of the ethnocultural diversity of Canadian society and a response to issues of equality, as it aims at reducing e achievement gap between "dominant group and the ethnocultural groups." (Ghosh 1995, 232).

Multicultural tenets were incorporated into school practices through changes in teacher training, curriculum content and classroom projects (Lyons and Farrel 1994). Teachers were asked to acquire personal, professional and community-oriented skills to enable them to teach a multicultural and anti-racist curriculum. In turn, the curriculum content and class materials had to reflect ethnic and cultural diversity, eliminate bias and emphasize the common elements shared among groups.
Despite its alleged break from the past, multicultural education in Canada in the 1970s and 1980s is still strongly influenced by progressive pedagogy (Norquay 1999). As Holmes notes in the early 1980s, “the Ontario educational establishment sees progressivism as a force of truth and light, and conservatism as a force of reactionary evil.” (Holmes 1982, 424; see also Fox 1972). The multicultural curriculum keeps with the tenets of a progressive curriculum given that it places the universal child of PE at its center and in the progressive tradition it conceives the school as a laboratory of democracy and preparing children for an active role in society (Schiro 2013). The shared goals of progressive and multicultural education are engendering in students a capacity for the effective deliberation as well as a commitment to liberal principles such as non-discrimination, non-repression, and tolerance so that as adults these subjects can partake responsibly in democratic politics and craft their own lives (Howe 1992). Moreover, multicultural education, as progressive education, welcomes the use of active and co-operative learning given that it reduces prejudice and is essential to an equity pedagogy. Co-operative learning is also a means to become active and inquisitive citizens who question assumptions (Banks and Banks 1995). Co-operative learning thus fulfills the progressive pedagogy diktat of experiential learning.

Since its inception, multicultural education in Canada has been presented as a pedagogical response to the challenges of the present. The present is depicted as one in flux in which technological changes require creative and critical thinking skills to face its challenges. "Science and technology have eliminated the barriers of geography and space. A man can now walk on the surface of the moon, but he finds it hard to walk across the road and greet his neighbour. The time has come to put some time, money and effort in eliminating the barriers that stand between men.’ (Ashworth 1975, 192). National diversity, and, more generally, intergroup relations are presented not just as a challenge to Canada, but a ‘global' one (Fuse 1977, 24; Green, 1977, 32). “Because we are in a multicultural society, we do not have the privilege of managing our inter-group
relations solely in Canada. Rather, inter-group relations must be seen in a global context because many minorities feel that they cannot be fully ‘free’ until their own racial or cultural group are free throughout the world.” (McPhee 1977, 5).

Through the vernacular of pluralism and tolerance, multiculturalism propels progressive pedagogy’s goal of responding to an ever-changing modern world by creating active subjects who can realize the potential of democratic life (Christou and Cousins 2014). In this context the recognition of cultural difference and the quest to solve pressing social problems such as inequity among cultural/racial groups, women and men become paramount. Yet this ‘recognition’ is premised on the fact that communities originating outside of the West should be treated as monocultural and displaying certain intolerant moral characteristics, or outright barbarian practices such as genital mutilation, honour killings and or arranged marriages. The Western white subject, on the other hand, is never engulfed by the external and always defined by being in history that is being critical of past errors thus displaying autonomy. The literature on multicultural education does engage with the idea of ethnic political pluralism. Pluralism, however, only refers to the possibility of ‘hosting’ difference in the liberal polity, while hiding other ‘logics’. Pluralism assumes that “(…) certain ethnic groups (defined by a combination of religion, ethnicity or cultural values) are both relatively endogamous, and strive to retain their distinctive cultural identity (…)” (Bagley 1972 quoted in Bagley and Verma 1983, viii). Multicultural education’s pluralism focuses

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61 The understanding of ‘politics of recognition’ is based upon Charles Taylor’s influential formulation:

“...our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the misrecognition of others, and so a person or group of people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves. Non-recognition or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being” (Taylor, 1994: 25)
more on individual differences, congeals group differences and offers an apolitical notion of culture as natural (Olneck 1990). By exposing the Other and his culture to the students’ white gaze multicultural pedagogy constitutes a multicultural gaze trained to identify difference. The multicultural gaze, while pretending to constitute a ‘rupture’ with its imperial predecessor, is actually structured in the same manner since it is the more developed and civilized gaze that can both self-represent and represent the other.

The racializing dynamics underlying multicultural education in Canada in the 1970s and 1980s are epitomized in the characterization of the ‘immigrant child’ and ‘Indian child’ in the pedagogical literature of the time. If in the previous era the non-Western child and the Aboriginal child were objects of study that allowed for the white child’s “racial journey into personhood” (Razack 2002, 14), in the policy and curricular documents they now appear as pedagogical subjects who sit next to the white subject in the new multicultural classroom. The co-presence of the white subject, the immigrant/racialized visible minority child and the native child does, however, neither mean that equal personhood is granted to these three subjects nor does it entail a ‘fading’ of the white subject. The presence of these subjects, rather than indicating a weakening of the coloniality of power should alert us to its presence in governing their hierarchical positioning the imperial project of multicultural Canada.

Although multicultural education is an education for ‘all', in the emerging multicultural discourse the ‘immigrant child' is presented as distinct from the multicultural subject. "Immigrant children suffer from disadvantages which are not too dissimilar to the disadvantages suffered by indigenous children in inner-city schools. Immigrant children carry the additional burden of being culturally and often racially different, of being part of a visible and /or audible minority" (Bhatnagar 1976, 66). To respond to the needs of these children, educators then must learn about
"the personality, attitudes, beliefs, and norms of the various racial and ethnic groups within their schools" (Ramcharan 1975, 101; see also McDiarmid 1975, 186; Wolfgang 1975). Even in the early elaborations of multicultural education, non-European cultures were conceived as static and the white subject can discover the ‘truth’ about them once he overcomes his own racism and prejudice. This was the case in the first elaboration of multicultural curricular units in social studies, where a “museum or tourist approach” to cultural difference was utilized (Shapson 1984, 8). Multicultural education for the successful integration of students in school and in the nation becomes a list of anthropological traits that teachers and counsellors must use to inform their practices. Teachers, for instance, are to become aware of the complexity of the subculture group by knowing how students express emotions, what are the norms governing the relationship between the sexes in that group, what forms of discipline are common in the country of origin (Bancroft 1975).

The ‘different’ immigrant child also becomes the target of Canadian benevolence and morality. As one author of the 1970s states, “Too many immigrant children are not getting sufficient help when and for as long as they need it.” (Ashworth 1975, 185). Here it is the national practice of "stealing the pain of others" by speaking of the suffering as ‘immigrant' youth is transposed into the educational system and utilized on a daily basis to make the moralize the white multicultural subject. Once sufferance and unhappiness are rendered visible, an intervention can be made and the other is incorporated in the liberal order. This forced incorporation is the moment in which the liberal gesture of inclusion reveals its historical coloniality. The liberal gesture cannot be distinguished from the imperial gesture of racializing the world and humanity. However, the immigrant child, because of his overdetermination, is not constituted as a bundle of potential as the universal subject whose potential can be tapped into through the use of age-appropriate teaching practices and interesting projects to become the citizen of the nation. The immigrant child
must be made aware of who he is. He is thus lacking reflexivity and the capacity to self-represent, a quality not lacking in the multicultural teacher, citizen and universal child.

Alongside the immigrant child, another subject emerges in the multicultural educational documents of the period: the native child. In the past aboriginal education aimed at dissolving Indigenous cultures, languages and traditions until “there is not an Indian that has not been absorbed into the body politic, and there is no Indian question, and no Indian Department” (Macdonald 1920). In the multicultural era, schools instead should cherish and support ‘indigenous culture’. As for ‘minority’ students, aboriginal students ‘academic failure is no longer understood as stemming from cultural impoverishment or genetic inferiority, but from ‘cultural discontinuity’ or ‘cultural difference’ and therefore these approaches suggested that cultural differences had to be celebrated and not assimilated (St. Denis 2011; Agbo 2001; Castagno and Brayboy 2008). Therefore, the indigenous child, like the immigrant child’s education would be based on research focusing on learning styles and acculturation processes (St. Denis 2011). The indigenous child, because of different values, learning styles and worldviews, is ostracised in achieving academic success and is not motivated to learn in Eurocentric schools (Agbo 2001, 36). The education of the Indigenous child then requires that schools become aware of indigenous cultures and teachers need to change their negative attitudes towards Aboriginal students and become aware of the cultural discontinuities haunting their educational experiences (Sindell and Winthrob 1969). The Native child, as the immigrant child, is thus overdetermined by culture, and, as result, he is deprived of autonomous political subjectivity and agency.

The representations of the ‘immigrant child’ and ‘Indian child’ as defined by a ‘cultural core' which must be tended to and nourished for the wellbeing of a post-racial nation is the result
of a project of Foucauldian normalization. The normalization of these two tropes makes the ‘use of force’ required by assimilation no longer necessary. These new subjects will conduct themselves in a particular manner, they will demand only cultural recognition. Power is translated on these bodies from premodern to (post-)modern. As educational historian Bruce Curtis notes, the Canadian educational state has historically aimed at creating “(modern) social identities” that could overcome political conflicts (Curtis 1988, 13). The ‘immigrant' and the ‘Indian' child as represented in Canadian educational discourse are docile self-regulating subjects who participate actively in his/her own subjugation.

Through the notion of culture, race is maintained, given that indigenous and immigrant children are those who may be born in Canada, but are still ‘affected' by their original culture. Culture is now an insurmountable barrier. Seen in this light, the immigrant and native children are the fruit of temporal technologies which place these children in enlightenment globality as not able to deal with the present and thus in need of civilization. The immigrant and Indian tropes reproduced in the multicultural pedagogical discourse thus remap modernity on the nation again, since they allow us to see the world within and outside of our borders as one which has firmly grasped the present and one that is still on the trajectory to the end of history.

According to Foucault normalisation “…becomes one of the great instruments of power at the end of the classical age…. In a sense the power of normalization imposes homogeneity; but it individualizes by making it possible to measure gaps, to fix specialties and to render the differences useful by fitting them into one another. It is easy to see how the power of the norm functions within a system of formal equality, since within homogeneity that is the rule, the norm introduces, as a useful imperative and as a result of measurement, all the shading of individual difference.” (Foucault, 1979: 184).
Multicultural education aims at preparing the modern individuals for the present and these individuals belong to a modern society that is multicultural and pluralistic. The ultimate goal is the creation of a modern citizen who is a member of a specific liberal community who can experience the spiral of pleasure and power in knowing one’s identity as progressive citizen and the ability to engage with the Other. As the next sections will attest, these conceptualizations of the ‘self’, ‘community’ and ‘the other’ run through Ontario’s multicultural curricula produced in the 1970s and 1980s.

3 - The Enduring Universality of the Multicultural Subject

While the Canadian multicultural subject is typically presented as a national one, his defining traits are consistent with the ‘wordly' ones of the white imperial subject of the pre-multicultural era. As the multicultural social studies curricula drafted in the 1970s and 1980s attest, this global modern white subject is hailed through an emphasis on the development of skills such as practical knowledge, critical thinking and empathy.

Acquisition of practical knowledge is a key pillar of the multicultural curricula. This type of knowledge helps to render the world, its peoples and places more understandable for the multicultural subject. The parallel focus on practical skills, rather than content, is typical of progressive education as well. These skills are necessary "to evaluate a situation, deliberate in group and then engage in specific practices". (CG 1977, 11) Multicultural education aims at

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63 Curriculum Guideline for the Intermediate division, History (1977)
creating agentic subjects who can intervene in the world and they are again hailed as active and knowledgeable “citizens of the world.”, not as passive observers (CG 1988d, 17; CG 1988a, 16)\textsuperscript{64}.

The practical knowledge and skills identified in the curriculum that are useful for the new citizen include the capacity of discerning bias and thus being able to argue and debate for an against a point of view and creating young citizens who are “self-directed, self-motivated problem solvers” (CG 1986a, 6)\textsuperscript{65}. The multicultural citizen is also a "methodical thinker who is capable of inquiry, analysis synthesis, an evaluation, as well as a perceptive discoverer capable of resourcefulness, intuition, and creativity." (CG 1986a, 8)

The enlightened rationality that characterizes the multicultural subject should not prevent students from developing empathy and affection. In a progressive pedagogy mode, we are told that "…empathy, love and compassion are intrinsic to education, for with them learning becomes humane" (CG 1970b, 6). History, for instance, represents the lens through which to develop empathy for man and a way of understanding his relationship to the world (CG 1970b, 3). Through history, students will examine notions of human dignity, individual freedom and group responsibility and social maturity. The classroom is one of Deweyan memory, as it is a microcosm of democracy. In creating a more socially responsible citizen who is interested not only in the nation but the world, history aims at developing students’ compassion. Geography as well can teach students empathy and ‘affective development’ through “a variety of experiences that shape

\textsuperscript{64} Curriculum Guidelines for Geography, Intermediate and Senior Division. Part D: The Senior Division, Revised Course (1988) and Geography, Intermediate and Senior Division (1988)

\textsuperscript{65} Curriculum Guideline History and Contemporary Studies (1986)
and reinforce the individual's attitudes, values, and behaviour." (CG 1988a, 13). The goals of affective development are that the student becomes self-directed, interdependent, environmentally responsible and humanitarian. To be a humanitarian is to "accept (...) the aspirations of other individuals, groups, and nations and promoting the improvement of their well-being." (CG 1988a, 13).

By stressing the importance of empathy, students develop a sense of self-worth and "the moral and aesthetic sensitivity necessary for a complete and responsible life." (CG 1984, 6). It is here that the citizen is taught to think and know in a moral way. If students, on one hand, are taught to analyses values (their own and those of others), on the other they are instilled particular moral ones. Moral education as character education involves becoming aware of Canadian values, learning responsibility for one’s actions, resisting peer pressure and respect the rights of others and the rule of law (CG 1984, 7). Character education, as it has been the case since the emergence of progressive education in the 1920s, is necessary to create good citizens who are able to understand the interrelatedness of personal and societal well-being. This is a liberal type of morality rooted in justice as fairness. Yet, this morality is understood as dependent upon the acceptance of the liberal order: “Awareness of personal responsibility in society grows out of knowledge and understanding of one’s community, one’s country, and the rest of the world. It is based on an understanding of social order, a respect for the law, the rights of others, and a concern for the quality of life and home and abroad.” (CG 1984a; CG 1989a, 3)

Curricular Guideline - Geography Intermediate and Senior Division 1988. For a discussion of the distinction between ‘character education’ in which values are instilled or an analysis of values in geography education. see Morgan 2011.
4 - Envisioning Canada’s Multicultural Community

As it has historically been the case, in the multicultural era teaching students to be part of a community is a central tenet of the curriculum. This “concern for a sense of identity and community” (CG 1977, 3) is reflective of the liberal logic which requires a balance of communitarian and atomistic insights. This progressive frame then allows for the incorporation of multicultural values such as esteem for other cultures and to develop both values related to the personal sphere of ethical and religious beliefs and the common good.

Subjects such as history and geography are instrumental in instilling this sense of multicultural community to Canadian students. History, as “an investigation and interpretation of the totality of the human experience, past and present, (…) can give the learner an opportunity to reflect upon human feelings and thoughts, aspirations and failures, the struggle with the environment, social relations (…) A study of these matters, which seem to be of universal concern, can help the student understand society and his/her unique place in it.” (CG 1977, 3). History is also ‘multiculturalised’ since it should foster in individuals an appreciation for difference and human diversity (CG 1986a, 6). Geography entails more than studying the land but a study of its people and the bonds people can create. Canada is presented as a multicultural society composed of different people, cultures, languages, religions, and it is a country whose identity can be

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67 Curriculum Guideline for the Intermediate division, History (1977) grades 7-10

described as a “mosaic”, “having an identity created by diversity” (CG 1977, 23). The aim of the geography curriculum is thus to create tolerant, humanitarian citizens who respect the needs of individuals, groups and other nations (CG 1988a, 22).

