Citizenship Education and Social Studies:
An Historical Analysis of Citizenship Education in the Social Studies 9 Curriculum

A Thesis Submitted to the College of

Graduate Studies and Research

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of Masters of Education

In the Department of Curriculum Studies

University of Saskatchewan

By

Gemma Porter

Permission to Use

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for a Postgraduate degree from the University of Saskatchewan, I agree that the Libraries of this University may make it freely available for inspection. I further agree that permission for copying of this thesis in any manner, in whole or in part, for scholarly purposes may be granted by the professor or professors who supervised my thesis work or, in their absence, by the Head of the Department or the Dean of the College in which my thesis work was done. It is understood that any copying or publication or use of this thesis or parts thereof for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission. It is also understood that due recognition shall be given to me and to the University of Saskatchewan in any scholarly use which may be made of any material in my thesis.

Requests for permission to copy or to make other use of material in this thesis in whole or part should be addressed to:

Head of the Department of Curriculum Studies

University of Saskatchewan

Saskatoon, Saskatchewan S7N 0X1

i

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the influence that political, societal, and educational trends and characteristics have on citizenship education within official curriculum documents. The Social Studies 9 curricular documents of 1971, 1991, 1999, and 2008 are analyzed in order to determine the type of citizen and citizenship education that was promoted during those years. The analysis considers only the official curriculum documents for the period in question, as opposed to actual classroom practice. The curricular documents are analysed in light of prevailing currents and countercurrents in Canada during the period from 1970 to the present and a typology of citizenship education ranging from traditional to social activist and reconstructionist. The interpretations and conclusions highlight a history of competing and complimentary currents and countercurrents within the documents and a movement in citizenship education from less active roles for students to increasingly socially and globally aware citizens which continually rests on democratic values. The documents also highlight the influence of regional development concerning the role of participation and the natural environment in citizenship education in Saskatchewan.

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION

Since its conception during the mid-19th century, public education in Canada has maintained a role in the socialization of students. This socialization directive was, and still remains, most notable within the realm of Social Studies, and more specifically citizenship education. Although this concern for moulding students into 'good' citizens has remained entrenched within curriculum through the years, the concept of citizenship and how it has been included within the Social Studies curriculum has been a process of constant negotiation and reformulation as societal, political, and philosophical ideologies and frameworks shift and change. It is for this reason that the representation of citizenship education in any era cannot be separated from the historical context within which it was conceived and enacted.

Citizenship, within and outside of its educational vocation, has been defined in a variety of ways. Historical context becomes paramount in considering not only its development in the arena of education but also the development of the concept itself. "Citizenship, in anything but the most passive sense, is not a given; it is constructed, struggled over, and continually redefined." (Osborne, 2000, p.42) As a result of its deeply political nature, the political climate may be the integral point of analysis for the development of the term. The term itself requires the assumption that citizens should be politically active (Osborne, 1997), but the degree of political activism and how this activism is defined are completely linked with the prevailing political ideology. As a result of its highly political nature, any study of citizenship, and its development throughout the years, an interest in history, political philosophy, and education is required (Heater, 2003) because it is these components which shape that historical context.

Within each era there are forces at work that shape prevailing attitudes and theories. In order to entertain the possibility of understanding citizenship education within the curriculum, one must search through the political, societal, and theoretical climate. To study history without context is to miss the depth of what that analysis can provide. Beliefs and institutions are inextricably linked; they explain one another; where

changes in beliefs occur, changes in institutions and policies will follow (Coulanges, 1972). These constructs provide a great deal of insight into the particularities of citizenship education through the years. It is through historical analysis that a clear vision of the evolution of citizenship education develops, and it is with this vision that a path for both contemporary and future considerations becomes possible.

A path to a better future is a primary concern in any education system, but what kind of a future becomes a more difficult vision to imagine. Citizenship education is an area where the type of future we want is the primary concern. The ultimate goal of any citizenship education program, within an expanse of both historical and geographic contexts, is to ensure the continuation and betterment of a society through educating its citizens in a certain manner. It is the kind of vision for the future that we must be critically aware of. Citizenship education provides a means through which a society can help to encourage a better future, but not always for the betterment of all members of society. If the wish is to better our world for every member of society, as Kingwell (2000) argues, civic participation is the key. If we hope that citizenship education may provide the key to a more inclusive society, we must be aware of its exclusionary beginnings. We need to develop citizens who are active in political discourse and believe that they can change the world. If this is what we want from citizenship education, then we must first understand the path it has taken. It is the why of curriculum history that provides educators with the insight necessary to tackle contemporary issues. If the prevailing currents and cross currents that shaped and continue to shape curriculum are accurately identified and evaluated, then the result is more than just a better understanding of our curriculum, it can provide both perspective and direction (Tanner and Tanner, 1990).