While there are numerous individual capacities that the multicultural citizen will acquire and develop through education, the education of the multicultural citizen will also strengthen his bond to the community via a commonality of purpose and trust. Learning objectives are understanding of the “the multicultural traditions of the peoples that now share a common national experience (…), to develop an awareness of values and alternative values, and to develop an understanding of concepts such as justice, diversity, order, tradition, culture, individualism and the common good” (CG 1973, 5). Ultimately, commonality of purpose and trust will lead to the creation of an inclusive and just society. The learner is not an individual living in a social void but an individual “guided by values consistent with personal religious-ethical beliefs, and cultural traditions, and the common welfare of society.” (CG 1988a,3) These features resonate with a learner who is already a multicultural subject with a specific cultural background against which learning occurs. The progressive learner already nods to the communitarian theories of subjectivity and recognition that become hegemonic in this era. The focus is still firmly on an individual who must develop a sense of responsibility in society “at the local, national, and international level”,

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69 Community: Canada as mosaic (geo contemporary Canada) grades 9 and 10

70 Curricular Guideline for Geography Intermediate and Senior Division (1988)

71 Curricular Guideline History Intermediate division (1973) (Grades 7 to 10), interim draft. This document is the first Multicultural history curriculum drafted in Ontario.
develop esteem for the cultures of a wide variety of social groups, learn to be productive in society respect the environment and use resources wisely, develop personal, ethical and religious values and values related to the welfare of society (CG 1988a,4).

Multiculturalism’s terms of reference - ‘culture’ and ‘heritage’ - are the prisms through which a sense of community can be built. The emphasis on Canada’s multicultural heritage is present in curricula throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Courses such as ‘Multicultural Heritage” (CG 1973) should help the student his own identity and that of Canada, and help him understand his "own and Canada's destiny" so that subject and nation are one and the same. In understanding the nation there is a leap since understanding Canada's multicultural heritage "could lead to a deepening and challenging interest in the world community." (CG 1973, 18). Students will study the British heritage which gave art, forms of governments, art, literature, the industrial revolution, the Scottish heritage in architecture, arts, food. The ‘Indian’ and ‘Eskimo’ Native peoples, instead, offered crafts, agricultural products and folklore. What constitutes ‘our heritage' is therefore handpicked: it is crafts, agricultural products and folklore all items outside of European high culture and progress. In this paradigm, Indigenous people are disappearing with their contributions tied to the past (CG 1973, 26). At the same time, colonization and empire are not part of our heritage in the renewed multicultural subject. Despite this amnesia, acknowledging Canada’s multicultural heritage is thought to increase the students’ understanding of their country. Yet understanding the multiple roots of Canada’s heritage is not only a nationalist priority but also a cosmopolitan one: “Awareness of the contributions of many cultural groups will not only give a

72 Curricular Guideline History Intermediate division (1973) (Grades 7 to 10), interim draft.
new perspective to students’ understanding of contemporary Canada but will also create a deeper and more challenging interest in the world community.” (CG 1977, 5)

Another important component of the discourse about community is the concept of ‘diversity’. Throughout the 1970s, ‘diversity’ did not loom prominently in discussions about multicultural education. This changed in the following decade. In the multicultural era, the radical potential of identity politics and of the social movements it was sustained by were given a reformist twist through the sociological paradigm of ‘race relations'. The discursive shift occurring in the broader context of hegemonic knowledge production in the field of race relations and multicultural nationalism is reflected in the policy documents schoolboards drafted at the time. The Toronto School Board of Education "Final Report of the Sub-Committee on Race Relations" (1979) and the North York School Board's "Race and Ethnic Relations Policy and Procedure" (1982) – two of first policy documents produced on this topic (Chan 2007) - consider issues of race and ethnicity in relation to curriculum, student programs, staff development and community relations, the placement in classes for exceptional children, equal opportunity and the "handling of racial incidents". Their main objective is to create "racial harmony" within the school community and society at large. The roots of the problem are detected in the fact that "the population of our schools has changed drastically and continues to do so." (1982, 1) The school "is not a racist system" (1982, 1), although not immune to discrimination. Racism can be resolved by re-assessing policies and practices. Schools must teach children attitudes and values that will not allow the "ugly effects of racism" (ibid.) in everyday life. Racism in these statements becomes ‘racist', from a system, a means of population management and governmentality to an individual attitude and attribute. This slippage normalizes "racism" as an anthropological trait of "man" in encountering others. While power is erased from the horizon of racism, all groups are capable of being racists but also of overcoming it as an ‘attitude’.
Students are not only taught about diversity but also how to overcome racism and other forms of inequality and injustice in their own lives. Through education, the individual can overcome his prejudices and eventually become an anti-racist subject. In this way, instances of inequality and discrimination become a private matter; we must overcome them, and this does not entail questioning either modernity or liberalism. Reform is sufficient. The development of values and attitudes is the process through which an individual achieves this goal (CG 1988b12). Citizen's education is thus a moral enterprise, and value education becomes a pedagogical priority. The teaching of values has been part of Canadian education since its inception. If until the 1960s there were few challenges to the Judaeo-Christian principles which made the foundation of a moral education, by then Jewish, Muslim and secular parents opposed the teaching of those morals because Canada had become a multicultural society, and morality could no longer coincide with religion (Santor 2000).

The 1980 “Bulletin on Values Education, Moral Education and Religious Education”73 exemplifies the discourse supporting the teaching of morality in Canadian schools in the multicultural era. Schools should teach youth to make value judgements and moral decisions and not to teach fixed virtues. Creating moral individuals requires active agents not “empty vessels to be filled with knowledge” (1980, 9). Children learn about values in the modernist progressive tradition by making decisions, trying them out, and learning from their consequences. One of the

moral principles to be taught in schools is ‘fairness’ which is linked to self-respect and respect for others (1980, 11). Moral relativism is not promoted. The values that individuals hold personally and those held by Canadian society at large allow for some variation but ultimately must "enforce the democratic rights and responsibilities of individuals are based on a belief in the fundamental worth of all persons regardless of race, creed, colour, sex and background.” (1980, 4) That the developmental psychology enforced moral reasoning is appropriate for modernity is attested by the fact that that as a system of knowledge this type of psychology has an active view of ‘man’, the one who “…makes himself by his own actions” (1980, 23). This view is founded upon the notion of Enlightenment reason and Kantian morality. The new developmental framework to moral education in the multicultural era resonates with modernity itself. The educator who is committed to developmental philosophy assumes the child is “structuring perceptions of self and society through successive and expanding modes of “taking the role of others”, progressing in natural sequence of development from egocentric and heteronomous perspectives of childhood toward an increasingly autonomous understanding of moral principles as the basis of moral decisions in the interaction of self and others in society with the ultimate goal the mature understanding of the principle of justice as fairness in both personal and societal relationships” (1980, 28).

As the curricula of the multicultural era emphasize, the terms ‘member' and ‘community' do not refer only to legal or political affiliations but to moral ones. In this way, the normalization of the Canadian citizen as an active white agent in the global community occurs in a formally anti-imperial manner. What multicultural pedagogy does is to silently construe a white omniscient subject capable of moving beyond cultural barriers. While apparently deprived of power but not of a moral compass, the white subject ‘ought' to begin to feel a member of a ‘community of fate', the world. If in imperial times, the white man's burden indicated that the imperial subject intervened to improve the lives of others by the 1980s articulated within the discourse of
multicultural subjectivity and community, white agency upholds modernity's economy of us vs them but through a purportedly new, critical and reflexive ‘we'.

5 - The Global Village and the Multicultural Other

The curricular documents examined in this chapter aimed at preparing students to be both multicultural and cosmopolitan subjects. This is a necessary strategy to remake the imperial white subject of enlightenment. Studying ‘the world’ is thus paramount. History seeks to make students “understand the aspirations, needs, values, and culture of a variety of groups in Canada and the world;” and “develop skills and attitudes that will enable them to participate and contribute as members of their families and citizens of their schools, community, province, country, and the world;” and “understand Canada and Canada’s role in the world" (CG 1986a, 7, emphasis added). The world is presented as a 'global village' a metaphor that brings forth notions of interrelatedness, interconnectedness, cooperation, but also change and conflict. "We are living in a global village and we share, willingly or unwillingly, the problems of other people." (CG 1977, 38) The "global village" metaphor naturalizes the diffusion model whereby "the current world mosaic of races, religions, nation-states, ideologies and associations not only continue to exist but are accelerated by rapid advances in technology." (CG 1988d, 31) Students, therefore, look at contemporary issues of migration, urbanization, developments in communications and internationalism to understand their own their personal lives. In this history of the present, the pedagogical goals are

74 Curricular Guideline - Geography, Intermediate and Senior Division. Part D: The Senior Division, Revised Course (1988d)
‘global’: "appreciate the diversity that exists in the global village;", “understand the roots of current global issues”; “understand the growing interdependence of world communities;” (CG 1987c, 33)

The global village metaphor is not only presented as compatible with Canada’s multiculturalism, but also as its natural embodiment. Students are to “consider the ways in which Canada’s multicultural society exemplifies characteristics of the global village.” (CG 1988d, 31)

Canada, as other Western nations, works as a synecdoche for the world and vice versa. The imperial eye and subject necessitate this relationship to master the world. It is upon this synecdoche that the expanding horizons model in pedagogy and the contemporary trope of the ‘local to global' is articulated. Once the post-imperial Canadian white subject has acquired a post-racial sensibility through multiculturalism, he is able to reclaim racial transcendence (i.e. not be cognitively/morally bound by race), one of the cornerstones of whiteness. He can reclaim the world as ‘his’ liberal global village.

The globalization of the multicultural subject is performed in the curricula of the 1970s and 1980s through a series of discursive moves, which, despite the alleged novelty of multiculturalism, closely resembles the ‘othering’ practices that defined pedagogical approaches in previous decades: imagining themselves as others, comparing and classifying, empathizing with the others while silencing the ‘other within’ (i.e. the Indigenous people).

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75 Curricular Guideline - Twentieth-Century World History (1987c)

76 Curricular Guideline - Geography, Intermediate and Senior Division. Part D: The Senior Division, Revised Course (1988d)
Pretending to be “reporters from a Third World or Communist country visiting Canada.” (CG 1987c, 40) is one example of the way students are encouraged to imagine themselves as others. This ability to impersonate the other while silencing him reinforces a universalist epistemology proving that this subject is once again the subject of the Enlightenment. Students reterritorialize the moral qualities of the national subject and extend it to the global performing an act of appropriation. Indeed, the attitudes that multicultural students must possess to deal with diversity and the overcoming of ‘isms’ in the nation is the same on a global scale. By trying to imagine oneself as the other, the student should develop a benevolent attitude and reduce prejudice. There is also a utilitarian goal: enabling students to participate in the ‘development' of their communities, their nation, and the world. This requires "a critical awareness of local, national, and international situations based on an understanding of the social, economic, and political process." (United Nations quoted on CG 1988e, 7) This is where the benevolent humanitarian subject is made and histories of ‘colonialism’ and ‘imperialism’ can be uttered only because they represent the past, a time that is overcome through critical reason.

The othering process at play in the multicultural curricula is even more apparent in the history and geography courses that encourage students to focus on comparison and differences between Canada and the rest of the world. On the horizon of the multicultural child, there is in fact

77 Curricular Guideline - Twentieth-Century World History (1987c)

"room for all the diversity that makes different communities distinctive." (CG 1970a, 17) The student will learn about the lives of distant others, their food, cultures, dwellings and can “compare the lives of overseas children with his own and probe the reasons for the differences.” (CG 1970a, 17). Even though attention is given in each course to developing in students an appreciation of other civilizations and their contributions to the present, the world is once again represented in terms of different areas of historicity and globality. Students will engage in cooperative activities of discovering “similarities and differences in comparable aspects of the lives of people in Western industrialized democracies, Communist countries, and Third World countries.” (CG 1987c, 9). Comparisons seemingly are to help students learn how different people use resources differently. Yet, they are once again being trained to create hierarchies of humanity. This is achieved through for instance the studying of Europe and Asia and a focus on commonalities and 'sharp' contrasts in labour relations, educational systems and cultural tradition. This is the way to learn about many differences between “East’ and ‘West’ (CG 1977, 35).

Comparisons are amply used in both geography and history guidelines of this era (see CG 1977, 3). While students are told to compare, they are also probed to find a reason for the difference. The difference will be explained through the most pliable of modernist ‘logics’: race.

79 The Neighbouring World and Life in Other Communities, in Curriculum Guideline: Curriculum P1J1- Interim revision Social Studies (1970a)
80 Curriculum Guideline for Interim revision Social Studies (1970a)
81 Curricular Guideline for Twentieth-Century World History (1987c p. 33)
82 Curriculum Guideline for Intermediate division, History (1977)
83 Curriculum Guideline for the intermediate division, Geography (1977) - Grades 7-10
Indeed, race in Mills’ words, “gradually became the formal marker of [the] differentiated status” between European/non-European, civilized/uncivilized, and Christian/non-Christian (1997, 23). Race at this time is disguised in ‘cultural difference’. Children are asked to probe to where difference lies. The probing stimulates the modern imperial ‘will to know’ the other (Said 1979). The imperial power/knowledge matrix thus reappears under the guise of culture since the interaction between a particular type of humanity and environment results in a specific and identifiable ‘culture’ and ‘identity’. Students are also asked to inquire about the differences between ‘cultural homogeneity’ and multiculturalism. The latter will be understood as more ‘developed’ and progressive while homogeneous societies are considered less developed. Ultimately, race-thinking is maintained through the notion of a natural relationship among space, cultural identity and the ‘interrelationship between political organization and cultural factors (…).’” (CG 1978, 18).

Comparative studies that are present throughout the education of the Canadian multicultural citizen, therefore, reiterate the modernist practice that is human classification. Modernist is also the emphasis on progress as the explanation for differences between cultures. Students are taught to make connections between ‘tradition’, lack of progress and the *engulfment* of those who live in ‘traditional cultures’” (CG 1989d, 28)\(^\text{84}\). Political and economic inequality is compared to natural differences and we are told that the ‘obstacle’ to human progress is no longer nature but the ‘gap' between industrialized liberal democracies and non-Western, non-liberal countries. The possibility of human progress and wellbeing is limited to liberal capitalism (CG

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\(^{84}\) Curricular Guideline for Geography, Intermediate and Senior Division. Part D: The Senior Division, Revised Course (1988d)
Developed countries are those with high economic and social development, active in world trade and the use of technology. Basic needs in society can be met and societies can flourish only through the liberal project. In the geography, history and contemporary studies curricula of the era ‘justice' is a trope for a larger political re-organization of the world based on the Western model. In fact, liberal capitalism is the only way of creating a just society, moralizing Western global interventions. In this sense, multicultural liberals or conservatives may promote different values but there is a common outcome: liberal empire.

The depoliticized version of progress offered in the multicultural curricula allows for the Canadian citizen to intervene in the lives of others without an accusation of ‘colonialization’. After appreciating the global contributions of the west, students must develop "empathy with the experience of the conquered people; (...) sensitivity to the reasons why lifestyles differed from their own at different times in the past; sensitivity to the differences in lifestyle and experience of people as a result of class, racial origin, and gender." (CG 1987c, 20). Yet, this new awareness of the sufferance caused by Western expansionism does not cause any real difference in terms of how the other is represented and unethically consumed. The global south is a "fragile environment" prone to crises (e.g. because of droughts; CG 1977). Peoples living in these areas do not have control over the ‘events' they experience. The expansion of modernity onto the globe is "encroaching on these people" and students should take into account the possible negative consequences.

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86 Curriculum Guideline for History and Contemporary Studies Grades 11 and 12, (1987)

outcomes (CG 1977, 18). This modern description of total passivity vis a vis history opposes itself to the conscious and constant call to prepare youth for an endless account of the world’s increasing complexity and interdependence. Moreover, given that the upheaval that hits the primitive is caused by ‘us’ via for instance multinational business interests we must also ‘save the native' since imperial deliberation and agency require that we save the natives of Amazonia who are 'under siege and their way of life will change'. These people are unlikely to survive once they are out of their natural environment since they cannot transcend if unless aided by whites.

The neo-colonial attitude towards the ‘non-civilized’ parts of the world in the multicultural curriculum is mirrored in the treatment of the ‘others within’, namely Indigenous people and non-European immigrants. By focusing on how North America looked before the arrival of Europeans, “when the first immigrants arrived from Asia” (CG 1973, 13), the narrative of Canada as a nation of immigrants is propelled and its colonial origins erased. This historical narrative is told through European lenses. Hence students are asked, "what was the first effect of the European on the distribution of Indian population, on authority, prestige and power, and on social organization" (CG 1973, 13). While Europeans were members of nations, Aboriginal communities were members of primitive units of social organization. ‘Primitive' peoples cannot stand in the face of history. They will see how Europeans survived in New France, settled the country and stepped into history thanks to through their scientific and technological progress which distinguishes from the First Immigrants who arrived on the continent but did not embark on Progress’s trajectory. Since

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all those living on the continent are immigrants, the history of Canada becomes a history of immigration and of how immigrants’ heritage enriched Canada’s national heritage. (1973, 15)\(^89\).

Geography courses of the time echo this neo-colonial and Eurocentric attitude. On one hand, we are told Aboriginal peoples who inhabited the land for centuries developed a lifestyle and a culture without “(…) upsetting the natural balance or drastically changing the landscape.” On the other, when Europeans arrived they brought with them “new political systems, new attitudes and values, and new technologies to produce a series of complex changes in the landscape and the culture of native peoples.” (CG 1977, 6)\(^90\). While the presence of a native culture is acknowledged it is also classified as a disappearing vis a vis white civilization. While a ‘primitive world’ is one that is unchanging, a modern world is determined by the possibility of interacting or better altering the landscape.

The attempt to ‘multiculturalize’ Indigenous peoples is even more apparent in curricular documents explicitly addressing the education of Aboriginal youth. From the 1970s, the Ontario Ministry of Education actively sought to introduce Native studies in publicly-funded school curricula through the publication a series of resource guides for teachers, and by encouraging schools to include native studies in their curricula\(^91\). Schools should ensure that Native students

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\(^89\) Curricular Guideline History Intermediate division (1973)

\(^90\) Curriculum Guideline for grades 7 and 8: North America and the Southern Continents (1977)

learn more about Canadian society and non-Native students learn about Native culture which in turn benefits Canada as a nation that appreciates difference (CG 1981, 4). The Native child is included in the progressive multicultural curriculum, but he is not the universal multicultural child, as his education should be organized in ways that “pertain specifically to people of native ancestry” (RG 1975, 8). As in other educational texts about the culturally different child, the native child is racialized while acknowledging his cultural diversity and ‘particularity’. Culture has an anthropological quality for these children since “(t)he growth and the development of the native child is greatly influenced by his cultural background. His personality is, to a great extent, the result of his exposure to community norms, and the expectations of his family, his peer group, and his community. (…) His motivation to learn is like that of any child; his responses to his motivational needs, however, become a reflection of the culture of his community. The native child is as much a part of his culture as he is a product of it.” (RG 1975, 9, emphasis added)

While the Native child is momentarily universalized as sharing the means to learn (i.e. learning by doing), he then becomes a particular child since what he is familiar with is different from other children (water, sand, wood grasses. This child then learns “basic cultural assumptions” about his environment and then the child becomes a ‘happy savage’ given that “He acquires certain ideas about the nature of animals and plants and his relation to them. His understanding of time, space, direction, area, the significance of seasonal changes, and natural elements are all influenced by his cultural background.” (RG 1975, 9). The native child is thus out of history and in nature. He is


simply an anthropological ‘object' shaped by culture, environment but not by Western history. In this way, there is no discussion of the impact of colonization, the Indian Act and residential schooling, the urbanization of Aboriginal cultures. The encounter is presented as a reciprocal one, but without the possibility for indigenous dissent or challenging the Canadian nation-state. Indeed, ‘contact' is presented as the neutral motor of history: "European settlers, with their different philosophies, political organizations, social attitudes and economic bases, greatly affected, and continue to affect native peoples. In response, the native peoples have attempted to maintain a balance between the often conflicting needs for cultural change and change within their own society.” (1981, 4, emphasis added). Within the geopolitical discourse of the new multicultural polity, colonialism is represented as cultural contact and not as violence and dispossession.

This imperial erasure has also the effect of freeing the white agent and in particular the teacher, from his role in creating the ‘native child' as an object of knowledge. By incorporating units on Native communities, Native students can develop "good citizenship and (...) such attributes as intellectual curiosity, awareness, sensitivity, perseverance, and the desire for excellence” (1975, 18). Yet, by teaching the Native child about himself, his history and his future in mainstream society, the imperial subject constructs himself while representing Indigeneity. In the educational setting “stealing the pain of others’ takes a selective 'self-reflexive' position since 'we' recognize that we have not met the needs of the native child and now that is being done (Razack 2007). As Godlewska, Moore and Bednasek note, then, as it now, "Ontario's education system is a primary instrument in ensuring that colonialism remains unchallenged" (2010, 417).

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95 People of Native Ancestry Curriculum Guideline for the Senior Division (1981)

The framing of colonialism as cultural contact which is reliant on the sociological and anthropological discourse of race relations will become common in the literature on global citizenship education from the 1990s onwards.
Chapter 5

Educating the Global Citizen in the Neoliberal Era (1990s-2010s)

Chapter summary

The present is the last empirical chapter and examines more recent developments in the evolution of citizenship education in Canada (1990s to 2010s), paying special attention to the origins of the contemporary discourse about GCE. This period is characterized by the liberal hope for a peaceful ‘end of history’ in the aftermath of the demise of the Cold War, and a renewed Canadian international activism through activities such as peacekeeping, but also a time of anxiety due to the fear of terrorism and, more recently, economic insecurity. This is also the time when the debate over globalization exploded. The chapter traces how the debate seeped into pedagogy in Canada, influencing the turn to ‘critical multiculturalism' in education and its applications in contemporary curricular practices. As for the previous empirical chapters, the second part of the present chapter uses social sciences curricula and other relevant pedagogical texts as source material to reconstruct the dominant ‘globalizing' educational discourse that characterizes contemporary citizenship education, showing its historical continuity in Canadian pedagogy since the 1920s.

1 - Canada and the Rise of Neoliberalism
The demise of the Cold War and the ‘victory’ of liberalism and market capitalism over communism opened a new era in Canadian history. Since the 1990s Canada has undergone significant economic and social restructuring and a reformulation of its role in the world (Arat-Koc 1999; Smythe 2001). In this period, the Canadian government actively sought to liberalize international trade and investment through arrangements such as the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA) and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and to shift its economic policy away from “welfare, equality and employment” with a view of “adapting the domestic economy to the exigencies of a global economy” (Bakker in Abu-Laban 1998, 193). These reforms took place in a context of political uncertainty, as the Quebec independence movement came close to breaking up Canada, Indigenous people’s political activism led to confrontations with authorities (e.g. the Oka and Ipperwash crises) and, later on, the country was involved in the US-led ‘War on terror’. Nonetheless, the trend towards the neo-liberalization of Canada continued. Over the course of a generation, the ascendancy of the neoliberal governing project in Canada and elsewhere systemically eroded the foundational assumptions of social liberalism and overhauled the governing technologies of the postwar welfare state. One Canadian government after another abandoned the vision of social citizenship, social security, and social justice, offering in their place a new social imaginary that pinpoints the market, one buoyed by the logic of neo-classical economics, as the primary, if not "natural" source of both individual well-being and freedom, and political legitimacy. If neoliberalism increased the flows of goods and peoples, it has also increased the divide between the rich and poor and North and South (Brodie 2007). While the 19th century was the time of wealth creation, the 20th of wealth and the distribution, the early 21st century is thus characterized by wealth polarization. The liberal progressivist paradigm of the postwar years held that markets were subject to political control, that people should not be forced to engage in market activities that denied their safety or dignity, and that the national community was
responsible for the well-being of its individual members. The shift in terms of neoliberal restructuring of the state has been accompanied by a discourse shift from the constant attention to a ‘crisis’ in democracy and governance that characterized the post-war era to a new trope that characterizes popular discourse and the social sciences, that of ‘rupture’, ‘post’ and ‘new world order’ which seems to allude to that fact that a new society is both here and yet-to-come (Abrow 1996; Robertson 1992: 174; Featherstone 1995)

The ascendency of the neoliberal and globalization discourse is reflected in the changes in immigration and multicultural policies elaborated in Canada at the time. In the 1990s, under the Chrétien government, there was less stress on the country's multiculturalism and a shift towards a neoliberal insistence on immigrants' self-sufficiency and integration in Canadian society (Abulab 1998). An emphasis on global competitiveness led to a focus on the efficient independent well-educated and highly skilled immigrant and more restrictive measures on the family immigrant class. Furthermore, several new policies introduced in the 1990s had serious consequences for immigrants, notably the elimination of language programs, and other settlement services and the introduction of a landing fee. The neo-liberalization of immigration and settlement policies was a global trend, one in which capital flowed freely but there was no equivalent free movement of people across borders (Arat Koc 1991, 40). As Saskia Sassen states if on the one hand globalization denationalizes economies on the other "immigration is renationalizing politics" (Sassen 1996, 59 in Arat-Koc 1999, 40).

If the 21st century in Canada is characterized by the neoliberalization of welfare programs and immigration, this period is also the time in which tropes of terror and security saturate popular and public discourse. The attacks on US soil on 9/11 2001 were a watershed in terms of thinking about security and the security-migration nexus (Thobani 2007). While national media fomented
the fear of the non-Western, fanatic and uncivilized Muslim terrorists, the then Chretien government sent troops to Afghanistan and implemented anti-terrorism measures domestically. These measures “morphed into institutionalized suspicion of Muslim immigrants and refugees as the greatest threat to the security of both Canadian and American Nations” (Thobani 2007, 220). The securitization of non-Western individuals, however, had started earlier. The 1992 Bill C-86 restricted how immigration and refugee applications were reviewed and the bill strengthened the discrecional powers of immigration officers. In 1993, for the first time, a department dealing with security matters (“Public Safety”) was created that allowed for the representation of the immigrant as a security threat, while the department of multiculturalism was absorbed by a new federal ministry of “Canadian Heritage”.

In parallel to the changes in immigration policies, in the mid-1990s Canada started a strategic review of its multicultural policy. ‘Integration' seeped into the multicultural discourse, together with related terms such as ‘identity', ‘civic participation, 'social justice'. The emphasis on integration requires an active encounter between immigrants and Canadian citizens. The former must respect Canadian values and the latter must understand the importance of cultural differences. These cultural differences, in turn, must be integrated into the pluralistic society Canada has now become. The discourse of mutual engagement of integration represents a new moment in the imagining of Canada. Integration, in fact, presents Canadian society and culture as homogeneous as in other parts of the world (Abu-Laban 200, 202).

This re-envisioning of Canada for the 21st century, however, did not address the fraught relationship with indigenous peoples. In the 1990s the pressure on federal and provincial governments to acknowledge and redress the wrongs committed against Indigenous peoples gathered momentum. The major catalyst was the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples
(RCAP) 97. The Commission, set up in 1991, was meant to inquire into the abuses in residential schools, but also examine, and find ways to improve, the troubled relationship amongst Aboriginal peoples, the Canadian government and Canadian society at large (Frideres 1996; Castellano 2000; Regan 2010). The Commission’s final report (published in 1996) highlighted the values of "mutual recognition, mutual respect and mutual responsibility" and called for the respect for cultural differences and the recognition of the moral, political and legal rights of Aboriginal peoples to govern their collectivities as they please (Coulthard 2014, 119; Castellano 2000; Hughes 2012).

The government’s response to the Commission’s report was included in the 1998 Gathering Strength: Canada’s Aboriginal Action Plan (Government of Canada 1998). This plan sought to build on the core principles of mutual respect, recognition, responsibility and sharing and it begins with a “Statement of reconciliation” in that the government acknowledges past errors (including residential schools) and sets a new course for in its policies for aboriginal peoples. The recognition of past wrongs included laid the foundations for the 2008 Canadian government’s formal apology to Indigenous survivors of the residential school system and the setting up of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission on Indian Residential Schools (2008) 98.

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97 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. (1996). Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services. The RCAP was created in the wake of what came to be known as the “Indian summer” of 1990, with high indigenous activism culminating with the Oka crisis. It was also the time when the Meech Lake Accord was scuttled, and the Canadian government could not ensure “certainty” over native lands and resources.  

98 The last of residential schools were closed in 1996. In 2006, the Government of Canada announced the approval of a final Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (IRSSA). The agreement provided for individual Common
A recurring theme characterizing Canadian state’s efforts to re-address the troubled relationship with indigenous people is that of reconciliation. The emphasis on this term can be seen as a manoeuvre to ease the relationship between the settler nation-state and Indigenous peoples without stopping their dispossession, lack of acknowledgement of Indigenous Sovereignty and nation-to-nation treaties (Borrows 2000-2001, 618). The framing of the issue of how to rebuild the relationship with aboriginal people in terms of ‘reconciliation’ temporalizes colonialism and injustice and limits it to the past (Coulthard 2014, 120; see also Razack 2015).

Indeed, one of the effects of focusing on reconciliation is to erase the legacy of Canadian colonialism. From this perspective, Prime Minister’s Harper’s claim that “We (Canada) have no history of colonialism” (quoted in Wherry; Henderson and Wakeham 2009), which seem to contradict the apology for residential schools that the Prime Minister uttered a few months earlier, is not surprising. After all, the apology never linked residential schools to colonialism; rather residential schools can be isolated as an accident of "educational malpractice" and due to “antiquated attitudes” of past eras (Henderson and Wakeham 2009, 2). Apologies offered by liberal states over past injustices are yet another means through which nations strengthen their belonging to the circle of Western nations as upholders of human rights. The result is Canada’s image as a beacon of benevolence is not tarnished. In this sense, the efforts by the Canadian state to focus on reconciliation with Aboriginals is an instance of what Coulthard calls “neocolonial politics” (Coulthard 2014,110).

Experience Payments and an Independent Assessment Process, but also included collective measures such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.
While engaged in neoliberal reforms of economic and social policies at home, internationally the Canadian government expanded its interventionist foreign policy agenda by promoting a new concept that became popular in the post-cold era, that of ‘human security' (Gasper 2010). Human security, which encompasses a wide range of issues from domestic violence for the individual to security of international systems, is also concerned with the respect of human rights and with meeting all the demands of political and social freedom that is “freedom from wants” and “freedom of needs” (Fakuda-Parr and Messineo 2012; Mary Kaldor 2007). While initially used primarily with reference to state policies and the search for new international security and development agendas after the end of the Cold War, human security has progressively been embraced by civil society groups on a broader range of contemporary issues from civil war to migration to climate change (O’Brien et al. 2010; Gasper 2010).

Canada, along with other middle powers such as Norway and Japan, promoted the concept of human security and helped its institutionalization within global forums such as the United Nations. Yet, despite the UN’s approval of the expansive concept of human security (see UN 1994 and 2013), various states in the global south deemed this concept as a threat to sovereignty, given that it could lead to a “culture of intervention” (Fakuda Parr and Messineo 2012; Tadbakhsh and Chenoy 2007). Indeed, human security could be understood as a means to further, rather than question, existing policy frameworks since it heightens security threats, and it locates them in the global south (Chandler 2008).

Canada’s embracing of the concept of human security is consistent with its long-standing leadership role in peacekeeping operations. As noted in chapter 3, since the mid-1950s peacekeeping has been one of the defining features of the country’s profile as an internationalist middle power. With the end of the Cold War, however, the type of situations where peacekeepers
were involved changed, as the majority of conflicts became intrastate and the missions’ objectives expanded to include not only maintaining peace but also ‘building’ it, possibly through the use of force. It is at this time that the UN began to militarily intervene in conflicts, thus letting go of its non-intervention taboo (Dorn 2004, 11). The political discourse around these operations in Canada changed accordingly, as most of the Canadian military involvement abroad was presented as ‘peacekeeping’. Canadian ‘peace-keepers’ were therefore embroiled in a series of intractable conflicts such as Rwanda and Bosnia, and in controversy as well, as attested by the operation in Somalia, where Canadian soldiers committed atrocities against locals (Razack 2004).

Despite the setbacks in Bosnia, Rwanda and Somalia, the Canadian government continued to support peacekeeping and link it to Canadian values such as equality, tolerance and democracy. Peacekeeping has thus remained one of the pillars of Canadian identity in the post-cold war era. It was not only the official political discourse that has maintained a close connection between peacekeeping and Canadianness, but also non-state actors that partook in the making of a civil national narrative in classrooms and history textbooks (McCollough 2013, 89).

2 - Global, Neoliberal and Multicultural: Pedagogy in Canada at the Turn of the Millennium

In the 1990s there was a renewed interested in citizenship education in Canada, as evidenced by the introduction of a compulsory grade 10 Civics course in Ontario, and, more generally, the prominence of ‘civic’ themes in the Common Curriculum adopted in 1993 and updated in 1995 (Evans 2006)\(^99\). The citizen that schools aim to mould is aware of an emerging truth: the fall of

\(^{99}\) The key policy documents of the time are “The Common Curriculum”, P Grades 1-9 (1993) and Two years later, the “The Common Curriculum: Policies and Outcomes”, Grades 1-9 (1995), both published by the Minister of
the nation-state and the rise of globalization. This narrative is structured on a recurring trope, that of “the changing world”\textsuperscript{100}. Schools should respond to the evolving needs of individuals, communities and Canadian society and provide students “the education that will best equip them for a complex and changing world” so that they can “plan for the future” (Common Curriculum 1993,1). The present is characterized in the following way: “The information explosion, the impact of new technologies, the increasing fragility of the environment, the growing interdependence of societies throughout the world, and concerns about changes in long-established values and institutions make it necessary to rethink our traditional approaches to education.” (Common Curriculum 1993, 3). The ‘new’ curriculum is then one that evolves as society evolves.