The historical analysis which follows is focused on providing insight into the development of citizenship education specifically from the 1970s through the present. The intention is to examine previous eras in order to provide some practical insight into the conception of citizenship education in today's Social Studies curriculum. There is little purpose in historical analysis which provides nothing to current or future considerations. The study will provide information useful in the examination of current

2

conceptions and offer critical suggestions for where to go from here. The focus of the study is narrowed further by limiting the analysis to the Saskatchewan 9 Social Studies curriculum for the eras selected. Working from the parameters set out by Tomkins (1986), curriculum is the official program of study. It is the documents that cover various subjects and contain the 'aims and objectives' of the course. It is the set of rules and regulations which guide what is to be taught in the classroom. As the study considers the official discourse of the curriculum, it is necessary to note several limitations of the study. Firstly, concentration on only the curriculum document itself means that no attention is paid here to the enacted curriculum. Despite what the official documents outline and reflect, the practice and implementation of that curriculum will inevitably take on varying forms in the actual context of the classroom. Secondly, the study does not consider accompanying documents which are released alongside curriculum documents and intended to complement those documents. There are examples of documents which address some of the areas under examination but these documents do not occupy any space within this study. A last note concerning limitations relates to the sources and topics examined in terms of identifying influences at work in curriculum making. The macro forces at work in that process of curriculum development are the only forces considered. The micro forces, such as the identity and background of the people who actually produced the documents, will not be examined. The central guiding research question is concerned with studying and interpreting how citizenship education has been shaped by political, societal, and philosophical developments through the outlined decades. Several theoretical assumptions pervade the research including a pragmatic approach to the development of citizenship, a critical lens which cannot be ignored with a power laden concept such as citizenship education, and an interdisciplinary postmodern approach to methodology of the historical inquiry.

The ultimate aim here is to historically situate citizenship education in Saskatchewan and postulate what direction we might hope to head in if we do indeed want to strive for an active citizenry that works to uncover and combat hegemony and believe they can have a real impact in the world around them. This path begins with exploring the current research to date on the historical context of citizenship education along with some theoretical and methodological concepts that have worked to influence

the unfolding of the research at hand. An explanation of the methodology of the historical inquiry follows in a natural progression from the contemporary works considered within the literature review. In efforts to historically situate citizenship education both primary and secondary sources, with particular attention to Saskatchewan during the eras selected, were considered. The mass of secondary sources pertain to the political, societal, and educational climate of the years, and curriculum documents represent much of the primary source data. Conclusions are drawn to characterize the time periods in terms of political and educational climates. These characterizations are then linked with impacts to conceptions and representations of citizenship. Links are made between the characteristics of the period and the curriculum documents in efforts to draw connections between the prevailing characteristics of the period and curriculum.

LITERATURE

Curriculum and its development, with emphasis narrowed to citizenship education, is the primary vehicle through which to characterize citizenship education. Keeping in mind the complexity of the influences which work to augment curriculum and its focus, Egan (2013) offers some insight into a general shift in curriculum development in the 20th century and beyond which is useful in attempting to determine influences upon citizenship education through the late twentieth and early twenty first centuries. Egan (2013) explains that through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, ideas about the process and method in learning grew in force. A previous focus on the what of curriculum waned in the presence of ideas which focussed on the process and set the individual learner as an important variable (Egan, 2012). Egan's explanation provides some insight into the development of citizenship education in the 20th century, as it is often concerned with the skills and attributes necessary for active citizenry, as opposed to a content laden approach that emphasizes the information required for such a citizenry.

In direct reference to citizenship education, the literature is most often concerned with elucidating contemporary concerns and trends within the field, with historical narratives occupying little space within the subject. Despite this, there are a number of pieces that do address the development of citizenship education in Canada using an historical approach. There are two studies in particular that provide some guidance in attempting to trace influences which have worked to shape the current state of citizenship education in Canada. Bruno-Jofre (1998) conducted an examination of the official discourse as represented in the Western School Journal and the Department of Education in Manitoba. The examination of the official discourse was then used to analyze examples of intersection between official discourse and actual experience (Bruno-Jofre, 1998). Through the examination of the official discourse, Bruno-Jofre (1998) concludes that the influx of immigrants during the early 1920s meant citizenship education was primarily focussed on character formation, service and duties to community. World War

5

II provided a breaking point historically because it brought questioning of racist and ethnocentric ideas. Despite these new sentiments, Bruno-Jofre (1998) maintains that the official discourse of citizenship education remained focussed on Anglo-conformity which placed a number of groups outside of civic life.

Another study which focusses directly on the development of citizenship education within a limited context is McLean's (2007) study of the formation of national identities and citizenship during the early twentieth century. McLean (2007) applied a critical discourse analysis to a series of legislative speech texts and selected newspaper articles to determine the influence of national campaigns on the development of citizenship education and identity formation. McLean (2007) concludes that the study offers some insights into national identities, culture, and education. One is the variant influences on education offered by local and regional associations, churches, and families. McLean (2007) reminds us of the fluid nature of historical analysis explaining that these organizations evolved alongside the national in order to produce variations in the experience of citizenship education. The final conclusions offered by McLean (2007) emphasize the important purpose of an historical study, that the national campaigns examined highlight the interrelatedness of factors (French English dualism, provincial versus national control of education) and how these factors affect the perspectives on diversity and cultural identities in the early twentieth century and today.