Change is thus one of the constant elements of modernity. It is the alleged acceleration of these changes brought about by globalization that calls for a new way of thinking. This new type of thinking is called ‘systems thinking’. The 1995 \textit{Common Curriculum, Grades 1-9} explains what systems are: “People have traditionally tried to make sense of the world by grouping and describing interrelated things in an organized way. Such groupings of things are known as systems. The world itself may be seen as a complex system composed of many smaller interrelated systems. Some of these systems have developed naturally—ecosystems, for example. Others, such as governments,
have been developed by people."101 By studying the relationships between and among these systems see how the world is *interdependent*. The present’s global nature is reflected in the curriculum, since students will be required to identify the effects of “past and present social and economic factors on them and their families”, then describe the social and economic factors on the school. They should also be able to “assess the national and global impact of socio-economic and historical factors on individuals and businesses,” (i.e. free trade agreements; 1995, 93).

The curriculum then constructs the world as a system in which all parts are related to the subject to be modern, that is active, must be an agent that can intervene everywhere and anywhere. The imagining of the world as an interrelated system in the 1990s follows the discourse of system thinking in the sciences. System thinking even in scientific discourse is hailed as key to promoting learning, teaching and improving our world through its understanding of reality (Richmond 1994) Through system thinking we gain the ability to see the world as a complex system, we understand that “you can’t just do one thing,” that “everything is connected to everything else.” If people had a holistic worldview, it is argued, they would then act in consonance with the long-term best interests of the system as a whole. Indeed, for some, the development of systems thinking is crucial for the survival of humanity (Sterman 1994). Systems thinking is thus necessary to save the planet in the 21st century. System thinking is also the mind frame of the global citizen (Meadows 2008, xii)

The description given of a ‘system’ as organizing principle fits with the description of the modernist notion of ‘table’ with its classification power and its power to ‘relate’ the elements it

contains according to origin, size, colour and so forth. The system perhaps with its complex relations also gives prominence to a postmodern understanding of the world as an ensemble of ebbs and flows (Cilliers 1998). However, the system, like the table, is the fruit of enlightenment. It is a central scientific trope of that period and modernity itself (Reill 2005). Systems theory in sociology, for instance, does make universal claims promising "universality of comprehension of the object in the sense that, as a social theory, it treats of all social matters rather than only of segments." (Luhmann in Muller and Powell 1994). Systems theory is utilized also to understand the ‘phenomenon’ of globalization and of the “global system as a society”. In fact, ebbs and flows of goods, peoples and services and the talk of dispersed versus concentrated power speak to the system theory behind the discourse of globalization. Yet, the new talk of systems in social sciences and in the curriculum obscures the ‘work’ done by those who create it and how things are constructed as related and belonging on the same table or system. To know the system in its wholeness and intricacies necessitates a view from above, a view unbound by particularity. The knower of the system is once again the Enlightenment subject. This subject can see the world as complex and interrelated and how people’s lives are affected by natural systems and man-made systems. The first link is central to Enlightenment’s notions of historicity and globality, as it places the white subject and his community within the West but it also secures whiteness as mastery over nature and shows how the impact of man-made systems upon people works, in the same manner, to secure whiteness as mastery of nature and to make the colonial encounter a necessary one in the present to save others from poverty, civil war or the infringement on others’ human rights.

102 For a critical reading of the sociology of globalization, see Connell 2007
The 1990s discourse about globalization and system thinking is tightly linked to a popular ideology that emerges in this period, namely neoliberalism. It is therefore not surprising that neoliberal ideas make their way into the curriculum. ‘Accountability’, for instance – a key term in neoliberal jargon - becomes a defining feature in the production of curricular knowledge. The focus on ‘outcomes’, which accountability requires, makes education a ‘product’ to be flaunted. In terms of content, curricula begin to respond to the neoliberal commandment of creating lifelong learners with marketable skills. Schools, then, should make it possible for all students to develop these skills to live in a globalized world (Common Curriculum 1995, 6). Consistently with the reformist discourse that characterizes progressive education, the neoliberal subject does not seek to challenge the capitalist system he inhabits. Indeed, schools contribute to the selection of different types of students out of a modern heterogeneous body and allow for their ‘tracking’ central to the organization of global capitalist labour (Bowles and Gintis 1976, 180-195).

Even if we move away from explicitly ‘economic’ to the more ‘social’ objectives that schools should achieve, the neoliberal imprinting is clear. The streaming allowed by the progressive tenet of teaching/learning attuned to the "needs of the child" – a central tenet of progressive education, which is reproduced in the post-cold war era – far from being an inclusive and benevolent pedagogical value is, instead, an individualizing technology that allows to classify and school children according to their different language skills, cognitive skills or any other scientific truth about differences and children. Progressive education in the Common Curriculum allows for a continued use of benevolent modern practices that ‘divide' humanity based upon the universal notions of the child. It is the apparatus of progressive education that allows for a neoliberal reason to enter the curriculum. In arguing about the future needs of the citizen the Common Curriculum builds its legitimacy on the fact that it is accountable and citing documents produced at the time that focus on marketable skills required for the modern subject (e.g. the 1990
the Ontario Premier's Council *People and Skills in the New Global Economy* and the 1992 Conference Board of Canada *Employability Skills Profile; Common Curriculum* 1995, 6). The neo-liberal ‘employability skills’ are not distinguishable from those of a liberal citizen who is engaging in deliberative democracy practices as a member of civil society.

In reading the Common Curriculum we can, therefore, see how progressive education and neoliberal practices in education do not counter one another, as common sense would make us believe. The curricula of this period are in fact based on a "commitment to excellence and equity and a recognition of the need for partnership and accountability in education." (1995a, 8). To be critical of the instrumentalist view of education, which means that schools prepare citizens for the well running of a future society instead of for the ideal of ‘self-realization’ which is a critique made commonly by liberal, progressive and Marxist educational scholars in the present, requires closing an eye on the history of schooling, white privilege and progressive education as one of the means of creating societies stratified by gender, class and race given that it is through the discourse that vocational and technical courses and schools formally created to meet the needs of every child were used and continue to be used to segregate and limit educational and labour opportunities for Black, Indigenous and immigrant youth (Christou 2016; Curtis 2014; Smaller 2014). In a more formal than substantial switch from liberalism to neoliberalism, progressive education continues to have a stronghold on contemporary education in Canada well in the turn to the 21st century.

The 1990s are also the years in which multiculturalism stabilizes its presence in the curriculum (Young and Graham, 2000) and a more ‘critical’ approach to its implementation is
adopted (Amy and Sleeter 2000)\textsuperscript{103}. The implementation of the curriculum must be accomplished in conjunction with that of policies on antiracism and ethnocultural equity (see \textit{Antiracism and Ethnocultural Equity in School Boards: Policy development and Implementations}, 1993). From a critical multicultural perspective, the curriculum should respond to the need for an education capable of responding to the learning needs of a changing society. "Students' self-image and their attitudes toward others are affected both by what is taught and how it is taught" (Common Curriculum 1993, 9). Students, as citizens and workers, given the pace of change, must note how families, institutions and gender roles have swiftly changed and "how people's lives have been, and often still are, shaped by such factors as gender, race, physical ability, social class, and religion.” (Common Curriculum 1993a, 26).

It is for these reasons that students must "develop the values, skills, and knowledge needed to live productively and harmoniously in a society that values diversity and is committed to equity and social justice" (Common Curriculum 1995, 7). In the spirit of critical multicultural education, the new curriculum must reflect the diversity of Canadian society and the personal, racial and ethnocultural experiences of all students, and students must learn that "their society is enriched and strengthened by diversity" (Common Curriculum 1995, 19). It is only when students learn about their cultural identity that they develop a positive sense of self. In turn, by studying subjects such as history and geography, students learn to feel "connections" with people with different racial and ethnocultural background and understand their contributions to society (Common

\textsuperscript{103} Critical multiculturalism, which emerged in this period, seeks to integrate insights from anti-racist education and critical race theory into education practices, focusing on issues of power and inequality.
Curriculum 1995, 89). Students must "know about and value the contributions of people from a wide variety of cultures, races, religions, and socio-economic backgrounds in their community, Canada and the world" (Common Curriculum 1993, 64).

While allegedly emphasizing the importance of equality and diversity, the critical multicultural discourse that underlies the curricula since the 1990s still reproduces some of the same dynamics that characterized previous phases of Canadian pedagogy. If individuals can be recognized through their racial and ethnocultural differences, the white universal self recognizes himself not in tradition and cultures but in the continuous study of rights and responsibilities, the rules of law, fairness and equity (Common Curriculum 1995, 89), quintessentially Western/Canadian features. In analyzing Canadian society, attention is paid to the role of ‘culture’. In becoming universal multicultural and global citizens, students must understand how some groups celebrate festivities contingent on their ethnocultural and racial backgrounds and “identify similarities and differences found in various cultures in the past and present (…)” (Common Curriculum 1995, 89). Yet, while some individuals will be engulfed by their traditions and thus unable to be autonomous, the universal subject is cognizant of his history in terms of ‘universal’ and rational values.

In the discourse of critical multiculturalism in Canada, the ‘Other within’, namely Indigenous people, remain marginal. At the same time, ‘educating the native’ continues to be a central tenet of Canada’s attempt to reinforce its identity as modern country (Chaput 2012, 60; Alfred 2005; Battiste 2000, 2002; Turner 2006) This is evident in one of the key documents of the period, namely the 1996 Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP). The RCAP openly criticizes Canada’s educational system for dismantling Aboriginal culture, language and identity with the goal of ‘civilizing’ aboriginal peoples. Yet, in order to overcome historical
bias and foster the co-existence of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities within Canada, education remains pivotal:

“Public education is essential in confronting the problems posed by ignorance and misconceptions regarding our place in Canadian history and the nature of our rights. All Canadians should have the knowledge required to understand our situation, as well as the knowledge that what we have sought all along is mutual respect and coexistence.” (RCAP, v5, c4).

The lack of knowledge about aboriginal culture and contributions to the contemporary world amongst Canadians supports ongoing racism\textsuperscript{104}, and it is an obstacle to possible reconciliation between Aboriginal and non-aboriginal peoples. All Canadians should have the knowledge required to understand our situation, as well as the knowledge that what we have sought all along is mutual respect and coexistence (RCAP, v5, c4). The Commission also notes how the educational gap between aboriginal and non-aboriginal students is still wide, and how the school is still an alienating experience for aboriginals (RCAP 3, 410). To improve their situation, aboriginal peoples must be able to develop their own educational vision and their heritage and identity have been valued when planning for aboriginal students' future (RCAP 3, 412).

Calls for further action in the educational field were also included in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission final report. The Commission recommended equitable funding for indigenous schools on reserve, more funding for post-secondary education, the inclusion of

\textsuperscript{104} “Public education is essential in confronting the problems posed by ignorance and misconceptions regarding our place in Canadian history and the nature of our rights. All Canadians should have the knowledge required to understand our situation, as well as the knowledge that what we have sought all along is mutual respect and coexistence. (RCAP, v5, c4)
indigenous languages as credit-bearing courses, the development of culturally appropriate curricula, more parent and community involvement and improving the success rates of Aboriginal students (TRC 2015, 1-2).

Spurred by the work of the Royal Commission and Truth and Reconciliation Commission provincial governments responded with new policy initiatives involving aboriginal education. In 2005 the Ontario provincial government released *New Approach to Aboriginal Affairs*. In this document, healthy aboriginal communities are envisioned and the government is committed to working with Aboriginal leaders and organizations to improve the educational outcomes for First Nations, Metis and Inuit children (2007, 26). In 2007 the Ontario Ministry of Education also drafted “First Nation, Metis, and Inuit Education Policy framework”, which aims at improving Aboriginal student’s success but also letting non-aboriginal students know and appreciate FN, Metis and Inuit culture.\(^\text{105}\)

Two of the most tangible outcomes of this increased attention on education for and about Aboriginals are the introduction of treaty education as part of citizenship education of Canadian students (since 1998) and Native Studies as an independent curriculum (1999). When Canadian students learn about themselves as a treaty partners through treaty education, they become aware of being “citizen-settlers” (Tupper 2011, 2014). The normalization of the ‘settler-citizen’, however, reinforces the settler project that a progressive and social-justice oriented curriculum is supposed to overcome. The learning about treaties does not in fact disrupt “the mythic history [Canadians] have all soaked up that describes the land as a ‘virgin wilderness’ or a ‘primeval

\(^{105}\) Office of Aboriginal education, Ministry of Education
forest’ inhabited by only a handful of ‘wild men’ or ‘savages’” (Wright, p. 48 in Tupper 2008, p.48). If treaty education is part of a reconciliation process, it is also a means of strengthening an imperial white citizenry on “stolen lands”. Similar dynamics are at play with the Native Studies curriculum. The Native Studies curriculum reveals the predominant discursive framework regarding native and non-native relationships that emerged with the establishment of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. The Native Studies courses focus on aboriginal cultures, traditions and languages and their contribution to Canadian society. Students of native ancestry should develop pride while non-native students should gain respect for aboriginal peoples and cultures. Yet, as St. Denis notes, the ‘revitalization’ of Aboriginal culture has ‘paradoxical’ effects (St. Denis 2004, 36). Indeed, cultural revitalization encourages “Aboriginal people to assert their authenticity and to accept cultural nationalism and cultural pride as solutions to systemic inequality; ironically, this helps to keep racial domination intact.” (St. Denis 2004, 36). Cultural revitalization as an educational and ‘improvement’ strategy has a long history. As in the case of other groups suffering from race thinking in Canada, during that era having a positive cultural identity was presented as the solution to educational inequality (St. Denis 2004, 37). The focus on identity, however, places on Aboriginal peoples the responsibility for change. Cultural revitalization and the showcasing of Aboriginal cultures then actually reinforces a tenet of modernity- an essentialized identity which for the other is bound to the past and is immutable. Cultural revitalization is a ‘double-edged sword' given that it challenges colonialism by avoiding the erasure of aboriginal practices and identities, yet it blames the victim, keeping out of the picture.

106 The 1967 Hawthorn Report (see chapter 5), for instance, suggested that aboriginal people had to regain pride in their culture and that cultural pride would solve the systemic inequities resulting from colonialism and equity
the ongoing colonialism of the settler nation (St. Denis 2004, 2007; Weenie 2008). Through the 
hegemonic discourse of language and cultural revitalization, Aboriginal peoples become 
"complicit in the production of ourselves." (St. Pierre 2000, 504 in Weenie 2008 553). The Ontario 
curriculum remains an "an imaginal space derived from and created from the cognitive habits of 
Europe" (Chambers 1999, 142).

As it happened in the past, the curricula developed since the 1990s are one of the tools 
through which theories of modernity and modernization have seeped into education. Since the end 
of the Cold War, the reach of modernization has actually extended, “relocating the spatial domain 
of modernization from the national to the global” (Blaney and Inayatullah 2002, 126). In the 
narration of Western progress, the movement goes from the nation-state to the international system 
and finally the age of globalization, a moment in which the uniform purpose is reached (ibid.). The 
Common curriculum and other documents produced in this period, through the unproblematic 
assumptions of a global civil society, theories of liberal peace and global governance, not only 
work for the erasure of difference that is typical of modernization theory; they are proof of the 
emergence of modernization theory in the post-modern present.

3 - The globalized and multicultural subject in the post-cold war era curricula

The emphasis on ‘global’ and ‘multicultural’ themes and the push to establish a truly cosmopolitan 
Canadian citizen that characterized the pedagogical discourse of the 1990s and onwards are
reflected in the social sciences curricula drafted in this period (Martinez, 1998). The type of subject that the history, geography and Canadian/World Studies and Civics curricula outline continue to reproduce modernist notions of historicity (with its emphasis on change) and globality (via the connection man/culture/environment). As previewed in the policy documents of the time, the curricula emphasize how today’s students need to thrive in an “ever-changing global community” (2013a, 3). While students learn how natural and human systems change over time and how changes in Canada’s present will affect the country’s future, they simultaneously focus on “how global changes affect individual choices” (2005a, 33; emphasis added). Change is central to the making of a modern Canadian subject since it is the very foundation of the country. As McKay notes, the imagining of the early white settler society was:

“(…) anti-modern based on notions of blood, soil and military valour, and ultramodern, mobilizing up to date technology and drawing, so it was thought, upon the latest evolutionary theory. It gloried in the steel rails and steamships that bound the Empire together, and visualized a future in which the backward and benighted peoples of the world would be redeemed and reordered through their exposure to their racial and cultural superiors.” (MacKay quoted in Baldwin et al. 2011, 10).

The talk of interdependence, constant change and systems is productive in terms of governmentality, since it elicits particular pedagogical activities that inculcate norms, habits and dispositions in the subject so that he can self-govern (Olson 2008, 42). In the whirlwind of change,

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107 The courses included in the 1999 Canadian and World Studies curriculum include a Grade 9 geography of Canada, Grade 10 Canadian History and a grade 10 Civics. The 2005 Canadian and World Studies grades 9 and 10 replaces the previous 1999 course outline. In 2013 the curriculum is revised and from September 2014 all Canadian and world studies courses for grades 9 and 10 are based on the expectations based on this document.

108 Canadian and World Studies, Grades 9-12 (2013a)
Canada’s past, present and future are collapsed. In courses such as\textsuperscript{109}, the 20\textsuperscript{th} century is presented as the never-ending and immutable time of modernity, one of “significant change” in which privileged subjects are struggling, as in the past, with “a range of challenging questions”:

"As our population becomes more diverse, how do we ensure that all voices are heard? How do we resolve important societal and community issues in the face of so many diverse and divergent views influenced by differing values? What role will Canada play within an increasingly interconnected global community?" (2005a, 63\textsuperscript{110}).

The civics curriculum takes into account the fact that the answer to these questions “will affect our personal lives and our collective lives” (ibid), thereby constituting the privileged subject of the nation once again as a community of shared fate. In modernity, however, fate is determined by race. This community of fate which can respond to the challenges of the present, and thus is in time, has to become, through the civics course, an ensemble of responsible citizens according to the expanding horizons model of progressive pedagogy and to the logic of a universal subject, in the local, the national and the global sphere.

Civics education is thus not only about the past and the present, but also about the future; or, more specifically, making the future in the present (Hultquivist 2006). As Baldwin notes, the future is the ‘yet-to-come’ that can be foreseen, its challenges and the solutions are made in the present proving that the linear time of modernity and historicity are still at the centre of a post-colonial white society and its pedagogy. The ever-changing present is important in analyzing the

\textsuperscript{109} Civics, Open grade 10 (2005a)

\textsuperscript{110} Civics, Open grade 10 (2005a)
citizen subject of Canadian education since it is through the metaphor of ‘the future in education’ that we plan for in terms of attitudes, dispositions and sensitivities and make forward-looking citizens. “(T)he future is prepared by education and knowledge, as a means to govern future-oriented citizens and to order and to govern a set of heterogeneous elements, men, things, institutions, and discourses to achieve useful ends” (Olsson and Petersson 2008,65).

The persistence of the Canadian citizen’s modern traits is also reflected in the narrative about his democratic credentials. Canadian students must learn to become rational deliberators able to use scientific methods to gather and select information and to communicate effectively (2005b, 52). Students must learn to understand the values and beliefs of democratic citizenship and learn how these values guide actions. The values that Canadians believe in are clearly stated: rule of law; freedom of expression; freedom of religion; equity; respect for human dignity, the rights of others, and the common good; social responsibility (2005b, 67; 2013a, 152). Students then see them embodied in citizens actions such as the December 6 commemorations of the Montreal massacre, the White Ribbon campaign and National Aboriginal Day (2005b, 67). Students learn to be deliberators who actively commit to politics by learning the skills necessary for political practice (e.g. interpret data). They also learn that various factors can affect their

111 Canadian History since World War 1, grade 10, Academic; Methods of Historical Inquiry and Communication strand (2005b)
112 Canadian History since World War 1, grade 10, Academic; Methods of Historical Inquiry and Communication strand (2005b)
113 Canadian and World Studies, Grades 9-12 (2013a)
114 Canadian History since World War 1, grade 10, Academic; Methods of Historical Inquiry and Communication strand (2005b)
political engagement and interests, and why certain issues are important and, most importantly, they can propose ‘solutions” (2015b, 517)\textsuperscript{115},

Schools should also aim at educating the ‘heart’ of the model citizen. Students are asked to analyze democratic values that are deemed as universal and thus adaptable to a diverse society formed by a common humanity. They have therefore to articulate their civic identity and understand the challenges of governing a diverse society. In the tradition of benevolent reformist whiteness, students are to understand that they are not racists in that they must understand a "citizen's role in responding to non-democratic movements (e.g. supremacist and racist organizations, fascism, and communism) through personal and group actions (…)." (1999b, 50\textsuperscript{116}).

Citizenship should have a ‘civic’ purpose. This civic mission is multicultural, in that it is able to critically engage with multiple perspectives, and is cosmopolitan, in that it incorporates an understanding of human rights and of a common humanity. The students are then asked to exercise one of the ‘skills’ of the modern subject, namely “an ability to anticipate conflicting civic purposes, overcome personal bias, and suspend judgment in dealing with issues of civic concern.” (1999, 51\textsuperscript{117}). Students, therefore, should become "agents of change" (2015a, 208\textsuperscript{118}). These agents of change are to be aware of the multiple tensions such as ethnic and religious conflicts that can cause crimes against humanity. It is only through the new global ethos that these tragedies can be solved

\textsuperscript{115} World History since 1900: Global and Regional Interactions, Grade 11 (2015b)

\textsuperscript{116} History - Canada in the Twentieth Century (1999b).

\textsuperscript{117} History - Canada in the Twentieth Century (1999b).

\textsuperscript{118} Canada: History, Identity, and Culture, Grade 12 (univ. preparation) (2015a)
and, for this reason, students are to support governments and international organizations promoting human rights (ibid.).

The goals of the social sciences curricula developed in this period are pragmatic and experiential in the best tradition of progressive education (Broom and Bai 2011). Their objective is that of preparing the universal subject for life both in and outside the classroom as workers and as citizens. As the Canadian and World Studies curriculum states: “The responsible, active citizen participates in the community for the common good. Citizenship provides ways in which young people are prepared and consequently ready and able to undertake their roles as citizens” (p.9). Students will, therefore, have to explore what it means to be "a participating citizen in a democratic society". This democratic society is extended with regard to the opinion of others and naturalized on a global scale. "Students will learn about the elements of democracy in local, national, and global context (..)" and they will be taught to "react responsibly" (2005a, 64). Armed with a sense of civic multicultural nationalism and a cosmopolitan view of the world, students must learn to respond to critical issues, make the correct decisions and resolve all conflicts to maintain the liberal and cosmopolitan peace. (2005a, 53). Students are to apply “techniques of democratic participation (…) to a political question under investigation.” They also evaluate the policy of multiculturalism and see whether it promotes pluralism and more participation in national affairs.

119 Canadian and World Studies grades 9 and 10 2013. “Active Citizenship” is also the name of a strand in Grade 10 civics course, Open grade 10 (2005)
120 Civics, Open Grade 10 (2005a)
121 Civics, Open, Grade 10 (2005a)
and be aware of the barriers that can be found to impede political representation (language, ethnicity, disability; 2005c, 250-251122).

In the spirit of progressive education, citizenship and knowledge of “the world” and “man” will be acquired through “doing”. These goals will be achieved in “in a concrete, practical context through learning activities that combine the acquisition of knowledge with the application of various skills, including inquiry/research, communication, and map and graphic representation skills.” (2005d, 3)123 Schools should support active citizenship in students and encourage them to partake in co-curricular activities such as school council and take an active interest in world issues (2005d, 6)124. The idealized outcome for learners is that they become able to understand the challenges associated with sustainable development, the pros and cons of various economic associations. Students must understand that what their study is not confined to the classroom but “fields of knowledge that affect their lives, their communities, and the world.” (2005a, 21)125. Students also learn to find answers and research issues of civic importance and demonstrate, through simulation, the way to make democratic decisions and conflicts in ‘civic matters’ are resolved (2005a, 69)126. When studying geography, students can create maps to “visualize global disparities with respect to such matters as access to food, water, healthcare (…)” and use specific

122 Canadian Politics and Citizenship, Grade 11 (2005c)
123 Canadian and World Studies (2005d)
124 Canadian and World Studies (2005d)
125 Canadian and World Studies (2005d)
126 Civics, Open. Grade 10 (2005a)
criteria to see how Canada responds to global issues (2013b, 82). Students learn to perform non-violent citizen action, understand how they can voice their opinions and demonstrate an understanding of their responsibilities as local, national and global citizens by “applying their knowledge of civics, and skills related to purposeful and active citizenship, to a project of personal interest and civic importance” (2005a, 69). Among the civic projects offered as an example. There are food and clothing drives, participating in community festivals, becoming involved in human rights anti-discrimination activities.

Since the 1990s interest in more ‘active’ forms of democracies has emerged in the West and in liberal white settler societies such as Australia and New Zealand. While the passive citizen votes and obeys the law, the active citizen is engaged and tries to change the course of events to create a more just society. The citizen, in other words, becomes an ‘activist’ (Wood and Black 2014). Although most of the activities that the citizen should carry out are political in nature, questions of power and inequality seem to disappear from view. Controversial subjects such as racism, the rights of girls, classism, homophobia and intervention in foreign conflict - all political issues in that they are embedded in Western social structures and histories – thus become mere ‘civic’ issues in the curriculum (2005a, 67). The same depoliticizing dynamics are at play when the role of the state in influencing the very issues the citizen should address is hidden from view. The civil citizen is thus a reformer that never strays too far from hegemonic discourses and who does not challenge the status quo. The civil or social citizen that is still on his feet at the end of

127 Canadian Geography, Grade 9 (2013b)
128 Civics, Open, Grade 10 (2005a)
129 Civics, Open, Grade 10 (2005a)
the 20th century is the same social citizen that became hegemonic in the 1940s after the demise of laissez-faire liberalism. However, the socially active citizen who performs her morally just actions is also a subject whose feet are solidly planted in the tradition of imperial civility stemming from a non-political space, that of a civil society (Brodie 2007).

4 - We are “All Citizens of the Global Community”

The concept of ‘community’ is central in the post-cold war pedagogical discourse in Canada. ‘Communities’, for instance, is the title of a strand in the History curriculum (2005c, 132). The individuals that schools form are not members of a national group. They are “all citizens of the global community” (2013a, 9). This global community is presented according to the modernist expanding horizons model ‘from here to there’, now reframed as from local to global and also diachronically from the past into the present. The international community and the national community overlap and become a ‘global’ one. Students learn to development of “a sense of international and global unity” (2005d, 176) and overcome the strictures of nationalism. Nationalism as an ideology has contributed to the creation of divisions and tensions, such as those between India and Pakistan (ibid). The global Canadian citizen's relationship with nationalism is nonetheless ambiguous. While ‘old’ nationalisms, which are defined as ‘ethnocentric’, are backward and to be rejected, Canadian nationalism, understood as a new type of ideology which

130 Canadian Politics and Citizenship, Grade 11 (2005c)
131 Canadian and World Studies Grades 9 and 10 (2013a)
132 Citizenship and Heritage, Grade 11 (2005d)
is inclusive of difference and rooted in social justice should be celebrated. The Canadian citizen is therefore not influenced by ‘identity politics’. He can move continuously from the particular (of her/his embodiment, social location) to the positions of universalism which allows him to see from above the ‘specific’ needs associated with particular forms of embodiment. The Others, in order to make this move, will have to be intervened upon by the modern white subject.

The idea of ‘global community’ that is presented in the Canadian curricula is not homogenous and static; it is hybrid and stems from ‘interactions’ among groups (2005b, 132133). Students are to compare ‘isolated' societies and those which instead are in contact with others. The postmodern and postcolonial narrative of natural and historical hybridization of cultures resonates with the discourse of liberal pluralism, which, by emphasizing cultural diversity, erases the power differentials in liberal modernity. It also erases the differences which exist in the ‘encounter’ which exists between colonizers and the colonized. While that this new history of hybridity may seem subversive, it actually reinstates the possessive Western eye in the fabrication of universal history (McClintock 1995, 11). Far from being innocent, the discourse of contemporary hybridity allows to silence those who voice concerns over neo-imperialism, given that cultural contacts have always occurred, erasing the power that has marked racialized encounter in modernity.

In contemporary pedagogical discourse, this hybrid global community is presented as consistent with Canada’s multiculturalism, which, despite its relatively short history, by the 1990s had become part of the country’s heritage. Canadian and World Studies courses, for instance, aim at increasing students’ knowledge about Canada’s multicultural heritage and helps them “perceive

133 World History to the Sixteenth Century, Grade 11 (2005b)
Canada in a global context and to understand its place and role in the world community” (2005a, 3). As a pivotal moment in the nation-building project, the rise of multiculturalism, together with ‘modern’ (i.e. open to non-Western groups) immigration policies, have changed Canadian identity and made it a truly cosmopolitan one (2015a, 371). The narrative of the ‘globalization of multicultural Canada’ is deployed in the curricula by presenting the evolution of the country’s national identity and culture from pre-contact to the present through a global lens, with students analyzing both national and international events (2015a, 369). In the spirit of this ‘cosmopolitan multiculturalism’, students are to analyze historical events prior to and after 1774 for different groups in Canada, analyze their interactions, look at internal and external conflict in making the country evolve, look at the country immigration and citizenship policies. Emphasis is put on the Canadian government's endeavours in promoting a common identity, and how Canadian identity has evolved by participating in international events and institutions (e.g. the UN; 2005b, 46).

This portrayal of Canada’s multicultural and global community is imbued by a strong sense of civility. Civility is important in the discussion of citizenship education, given the close connection between civic virtue and civil society. If to be a good citizen continues to mean to be an agent interested in the common good, citizenship and civility are tightly intertwined. Civility is also non-legislated standards of behaviour, and to be civil in political discussions means "being a member of a political community" (Boyd 2006, 864). It is in this spirit that schools should foster

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134 Canadian and World Studies grades 11 and 12 (2005b)

135 Canada: History, Identity, and Culture, Grade 12 (univ. preparation). (2015a)


137 Canadian and World Studies grades 11 and 12 (2005b)
the “habits of mind” of citizens who live in “complex democratic societies characterized by rapid technological, political and social change” (2005e, 24). The modern citizen is one who knows the rights and duties of citizenship, but also has a “willingness to show respect, tolerance, understanding towards individuals, groups, and cultures in the global community and respect and responsibility towards the environment” (2005b, 24). Multicultural civility is the first step that guarantees, through tolerance, the possibility of a cosmopolitan sensibility and a global civility. Civility is an ethos that informs human interactions both in institutional and non-institutional settings such as civil society. Civility as a form of social ethos is also a people-building practice that creates certain subjects and communities. It binds people as a ‘spirit’ and ‘character’. Civility is thus a biopolitical tool and a tool of governmentality (Mayo 2002).

Global civility is reflected in the presentation of Canada as a promoter of peace and social justice around the world. Students should learn how, following the Holocaust, Canada became a world leader in human rights, helping, for instance, to draft the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, implementing the 1962 Ontario Human Rights' code and the 1970 Canadian Human Rights Act (1999, 31); how Canadian forces have been involved in peace-keeping and peacemaking operations; how governmental and non-governmental organizations have carried out valuable work in the fields of "humanitarian assistance, collective security, diplomacy, technical cooperation" (2005b, 257). By addressing the political, economic and social challenges

138 Canadian and World Studies, grades 11 and 12, Antidiscrimination Education in Canadian and World Studies (2005e)

139 World History to the Sixteenth Century, Grade 11 (2005b)

140 World History to the Sixteenth Century, Grade 11 (2005a)
affecting the world, Canada has demonstrated to be an active participating in the global community.

In presenting Canada ‘civil’ nature, however, students should be aware that the country did implement discriminatory practices, from the closed-door policy towards Jewish refugees in the 1930s, to the internment of Japanese Canadians during the war, to the introduction of the point system to selected immigrants (2005b, 152\textsuperscript{141}). At the same time, students are told how Canada has the ability to reform oneself and learn from its mistakes. It is through this continuous juxtaposition of the errors of the past and the possibility of speaking to a better present that makes it possible to see Canadians as post-imperial. An imperial and colonizing past ‘ought' to be recognized and taught to children; what is not done is to dismantle modernity so the technologies of self and of the community that are characterized by race-thinking in all their complexities are not dismantled. In Canada's cosmopolitan, post-imperial community, racism continues to be seen as an aberration of reason, not one of the tenets of liberal political rule.

5 - Global Connections and the Making of the Other

Post-cold war social sciences curricula are replete with references to the tropes of “interactions” and “interrelations”. In studying World History, students are to “analyse interrelationships between physical processes, phenomena, and events in Canada and their interaction with global physical systems” (2013a, 76\textsuperscript{142}; emphasis added). Canadian and World Studies allows students

\textsuperscript{141} World History to the Sixteenth Century, Grade 11 (2005a)

\textsuperscript{142} Canadian and world Studies grades 9-10 (2013a)
to how “people interact with and within their social and physical environment today, and how they did so in the past.” (1999b, 2; emphasis added). In geography courses, students to focus on the “interconnection between this region and the rest of the world.” (2015b, 129). In the aptly named Grade 9 Geography’s strand Global Connections, the goal is that of gaining a global perspective “on events and processes in any part of the world.” The reason to do so is that “… the world’s economies are becoming increasingly interconnected, and the flow of people, products, money, information, and ideas around the world is accelerating, a global perspective is particularly important for today’s students.” (2005a, 27; emphasis added).

Students should be aware of how these global interconnections have had an important impact on people around the world. Students must be able “to explain how increased interactions between peoples and cultures of the world has changed daily lives (e.g. exposure to new ideas, foods, and fads; fear of newcomers; creation of ethnic ghettos; Westernization of language.) (2005a, 178). The overall outcome is the creation of the world as one: “the forces of globalization are drawing people of different cultures together” (1999b, 25). These ‘interactions’ are, however, not natural, as they are processes that were initiated by the West through “trade, exploration; economic gain; modern technologies and inventions; demographic

143 Canadian and World Studies Grades 9-10 (1999b)
144 Regional Geography Course, Grade 11 (university/college prep) (2015b)
145 World History to the Sixteenth Century, Grade 11 (2005a)
146 World History to the Sixteenth Century, Grade 11 (2005a)
147 Canadian and World Studies Grades 9-10 (1999b)
pressures; religious, dynastic, and national ambitions” (2005c, 194). ‘Interactions’ thus substitutes ‘empire’ which is seen as the motor of history and modernity.

This Western-centric view of globalization is apparent in the way the political, social and economic features of other regions of the world are presented to students, and in the way students are taught to compare them with the West. The discursive trick used for engaging with cultural and religious traditions beyond the West and, in so doing, honing the multicultural sensibility that defines the post-imperial Canadian citizen of the 21st century is, as in the previous decades, that of the comparison between the West and the rest. Be it in geography, world history or civics classes, students are to classify and compare countries and regions of the world and consider the reasons and the moral implications of economic, social and political disparities among them (2015c, 261-2; 271-2). In turn, students must learn how to manage and ‘reform’ globalization and understand the fact that there are global commons which have the resources necessary to our life on the planet (ibid.)

In these comparisons, Canada and the West are typically the terms of reference. When discussing citizenship, for instance, students should ponder “What are the main similarities between the right and responsibilities associated with citizenship in Canada and those associated with citizenship in the global community? What are the main differences?” (2013a, 154). This categorization/organization of the courses (West vs the rest) is not neutral. A closer reading of

148 World History: The West and the World, grade 12 (univ. prep.)(2005c)
149 World geography: Urban Patterns and Population Issues; Grade 12 Grade 11, World History since 1900: Global and Regional Interactions (2015c)
150 Canadian and World Studies Grades 9 and 10 (2013a)
these comparisons shows how modernity – as the force of history – is still situated in the West, while the rest continues to be an obstacle to the fulfilment of humanity’s happiness. In the World History course, for example, students are to learn about the achievements of Western liberalism (democracy, human rights, market economy), while stressing the shortcomings of “command economies” and “the problems that have faced the undeveloped world in achieving economic stability and prosperity (…)” (2005b, 178) and the obstacles they face in achieving “stable forms of government” (2005b, 179). In the World History’s strand Social, Economic, and Political Structures a section is dedicated to “the roles and status of men and women in various parts of the world.” (2005b, 87). Students are taught how women rights have improved over time, but also how women face substantial obstacles to equality (lack of franchise, traditional gender roles). Yet, despite the commonality in oppression, Western women are still represented as having already achieved gender equality. In turn, women from other parts of the world live in pre-industrial societies in which their status is limited by restricted access to education, property rights and culture (2005b, 87). The lack of modernity - illiberal traditions, low literacy rate, concentration of wealth and power and corruption – is therefore what explains their challenges.

Seen from a Western-centric perspective, globalization is neither an event nor simply an objectively observable process; instead, it is a normative framework that aligns politics with nature and morality, the recalibration of universality and the reinstatement of enlightenment’s historicity and globality. The global allows us to re-imagine a benevolent whiteness with a global reach, propelling what James Heartfiled (2011) has labelled "humanitarian imperialism" in the post-imperial era. Humanitarian imperialism entails a discursive shift in imperial narratives, with a

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151 World History to the Sixteenth Century, Grade 11 (2005b)
move away from the emphasis on empire as an economic venture towards a civilizing one. Students are to acquire an anti-imperial sensibility and they are to look at how, for instance, imperialism exploited people and natural resources in a region and to consider issues of discrimination in the region (2015b, 138). The focus on the impact of colonization, however, should not be taken as being a moment of ‘truth’, nor a Fanonian moment in which the colonizer asks: “Who am I?” but it creates colonization as an ambiguous event, part of which is part of a human ‘natural history’. Indeed, while recognizing the impoverishment of the colonized, ethnic cleansing exploitation of resources” colonization is also “cultural transfers, revival of commitment to indigenous cultural identities” (2005b, 194). Students are also to focus on changes in technologies and agriculture in Africa and South-East Asia, and the changing of political elites in India (2005b, 198).

Imperialism has had many more advantages than disadvantages to the non-Western world. Moreover, once students are told that they, as modern political subjects, must care for what happens beyond the border, what they are drawn to look at are elements typical of Western colonialism: how the rights of the Other are not respected because of their cultural and political organization, the existence of barbarity exemplified through torture, gender-based discrimination, political imprisonment (2013a, 154).

It is also telling that, despite the alleged focus on imperialism among the most significant political changes in this period, colonialism is rarely mentioned. References to Europe’s

152 World geography: Urban Patterns and Population Issues, Grade 12 (2015b)
153 World History to the Sixteenth Century Grade 11 (2005b)
154 World History to the Sixteenth Century Grade 11 (2005b)
155 Canadian History Since World War I, Grade 10 (Academic)(2013))
experience with racism and colonialism are relegated to individual cases, such as that of Belgian Congo (2015d, 357\textsuperscript{156}). While there is a reference to Aboriginal Peoples through the mentioning of the ‘League of Indians’, Canada’s connection to empire is treated as an aspiration rather than a deeply settled and continuous practice. In focusing on the causes of WW1, references are made to “imperialist sentiments in English Canada” and “Canada’s status within the British Empire.” (2013a, 113\textsuperscript{157}) Empire is thus something that Canada has only passively experienced through the British Empire.

Post-imperial themes regarding the Other beyond Canada in the post-cold era are closely intertwined with the discourse surrounding the ‘Others within’, namely visible minorities and Indigenous people. Students are hailed as critical multicultural subjects who are interested in understanding how history had an impact on the lives of "ethnocultural minority groups" in Canada. The focus is on how Canada has changed from the beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century in terms of demographics, technology and the country's international status and policy. Students are asked to analyze the impact of Canadian exclusionary practices including its ‘darker’ moments, such as the restrictions imposed by the Indian Act and the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923, but also at how different immigrant groups have contributed to Canadian identity and enriched its heritage (2013a, 113\textsuperscript{158}). What is maintained is the distinction between the founding peoples and the immigrants as defined in the height of the multicultural era. The immigrant as Black and/or person of colour remains highly visible and it will be the non-Western immigrant that will epitomize the

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{156} World History since 1900 Grade 11 (2015d)
  \item \textsuperscript{157} Canadian History Since World War 1 Grade 10 (Academic)(2013a)
  \item \textsuperscript{158} Canadian History Since World War 1, Grade 10 (Academic)(2013a)
\end{itemize}
other while other Europeans even those who may have been undesirable benefit from a multicultural whiteness.

This ongoing process of Othering that characterizes ‘ethnocultural minorities’ in Canada’ curricular discourse also affects the treatment of Indigenous peoples. As noted above, one of the innovative aspects of the curricular practices of the time is the introduction in 2000 of the Native Studies curriculum, which complements and expands on the content provided in the Social Sciences curricula159. Native Studies should provide all students with broad knowledge related to Aboriginal peoples and to understand aboriginal issues at a local, national and international level. (1999a, 13)160. As it has been the case in previous curricular documents, the Native Studies curriculum reproduces the modernist trope of ‘traditional culture’ to depict Indigenous peoples and their role in Canadian society. In the History’s strand named “Human-Environment Interactions”, for instance, students learn to see the world according to a paradigm of systems in which natural systems interact with human systems and they learn that the environment affects “cultural and economic systems” (1999a, 11). Aboriginal peoples have “traditional ecological knowledge’ which distinguished them from Western scientific ecological knowledge (i.e. the interaction among systems; ibid.). Students have to “explain the ways in which the traditional ecological knowledge of Aboriginal peoples, including their concepts of place, wilderness, and boundaries, influences how they interact with their environment.” (2005b, 31)161. The subject of

159 In 2016 the Ontario Curriculum Grades 1-8 and The Kindergarten Program First Nations, Metis and Inuit Connections resource guide was published.

160 Native Studies curriculum, Grades 9 and 10 (1999a).

161 World History to the Sixteenth Century, Grade 11 (2005b)
this course will, therefore, begin to understand himself as separate from Indigenous people and, as in the past, he will continue to refine his skill as the modern self. Once again, the new postcolonial Western gaze can know the Other and his knowledge and it can portray it as something that belongs to the cultural or traditional against the scientific.

Although still ‘backward’, indigenous people must face the reality of a globalized world. Students therefore learn about indigenous issues in an international context, seek for commonality amongst the various indigenous worldview and “identify some of the challenges to maintaining their identities that indigenous communities throughout the world encounter in a highly industrialized world” (2000a, 73). In discussing indigenous identity students become aware of how the Native continues to be put at risk by modernity, and that he is always out of time and continues to need care. Students, therefore, learn about Aboriginal people as culturally ‘different' subjects who must maintain their traditions, whereas the white subject does not have cultural traditions but universal values.

The ‘traditional culture’ trope is closely tied to another recurring theme involving Indigenous people, namely that of “stepping in the Other’s shoes”. In the course ‘Canada 1982 to the Present, Canadian History Since World War 1’ (Grade 10), for instance, students should ask “How has the apology for residential schools been viewed by Aboriginal people? By Canadians in general?” (2013a, 123). The native Other is then always another one of us. First, because we can step into his body and, second, because the same practices of empathy are applied to acquire

162 Issues of Indigenous Peoples in a Global Context, Grade 12 course (University/College Preparation)(2000a)

163 Section, Canada 1982 to the Present, Canadian History Since World War 1, Grade 10 (Academic), 107. (2013a)
the position of epistemic supremacy. Indeed, after students practice how to acquire an altruistic perspective, Indigenous people’s claims are depoliticized and rendered similar to claims of the other funding group of Canada, the Quebecois (2013a, 123).164

The "they are one of us" narrative is repeated through the curriculum. Students are asked to question the myth of the two founding nations: “What group or groups are missing from the idea of ‘two founding nations’? Why have they been excluded? What are the implications of their exclusions? How and why may the idea of the two founding nations be changing?” (2015a, 377). The goal is to expand the visibility of indigenous peoples and the full recognition of their citizenship. “Canada is the land of origin of Aboriginal peoples, and the history of Canada begins with them. As the first people of Canada, Aboriginal peoples are unique in Canada’s mosaic.” (1999a, 4). However, if the presence of aboriginal people prior to contact is acknowledged, it is also only one of the “various groups in colonial Canada prior to 1774” (2015a, 376). Even in a cosmopolitan vision of the world, indigenous peoples, like in earlier versions of Canadian nationalism, will be either erased or created as “one-of-many-others”. Aboriginal people are thus understood as other immigrants constituting the multicultural mosaic (2005b, 183,184). Their acknowledgement, therefore, reinforces "project Canada" rather than questioning it.

164 Section, Canada 1982 to the Present, Canadian History Since World War 1, Grade 10 (Academic), 107. (2013a)
165 Canada: History, Identity, and Culture, Grade 12 (univ. preparation)(2015a)
166 Native Studies curriculum, Grades 9 and 10 (1999a).
167 Canada: History, Identity, and Culture, Grade 12 (univ. preparation)(2015a)
168 Canada: History, Identity, and Culture, Grade 12 (univ. preparation)(2005b)
In the spirit of a critical multicultural education students learn about the economic and educational barriers that Aboriginal people face in the present and understand how racism, ethnocentrism and marginalization play a part in the development of their communities (2000a, 12-14). Students are also encouraged to study the most controversial aspects of Aboriginal history, such as the attempts to assimilate Aboriginal peoples through the Indian Act and residential schools (2000a, 20). These episodes, however, are presented as ‘errors’ resulting from prejudice and discrimination, rather than the result of a system of racial rule that characterizes settler societies. These are challenges that a progressive nation such as Canada acknowledges, but that they are now part of the past. The focus should be on how to improve relations between aboriginal people and the rest of Canadian society today. It is in this context that the discourse of ‘reconciliation’, which emerged in Canadian society in this period, comes to the fore and shapes the Native Studies curriculum. Premised on the idea that there is a “need for dialogue between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples” (2000a, 19), reconciliation entails that a liberal peace can be established between the Canadian government and Aboriginal peoples. Indigenous populations and national governments can indeed develop strategies to improve their relations. By erasing the colonial legacy through reconciliation, the racial divide characteristic of settler societies is formally overcome and allowing contemporary citizens to imagine themselves to be

169 Issues of Indigenous Peoples in a Global Context, Grade 12 (University/College Preparation)(2000a)

170 Issues of Indigenous Peoples in a Global Context, Grade 12 (University/College Preparation)(2000a)

171 "Renewal and Reconciliation” is one of the three thematic sections included in the Native Curriculum (the others being Aboriginal worldview and Aboriginal and Canadian relations.

172 Grade 12 course (University/College Preparation): Issues of Indigenous Peoples in a Global Context (2000a)
members of a post-racial society, a new moral collectivity. According to this discourse, the decolonization of the modern curriculum in Ontario is actually taking place (Donald 2009).

Despite the adoption of an ‘Aboriginal perspective’, the Native Studies curriculum is nonetheless organized according to the same hegemonic modern principles of previous curricula. The two perspectives, the ‘Western’ and ‘Aboriginal’, have collapsed and become one and the same. The fact that the ‘perspective’ on aboriginal issues is ‘one’ re-directs our attention to the fact that the new multicultural and global subject is the ‘old’ universal white subject. It is through a liberal inclusion of aboriginal perspective and culture that a specific Native Other is welcomed into the curriculum and ultimately the polity. Since the 1990s then, the ‘culturalization’ of Aboriginality and Aboriginal culture becomes instrumental in silencing political claims and incorporating in the Canadian nation a modernized version of the native, while allowing students to deliberate about native issues without white ‘prejudice’ in the inexorably nascent global civil society. Settler consciousness is not disrupted by this new knowledge of Canadian history, given that it does not aim at and does not unsettle “settler positionality” (Davies et al. 2016). What the curricular document reinforces is the notion of Aboriginal People’s lack of autonomy, given that they continue to be engulfed by the ‘external’ that is culture and erases the political possibility of universal autonomy from which the reclaiming stolen lands could be made audible.

If in the 1950s and 1960s the incorporation of liberal internationalism had begun a formal apology for the mistakes of the west, the educational discourse of multiculturalism reiterates the claims that the west had learned from its mistakes and imperialism, colonialism and racism belong to the past of Canada’s civilizational trajectory. From the 1990s, the moral rehabilitation of the west and its subject continues through education. While claiming postcolonial and postmodern
inclinations, critical multicultural and global education as applied to the Social Sciences curricula, while claiming to be working and seeing the world and humanity from non-modernist frameworks, are actually reinstating a central tenet of modernity and enlightenment, that of progress. The social sciences curricula at the turn of the millennium continue to represent a history of progress to which other participate, but it is the white ‘national’ self that performs critique and steps forwards into modernity with its scientific innovation, social transformation (e.g. the rise of the welfare state). While the curricular discourse of the time includes the principles of a more critical multicultural pedagogy that brings to the fore race, ethnicity, gender and class, the white self is already imagining himself as fabricating a post-racial global community. The contemporary citizen is also educated to be sensitive to the plight of others and to be altruistic since a moral relationship must be established with the other. He is also a self-reflective subject who is able to understand his own mistakes and for this reason, students look at specific episodes of history. Thus, despite changes in the type of content of the curricula and the hailing of a post-racial present, the deep structures of curriculum continue to tend to the contemporary hegemonic project of unfinished modernity and one of its privileged nations.
Chapter 6

Conclusions: Recasting Global Citizenship Education

“Pedagogy, which begins with the egoistic interests of the oppressors (an egoism cloaked in the false generosity of paternalism) and makes of the oppressed the objects of its humanitarianism, itself maintains and embodies oppression.”

(Paulo Freire, 1970: 39)

Chapter Summary

This chapter summarizes the main tenets of the argument developed in the thesis and then considers its theoretical and normative implications for the current debate over Global Citizenship Education in Canada. In particular, this chapter questions the viability of pedagogical models that claim to able to overcome difference among individuals without addressing the fundamentally unequal structures of power that characterize the society in which these educational experiments take place and the relations between this society and the rest of the world. The chapter concludes with some suggestions on how to envision an alternative, more emancipatory perspectives on GCE.

1 - Recasting Global citizenship education: an overview
This thesis has sought to counter claims that educating for post-national forms of citizenship leads to more democratic, just and postmodern type of citizen. In following the insights of critical scholars in the fields of feminism, nationalism, citizenship settler colonialism and education, this work has illustrated how the emergence of global citizenship education in Canada does not constitute a ‘break’ with the country’s past as a raced and gendered imperial project. To the contrary, global citizenship education constitutes the re-installment of the white sovereign subject necessary for modernity as a political relationship to be maintained in the present and warrants its futurity. To support this argument, this thesis has deployed a Foucauldian-inspired genealogy to reconstruct the evolution of the pedagogical discourse around the theme of citizenship in Ontario from the 1920s to the present day, as expressed in key policy and curricula documents. This discourse is structured around the tropes of ‘self’, ‘community’ and ‘Other’, and over time its content has been shaped by ideologies such as internationalism, multiculturalism and globalization. This discourse has been instrumental in creating a particular profile of the ideal citizen that is rational, cosmopolitan and civil. By normalizing certain sensibilities, attitudes and disposition in certain bodies while constantly presenting the others as an outsider, it has become a means to constantly refabricate the modern white self.

This analysis has thus provided a vivid illustration of how pedagogy expresses itself as a form of power. “Pedagogy addresses the 'how' questions involved not only in the transmission or reproduction of knowledge but also in its production. Indeed, it enables us to question the validity of separating these activities so easily by asking under what conditions and through what means we 'come to know’” (Lusted 1986, 2-3). If pedagogy tells us how we learn, it also normalizes the learner. What pedagogy addresses is the process of production and exchange in this cycle, the transformation of consciousness that takes place in the interaction of three agencies - the teacher, the learner and the knowledge they produce together. Pedagogy in a more detailed way offers
information about who the learner is and how he can develop and change. If we believe that power is expressed not only through authoritarianism but also through normalization, then pedagogy is an important component in the making of the global citizen. In fact, through pedagogy and curriculum, the individual and the population are normalized (Walkerdine 1986). In the case of citizen education, this individual and population are the citizen-subject and polity. Indeed, pedagogy is instrumental to modern power which is a 'suspicious' and invisible power located within those aspects of the sciences (particularly the social sciences) which came to be used as the basis for what he calls technologies and apparatuses of social regulation.

The primary technology that instantiates these power dynamics in the everyday life of students is the school curriculum (Apple 1979). The curriculum is a text that incorporates "debates over what knowledge is of most worth, debates over whom we perceive ourselves to be, and how we will represent that identity, including what remains as "leftover", as "difference" (Castenell and Pinar 1993, 2). Curricula valorize certain types of knowledge while reproducing inequalities through knowledge and evaluation and assessment practices. The curriculum legitimizes dominant knowledges and aspirations and values a group of students over others by discriminating on the basis of race, gender, class (McLaren 2016). The curriculum is a racial text in that it deals with "how racial representation - including the splitting off and projection of difference - portrays and suppresses and reformulates racial identity" (Castenell and Pinar 1993, 2). From the perspective of critical pedagogy, the curriculum is shaped by the relationships existing between education, politics, imperialism and liberation and that the curriculum is written from the standpoint of those in power, so the curriculum is grounded in the wider social context (Maclaren 2003; Keesing-Styles). The curriculum is thus not a progressive force, but an instrument in the maintenance of the status quo. Indeed, it represents one of the primary tools of “conservative modernization” (Buras and Apple 2006, 7).
In analyzing the different discursive formations that have historically influenced pedagogy and curriculum in Canada, from internationalism to multiculturalism, globalization and cosmopolitanism, this thesis has highlighted how there has been an unchanging overarching theme that has stitched these formations together, namely modernity. As Pipin suggests, modernity stands for "processes of world disenchantment and secularization, an affirmation of the authority of reason and science over tradition and faith, the assertion of individual rights and liberties, the emergence of 'free market' economies, or simply a general confidence in the idea of human progress" (Pipin 1991) These tenets have been embodied in the pedagogical tradition of progressive education. The analysis of Ontario curricula from the 1920s onwards has foregrounded how progressive education has continued to be the ideology undergirding social science curricula and rendered these curricula a formidable technology of power deployed to shape generations of Canadian citizens/students. PE, even in the pragmaticist tradition of Dewey, is a universalist modernist project that aims at creating good, moral citizens who participate in society according to dominant rules (Popkewitz, 1991, 1998d; Lincoln 1998). Like the Kantian subject, the modern global citizen is an autonomous subject that is ruled only by reason and not by parochial ideologies of nationalism or tradition. The expanding horizons of PE allow the child to see the world as an international system and creates an agent that is seemingly able to cross borders and still maintain his agency intact. The global citizen, even if experiencing belonging in a series of concentric and at times overlapping sites, can rationalize his multiple belonging and represent himself as possessing multiple identities and /or as a citizen of the world. Not everybody, however, can be a global citizen. Progressive education is premised upon the principle that objective knowledge can be acquired solely by an autonomous subject. Knowledge, however, is a social practice shaped by a particular socio-historical milieu and epistemic community. In the Western world, this epistemic community is embodied as white. The modernist vision of the subject underlying progressive
education enables the reconstitution of a less overtly racist subject but one that, because of his universalism, continues to be racist. Progressive education has thus contributed to the ordering, normalizing and dividing groups useful for Western race-thinking (Popkewitz 1998a, 11).

The remainder of this concluding chapter explores some of the implications of the argument developed in this thesis for the understanding of citizenship education in Canada. The following section explores some of the limitations of recent efforts to salvage GCE based on postcolonial insights. The final section outlines possible alternative ways to envision GCE and its future.

2 - On the Limits of Postcolonial Re-Readings of Global Citizenship Education

Recent critical educational scholarship on GCE have argued that this pedagogical approach can be redeemed from its modernist trappings. These works claim that insights from postcolonial theory can be deployed to reform GCE and render it a truly emancipatory, ‘postmodern’ practice. Postcolonialism as theoretical approach seems particularly promising at overcoming the limits of GCE, as it has produced some of the most sustained critiques directed at the west and its history of oppression, and, more generally, the project of modernity and the “predatory universalism” that it encourages. Postcolonial theory wishes to underscore how knowledge about non-Western societies and subjects has been produced and how knowledge about the “Natives” informed Western knowledge (Spivak 1999, 111). These ‘reformist’ applications of postcolonial theory to GCE do not, however, undermine this approach’s modernist underpinnings, and, for this reason, fail to provide a more progressive and truly emancipatory alternative to existing models as they have been presented in Canadian curricula. To illustrate this point, the next paragraphs critically

173 The term is borrowed from Mannathukkaren 2010,
examine one example of this scholarship, namely Merryfield’s (2001a). Merryfield’s article “Moving the Center of Global Education: From Imperial World View That Divides the World to Double Consciousness, Contrapuntal Pedagogy, Hybridity, and Cross-Cultural Difference” is a vivid example of the problematic attempt by GCE scholars to incorporate postcolonial and other transformative knowledges questioning the Western subject. This critical analysis will represent the basis for the outlining of an alternative, more radical vision of GCE that breaks away from its modernist assumptions.

In her article, Merryfield claims that to shift the centre of GCE, the field must engage in self-critique and incorporate non-Western knowledges to overcome the ‘us' vs. ‘them' imperative and to become a truly global pedagogy. Previous theorizations of global education did not, in fact, take into account power. Power is central to perspective consciousness' development since it varies according to students' positioning at the centre or margins (see also Merryfield and Subedi 2001). Thus, the author suggests the incorporation of knowledges, voices and experiences reflecting non-Western perspectives in GCE. Merryfield's objective is that of creating a pedagogy which subverts mentalities marked by nationalism and Eurocentrism. Another novelty in her theorization is an insistence that students "learn from the experiences of the poor, oppressed, or in opposition to people in power." (Merrifield 2000a, 181-182). The author identifies two necessary steps: examining and countering the pedagogy of imperialism (i.e. the relationship between empire and knowledge-production) and illuminating the Other’s worldview in the curriculum. The latter is

\[\text{\textsuperscript{174}}\] The text is chosen for its citationality in critical GCE literature, its dense referentiality to knowledge produced by the ‘other’, and for the interpretative/reading practices deployed by the author to transform liberal GCE and postcolonial knowledge into unlikely bedfellows. The text’s audience is also explicitly white and Western.
important since it is insufficient for learners to be aware of other perspectives. Instead, they must engage “in real-life situations in which they experience the complexities of deep culture, the tangible privileges that come with the power of the mainstream, and the frustrating inequities of marginalization or outsider status.” (ibid., 182, emphasis added). If Merryfield's text is seminal in its incorporation and mainstreaming of oppositional knowledges in GCE, it is also a landmark piece since it places the narrator's community at its centre. Merryfield's article can be read as inviting the Western student to engage in a process of critique, refection and self-reconstitution. This could be envisioned as a decentering of the Western self yet her text also answers the central question of the Enlightenment: "Who are we today?". Consequently, rather than displacing whiteness, she re-centers it as the global citizen's central characteristic.

Despite claiming to use post-colonial knowledges for a new critical GCE, Merrifield frames empire as a knowledge venture immune from power. Europeans as knowledge-producers are presented according to an imperial tradition as ‘disinterested’ and their knowledge as ‘disinterested scholarship’ (Mohanty 1990, 180). Erasing the colonial power/knowledge matrix from postcolonial theory and focusing solely on objective knowledge, Merryfield limits the relationship between empire and knowledge-production, to what she defines as ‘imperial pedagogy’, namely the production and circulation of erroneous knowledge of the Other. The circulation of positive images of the other then becomes sufficient to counter an imperial pedagogy. If these positive images are produced by the other, their authenticity is warranted. Despite addressing the issue of power, Merryfield eschews it from an understanding of imperial knowledge; “Knowledge was generated in the name of imperialism’s intellectual interest in the other.” (ibid., 184) Colonialism and imperialism are connected solely through ‘negative images’, in the postcolonial present the other’s knowledge combined with a willingness to understand the other leads to the circulation of positive images and the inclusion of the other’s life in the curricula.
This move allows to maintain the liberal epistemic equation knowledge-truth and for the erasure of the power/knowledge matrix at the core of postcolonial and non-liberal theorizations. In other words, the ‘will to know’ is detached from the ‘will to power’ (Said 1979, 12). In a very anti-postcolonial move, Merryfield assumes that imperial knowledge withholds from us the truth of the Other. As a result, the Other is essentialized and race-thinking reinstated creating an ontological-epistemic difference between ‘us' and ‘then' to be then used in the political-moral sphere of citizenship and community.

If imperialism is the theory and practice of a centre ruling over the periphery, then colonialism is the practice of implanting settlements on distant territories (Said 1994, 9). According to Merryfield imperialism is merely a moment of knowledge with its errors and prejudices; colonialism is the practice stemming from the irrational forms of Western knowledge and the other has suffered from these negative images. Negative images have also been caused by an outdated notion of a ‘pure' culture. To counter this tendency in analyzing colonialism, we must look at the movement, diffusion and changes which occur within and among cultures (ibid., 190-191). If imperialism is an innocent encounter marked by surprise, colonialism as well is re-written

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175 For Said there is no ‘real' Orient; Orientalism is a representation of the Orient. This attention to ‘representation' is also central to black feminist critical thought see Collins and Wallace. For Merryfield in keeping with a liberal tradition the Orient is real: Said analyzed the characteristics of European literature and history from the Enlightenment onwards to understand how and why Europeans had assigned particular meanings to the part of the world they called ‘the Orient', when those meanings were in conflict with the ways in which Asian and Arab peoples perceived themselves.” (Merryfield 2000, 189).
by Merryfield. By using Said’s notion of contrapuntal reading\textsuperscript{176}, the author marks all cultures as equal players in colonialism. Prompting the “cultural archive” is necessary to incorporate new perspectives into the curriculum and the focus must be re-directed “on the interaction and integration of cultures, the dynamic process in which the colonizer and the colonized were changed as they experienced each other’s lifestyles, technologies, goods and ideas about the natural world, community, spirituality and governance.” (ibid., 190, emphasis mine). This continuous \textit{reciprocal} exchange of worldviews confirms cultural hybridity.

Colonialism as contact unmarked by power becomes a moment of cultural exchange in which erroneous knowledge was due to the surprise provoked by the encounter. European surprise \textit{vis a vis} the Other is naturalized in this account as a universal and natural human reaction to the unknown. Surprise becomes the motor of a linear history connecting past, present and future. Today, educators should use the insights gained by cross-cultural psychology which legitimize the notion that cross-cultural encounters are stressful and that ethnocentrism is a universal human trait possible to overcome through intercultural skills (ibid., 195). The self as inherently ethnocentric and stable and whose flexibility is an achievable ‘potential' is unquestioned. Yet, this liberal account of the self is already profoundly political and racial. This universal learner who is a flexible be/coming subject mirrors the Enlightenment’s universal man characterized by rationality, problem-solving skills and permanently ‘developing' (Popkewitz 1997).

\textsuperscript{176} Contrapuntal reading, as articulated by Said becomes a means to enhance the GCE curriculum, making it become ‘truly' global. According to Merryfield, "(b)y adding new perspectives and knowledge to American or European constructions of history, culture, political and economic systems, contrapuntal writing and reading can illuminate other worldviews and provide insights into identity, power, and history interact.” (Merryfield 2000, 190).
"Surprise" in the colonial encounter is a natural reaction towards the unknown and is peripheral to the subject in Merryfield's account since once overcome, the Other is knowable. Postcolonial scholar Sarah Ahmed conceives of surprise in other terms emphasizing it is part of a process of recognition and self-constitution thus breaking liberalism's innocent tale of a naturalized economy of knowledge of the Other. Ahmed does not consider the process of recognition as one in which the self is simply distinguished from the other but as a process "differentiating between others" some who are familiar (another-one-of-us) and some who are not (the-others-among-us) (Ahmed 2000, 24). Understood in this manner the process of self-constitution and recognition mirrors the race-thinking underlying universalism and the porous boundaries between the self and community in liberalism (Balibar 1989).

Despite calling for a decentering of the white subject, Merryfield re-centers the white self. The will to know, detached from a will to power, is determined by nature. The author co-opts postcolonial and the Other’s writings and inserts them within a liberal framework providing an ‘anthropology’ of humanity based on nature and a teleological sense of history. Similarly, she writes about cultural hybridity without considering the cultural politics underlying her epistemic positioning. In speaking of the stranger Sarah Ahmed asks: “How do you recognize a stranger?” (Ahmed 2000, 6-7, 21). The ‘surprise’ as an objective sign that we are encountering the other, is not a natural occurrence but determined by social relations fundamental to self-constitution (Yegeneglu 1998; Ahmed 2000). It is all the more troublesome that Merryfield does not question the socio-historical construction of emotions given that GCE, as a holistic pedagogy, aims at educating students to feel in a certain way about issues and the world. GCE resources advise educators about the appropriate ‘emotions’ students should display and record during activities in which students are exposed to the Other and global issues, thereby structuring feelings (see for example Clipsam and Charonneau 2004; Larsen et al. 2007). In sum, by not questioning the nexus
between surprise and power/knowledge, the author allows for the continuation of the colonial encounter into the postcolonial.

In re-writing colonialism for post-national times, Merryfield simultaneously prescribes an interpretation of how to read the other without relinquishing a liberal upper hand. For instance, Said’s contrapuntal reading as a methodological strategy becomes decontextualized and ahistorical. The "cultural archive' mentioned by the author does not refer to all cultures but to those of the imperial metropole. Similarly, it is questionable that contrapuntal readings aim at highlighting intercultural exchanges given that the goal is of sustaining “a simultaneous awareness both of the metropolitan history that is narrated and those of the other histories against which (and together with which) the dominating discourse acts.” (Said 1994, 51, emphasis added). In fact, contrapuntal readings are a means to analyze Orientalism vis a vis Englishness, to unravel how Englishness is construed through Western academic knowledge about the Other. Moreover, there is no ‘real' Other behind what are strategic representations (ibid., 52). Similarly, hybridity does not refer to the intermingling of cultures occurring through voyage, exploration and colonization as Merryfield would have it. Referring to hybridity, Said does not mention either ‘cultures' or exchange, hybridity is not a synonym for contamination. Hybridity refers to what "used to be regarded as extraneous elements (...), in which the contests of the secular world so provocatively informs the texts we read and write.” (Said 1994, 317). These elements include the political as part of objective scientific knowledge which liberalism denies given that it would sully its objectivity and universality (Said 1978, 9). For Bhabha (1994), hybridity is not about cultures’ intermingling, but a strategy of resistance utilized by the colonized to go beyond a single white voice, singular identity and linear history but also a means to glance at colonized subjectivity and agency. Hybridity is about power, not ebbs and flows, and stems from colonialism not a naturalized account.
of intercultural relations. Finally, as a strategy, it is available only to subject-positions silenced by Western knowledge (Bhabha 1994, 173).

In reducing colonialism to a misfortunate contact, Merrifield eschews analysis of power and racial investment in colonialism as a means through which the gendered, classed and raced white subject was construed and exercised agency. She also denies power and racial investment in the present, while claiming as universal hybridity, interconnectedness and overlapping identities. In this manner, her anthropologized account of identity and culture makes postcolonial theory within a liberal framework work and confirms the world as a natural and interrelated system which has been legitimized by previous theorizations of GCE, current cosmopolitan theories and critical liberal globalization studies. Reworded as interconnected and hybrid contemporary liberal theorizations of the present re-legitimize the notion of the world as a ‘system' with a purpose, Enlightenment's foundational metaphor (Vincent 2002). The characteristics which according to the author belong to empire and colonialism are divested from power and naturalized. In this manner, Merryfield fabricates the present allowing for the colonial past to re-enter the postcolonial present/future. Teleological chronopolitics reappear in the postcolonial. Reciprocity is central in explaining colonial encounters as a series of naturally borderless and powerless in which despite a superficial nod to positionality and situated knowledge the result is always and already known: an encounter in which both parts are surprised. Despite the diversity of experiences and histories, humanity's commonality is established through 'surprise' and intervention and consequent inclusion is legitimized given that both colonizers and colonized to decolonize the mind (Merryfield 2000a, 191-192). Western universalism is firmly back on its feet. Merryfield is able to create a systemic account of natural encounters underscoring a 'trans-civilizational process' that of hybridity rooted in nature, not power. This knowledge of the world and humanity is thus observable, objective and innocent. In Merryfield’s account, solidly rooted in the narrative of GCE
and that of the globalization and cosmopolitanization of the social sciences, hybridity and interconnectedness become a Kantian teleological natural law indicating and fabricating the future (Wilkins 1966, 185).

While writing for a Western audience Merryfield is simultaneously exemplifying and performing a critical global encounter with the postcolonial Other/author. While allegedly focusing on ‘positionality’, Merryfield actually negates the power differential between herself and the other/authors discounting her own positionality in imagining the encounter. In a typical (and gendered) Enlightenment move, she simulates the positioning of the universal male knower capable of objectively knowing the Other and the world. Her simulation occurs in the tradition of white women who partook in the making of the imperial power/knowledge matrix (Yogeneglo 1998). Not acknowledging her own positioning and her racial-political investment in dialoguing with the Other, it seems that her pedagogical contribution to GCE is that of opening up the field to the Other. Veneered as innovative, Merryfield partakes in a white practice of imperial knowledge-production, she recognizes the time-bound errors of previous knowledge about the Other and upholds the "self-correcting" and "truth-ensuring" qualities of Western knowledge (Willinsky 1998, 126). Willinsky recognizes these qualities as the result of a practice of imperial knowledge. Yet, the quality is the fruit of a specific subjective/collective practice binding racialized knowledge-production and self-constitution. The enlightened practice of revision depends on critique and has a phantasmagoric logic in which the white subject invests racially. This practice of revision coincides with the Kantian practice of permanent critique which aims at re-articulating the subject and social relations. It is a technology of the self continuously re-aligning the subject's relationship to the self and to the Other (Foucault 1988; Sharpe 2005). While certain truths must be elided for the white subject to remain centred and moral. In answering the question "Who are we today?", Merryfield, like Kant, must define the Other. This Other, as one without autonomy
and incapable of self-representation, continues to be, as Spivak notes, an empty but necessary referent for the construction of the white gendered self (Spivak 1986 in Yegenoglu 1998, 84). In Merryfield's account, the Other retains the same instrumental function and becomes a means to an end.

While Merryfield recognizes the writing of postcolonial authors as a political act, she forgoes an analysis of her own geopolitical and racial positioning and performance. To uphold the universalism of GCE she cannot recognize that both her writing and her reading/interpretation of postcolonial texts is bound by the racial boundaries of the specific epistemic community to which she belongs (Mills 1997). Merrifield envisions herself as already being a critical global citizen able to relate to the global Other. She overcomes the natural surprise experienced in encountering the Other and an equally natural ethnocentrism. In examining postcolonial texts to open up GCE to the Other, Merrifield is engaging in an encounter, a virtual and textual one, in which social relations between self and other are forged both individually and collectively. The Other is encountered by Merryfield without surprise since he is an object of knowledge available to white epistemic scrutiny. As in the case of Orientalism, all global Others are homogenized.

Merrfield's encounter with the Other is one in which the other as embodied agency is a means to an end and the global citizen is morally elevated by the encounter. Yet, the author, as other GCE scholars, is not simply interested in an encounter, she is interested in a ‘dialogue' with the Other. In a globalised world in which "a transgression of rights in one place in the world is felt everywhere (…)" (Kant 1983, 119) or that a decision taken elsewhere affects national communities putting at risk individual autonomy and democracy (Held 2004), GCE scholars are interested in intervening across borders beyond the nation. In particular, when globalization leads to inequitable outcomes. Knowing and understanding the experiences, voices and knowledges of the other is thus
instrumental in GCE. Razack (2007) identifies a racialized nationalist practice "stealing the pain of Others" which allows Western nationals to conceive themselves as moral selves who have the duty to intervene on the Other's behalf. "Stealing the pain of others" is undergirded by universalism and is central to Merryfield's textual encounter since it illuminates a racial technique with a moral purpose which is central to the project of the enlightened global cosmopolis: the moralization of the political. GCE and global citizenship as an attitude, a set of skills and a particular type of knowledge becomes a form of subjectification which is seemingly beyond the state, the nation or other forms of belonging. The result is that the global citizen remains innocent and global citizenship, as a form of anti-politics of unbound solidarity, continues to further the project of global/imperial liberalism.

3 - Towards a Counter-Ontology of Citizenship Education

The genealogical investigation deployed in this work puts forward a non-teleological view of history and change. That is to say, this narrative does not subscribe to the ‘progressivist' view of historical practice – that history moves towards what, in the present, is a necessarily more enlightened position. This is not to deny ‘progress' or ‘improvement', in either scholarship or praxis; rather, it is to seek to narrate another story, as a different catalogue of possibilities and intelligibilities (Tamboukou, 1999). This thesis also eschews attempts to find a solution and/or a way out of the historical and present injustices that characterize Canadian citizenship education. The more modest proposal offered in this work is to more forcefully question the ontological assumptions underlying this educational practice (i.e. who is the subject in education and how s/he relates to others and the world) and to outline what a possible counter-ontology might look like. Current ‘critical’ suggestions - whether inspired by liberalism or neo-Marxism - on how to ‘fix'
the problems of mainstream education fall short of being truly emancipatory. It is not sufficient "to supplement our education with a consideration of imperialism's influence on the teaching of history, geography, science, language, and literature in the hope that it will change the way this legacy works on us." (Willinsky 1998, 247). It is also not enough to adjust representations of the other and the world can we begin to create a just future for these attempts are rooted either in the myth of the critical subject or in the possibility of post-enlightenment ‘truth'. The same can be said of efforts to bring into surface the imperial binaries of primitive/civilised, acquiescent/unruly, since these categories, as instruments of domination, are constantly reproduced in newer forms of worlding such as cosmopolitanism, where the Others' demand for autonomy and authority are seen as the cause of balkanization, chaos and a threat to the liberal peace. These methodological strategies will be simply a means to reform the path we are already on and they are the very tools of the white critical subject.

Ferreira da Silva’s (2007) insights on race and the limits of liberal and Marxist insistence on inclusion, recognition and representation in law and the social sciences represent a promising entry point to think about what steps are necessary to provide a more radical approach to citizenship education. According to Ferreira da Silva, “Racial subjection does not result from excessive strategies of power, but is an effect of the analytics of raciosity”, namely “the political-symbolic apparatus that… has produced the white transparent (the national ‘I’) and his affectable ‘others”’ (Ferreira Da Silva 2007, 219). Race works in creating rather than erasing subjects, albeit as different forms of embodied consciousness tied to particular global space (Ferreira da Silva 2007, 422). The modern white subject needs an equally modern Other that comes from a place where the relationship between environment and subject results in engulfment and from a place where time is ‘immobile’ and the subject does not perform enlightened critique but is ruled by tradition and religion.
Ferreira da Silva’s critique questions the rationale for giving voice to ‘others’ as an emancipatory practice. There is a certain naivete that underlines this vision. Voices are themselves representations of forms of knowledge and consciousness, the representation of other voices does not deal with the universalism of whiteness as an epistemic position. Moreover, the project of giving voice to others is an imperial gesture that speaks to the unethical largesse of a universal subject in the present. For these reasons, efforts at greater inclusion cannot “lift the veil and exhibit the racial subaltern in transparency” (Ferreira da Silva, 2007, 34).

To overcome the opacity of this vision of liberal inclusion, Ferreira da Silva suggests a counter-ontology which aims to uncover what is usually omitted by dominant discourses in Western philosophy. The manifest discourse is – following Foucault - "really no more than the repressive presence of what it does not say; and this 'not-said' is a hollow that undermines from within all that is said." (Foucault 1969). According to Ferreira da Silva, this counter-ontology should challenge two key principles of modern ontology that underlies Western philosophy - universality and self-determination (Ferreira da Silva 2007, 267). This exercise starts with making visible Western historicity and globality, which also halts white universality and white epistemic prowess. A critique of racialized and colonial modernity includes historical or genealogical work that does not depend on the epistemic privilege and use of force that is embedded in liberal models of pluralism that emphasize accommodation, given that there is no veil to be lifted if we wish to be Other-wise (ibid. 178).

Ferreira da Silva suggests that we should consider a different form of subjectivity that is not self-determining and that is affected by corporality and by space. The premise of this move is to stop assuming the existence of one pre-political subject - the white subject - while the others can only become subjects (Ferreira da Silva 2007, 25-27). This entity is not ontologically (i.e. in
terms of the type of humanity) different from the other beings and thus does not precede its coexistence with others, thereby creating the lack of coevalness. This subject is also not determined by the ‘natural’ context in which s/he is inserted. This alternative vision thus means abandoning the commonsensical connection made in contemporary social sciences between environment and type of objectivity and community. It also entails abandoning the modernist moral relation exemplified by the white man's burden and tied to the notion of placing the other on the trajectory of a universal history, instead of searching for the ‘demoralize' relations of inequality among subjects.

If Ferreira da Silva tells us that one way of imagining a counter-ontology to modernity is that of rendering visible the very constituents of modernity and its subjects, then perhaps the ‘way in’ to promote change is, rather than reform, to turn our gaze to the vociferous subjects that characterized the anti-colonial struggles and the race radicalism of the 1930s, and sustained the possibility of radical identity politics that has been successfully silenced, vilified and primitivised in the present. The fact that the modern subject is a deeply political subject right at its making is a notion that we tend to forget in these times of resurgence of universalism.

When applied to citizenship education, this counter-ontology warns us to steer clear of pedagogical visions that cater to the ‘natural' and/or scientific ‘needs' of the child, since there is no child prior to the project of modernity. The same can be said of pedagogical approaches which emphasize critical thinking and autonomy. Critical thinking and autonomy are historically contingent traits that rely on the construction of the post-enlightenment white subject and depend on the other as perpetually pre-political. We should also be wary of approaches that claim to foster dialogue and inclusion. Dialogue and inclusion, like critical thinking and autonomy, are a possibility only for the rational subject who is constituted as white and tied to modernity. Finally,
if the inclusion of the Other in modernity is impossible, the *will to know* the Other that marks modern Western pedagogy has to be seriously questioned as well. The move to challenge the white subject’s autonomy to see the “others-among-us” as “another-one-of-us” would be a powerful gesture in that it would disrupt white autonomy and the ability to recognize and know the other, and in the process, render the white subject an affectable one. The most controversial practical implication of this line of inquiry is that curricula in Canada should move away from the modernist trappings of progressive education. Since progressive education has been a core pillar of Canadian educational system for over a century, this move will not be easy. Yet it is the only way of imagining a citizen-subject who possesses a proper anti-modernist and anti-imperial agency.

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Appendices


1930s-1940s

- Programme of Studies for Grades 1 to VI of Public and Separate Schools, 1937
- Programme of Studies for Grades VII to VIII of Public and Separate Schools, 1938
- Programme of Studies for Grades VII to VIII of Public and Separate Schools, 1938,
- Courses of Study for Grades IX and X, Social Studies, History, 23, 1938
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- Programme of Studies for Grades VII and VIII of the public and separate schools, 1942

1950s-1960s

- Courses of Study for World History for grades 11 and 12 (Curriculum S.9), 1952
- Courses of Study for Canada and the Modern World for grade 13 History (Curriculum S. 10), 1954
- Courses of Study for History- Canada and the Modern World for grade XIII (Curriculum S. 10), 1954
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• Courses of Study for History Intermediate Division Grades 7 and 8, 1959.

1970s-1980s

• Curriculum Guideline for Interim revision Social Studies, 1970
• Curricular Guideline History Intermediate division, grades 7 to 10, 1973
• Curriculum resource guide, People of Native Ancestry: Native Studies and the Native Language curricula in Ontario, 1975
• Curriculum Guideline for the Intermediate division, History, grades 7-10, 1977
• Curriculum Guideline for the Intermediate division, History - The Southern Continent, 1977
• Curriculum Guideline for grades 7 and 8: North America and the Southern Continents, 1977
• Curriculum Guideline for the intermediate division, Geography, grades 7-10, 1977
• Curriculum Resource guide, People of Native Ancestry Curriculum Guideline for the Senior Division, 1981
• Curriculum Guideline History and Contemporary Studies, 1986
• Curricular Guideline Twentieth-Century World History, 1987
• Curriculum Guideline for History and Contemporary Studies Grades 11 and 12, 1987
• Curriculum Guidelines for Geography, Intermediate and Senior Division, 1988
1990s-2010s

- History - Canada in the Twentieth Century, 1999
- Canadian and World Studies Grades 9-10, 1999
- Native Studies curriculum, Grades 9 and 10, 1999
- Issues of Indigenous Peoples in a Global Context, Grade 12 course (University/College Preparation, 2000
- Civics, Open grade 10, 2005
- Citizenship and Heritage, Grade 11, 2005
- Canadian History since World War 1, grade 10, Academic; Methods of Historical Inquiry and Communication strand, 2005
- Canadian Politics and Citizenship, Grade 11, 2005
- World History to the Sixteenth Century, Grade 11, 2005
- Canadian and World Studies grades 11 and 12, 2005
- World History to the Sixteenth Century, Grade 11, 2005
- World History: The West and the World, grade 12 (univ. prep.), 2005
- Canadian and World Studies, Grades 9-12, 2013
- Canadian Geography, Grade 9, 2013
- Canadian and World Studies Grades 9 and 10, 2013
- Canadian History Since World War 1 Grade 10 (Academic), 2013
- Canada: History, Identity, and Culture, Grade 12 (univ. preparation), 2015
- Regional Geography Course, Grade 11 (university/college prep), 2015
- World Geography: Urban Patterns and Population Issues, Grade 12, 2015
- World History since 1900 Grade 11, 2015
• Canada: History, Identity, and Culture, Grade 12 (univ. preparation), 2015

• Curriculum resource guide, First Nations, Metis and Inuit Connections, Grades 1-8 and The Kindergarten Program, 2016

2) List of cited educational policy documents (1930s-2010s)


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• Values Education, Moral Education and Religious Education Ontario Ministry of Education, 1980


• Ethnocultural Equity in School Boards: Guidelines for Policy Development and Implementation, 1993


• The Common Curriculum, Grades 1-9, 1993

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