Although Tomkins (1986) study has a much broader focus which considers all of Canada and curriculum in general with little attention to identity formation or citizenship education in particular, the study is useful in examining the methodology of establishing some currents and countercurrents within Canadian education. The study weaves together the history of Canadian curriculum in an effort to determine some of the prevailing trends within Canada. Much of Tomkins work focusses on analyzing influential authors and their respective works in relation to the development of Canadian curriculum. When not considering influential authors within the field of education, Tomkins (1986) draws his conclusions concerning societal trends and education from government documents, especially Royal Commissions, statements from Ministries of Education, and provincial associations. Occupying another source within the research for

Tomkins is the tracking of societal trends and their impact on education. Tomkins (1986) draws on all of these sources of information in order to form some conclusions about the historical development of curriculum in Canada. He argues that for much of Canada's history curriculum change has been both cautious and derivative as his examination includes a survey of all provinces (Tomkins, 1986). Through his examination of the philosophical traditions in curriculum, Tomkins (1986) argues that the relationship between theory and practice may be highlighted. The work was most useful in highlighting the importance of the influence of the educational philosophy and traditions on the development of curriculum and education in general in Canada.

No discussion about citizenship education in Canada would be complete without an inclusion of the work of Ken Osborne. Osborne's work contributes significantly to both contemporary considerations for citizenship education as well as its historical development in Canada. Osborne (1996, 1997) has two pieces in particular which address the development of citizenship education in Canada, where he explores and argues that citizenship education in Canada can be characterized by four dominant themes and four tentative and approximate timeframes. Osborne (1996) segments the latter half of the twentieth century into two time periods. The third period in his examination of citizenship education in Canada spans from the 1960s to the 1980s. This period in citizenship education emphasized pan Canadian understanding and an increase in knowledge of all things Canadian and was motivated by the fear that Canadian students knew very little about their own country. The fourth period spans the 1990s and represents, for Osborne, the abandonment of citizenship education. Osborne (1996) argues that the last decade of the twentieth century has seen the abandonment of citizenship education in favour of a more economic agenda. There was an emphasis on school as a vocational institution which provided the preparation students needed to participate in the global economy (Osborne, 1996). Although arguably simplistic, the divisions do provide some guidance for developing some general trends and currents apparent in citizenship education.

Osborne (1997) also identifies four major themes which appear when looking at how social studies subjects have been used to teach citizenship – identity, political

efficacy, rights and duties, and social and personal values. Different political and social contexts dictate to what extent one theme is more evident than another. For example, the 1970s saw a great emphasis on political efficacy and political literacy resulting from concern that Canadian student were ill prepared for active political participation (Osborne, 1997). The overarching argument presented in Osborne's later works from the 90s is his staunch belief that citizenship education has been left by the wayside in favour of preparing students to participate in the competitive global economy (Osborne, 1996, 1997). The works where Osborne favours an historical approach in characterizing citizenship education in Canada have been immensely influential in determining and examining trends within citizenship education. In exploring citizenship education in this way, Osborne provides a framework that has served to guide my thinking in the trends and influences which I will examine with specific reference to the Social Studies 9 curriculum in Saskatchewan.

Coupled with Osborne's advocacy for the importance of citizenship education, is a reiteration of the oppressive and exclusionary history of citizenship education. Although citizenship offers the promise of democratic participation, the limited nature of that participation must be considered. The conservative nature of citizenship education becomes evident when one considers that there is often a part of citizenship education which aims to socialize citizens according to accepted norms and values. There is a dialectical relationship at play where the dual missions of emancipation and control (education and socialization) are pursued (Osborne, 2000). Historically, citizenship education has been used to eliminate minority cultures and was, by definition, exclusionary (Osborne, 1997). Broom (2012), in her examination of citizenship education in early modern Canada, argues that early curriculum guides sought to develop a simplistic national identity through the teaching of "collective memories" and historical myths which ignore the regional and cultural diversity of Canada. Although Broom (2012) notes this conclusion in the historical sense, she also argues that current curriculum guides actually continue to teach students historical myths that oversimplify and develop a passive sense of nationalism (Broom, 2012). Furthermore, we must consider that citizenship education aims to bind people and groups into a unity which they might not even welcome. It is inaccurate to assume in such plural societies that

8

citizenship, defined as part of national unity and identity, is welcomed by all members of that society (Osborne, 1996). What becomes evident is that a critical lens be adopted within a study which focusses on such a contested and historically oppressive and exclusionary concept.

Canada's pluralist nature means that not only must a critical lens be applied, but also an approach which favours the fluidity necessary to imagine the examination of the societal, political, and theoretical influences on citizenship education. Segall, Heilman, and Cherryholmes' (2006) *Researching in the Postmodern* provided theoretical insight and influence in framing this inquiry. Cherryholmes (2006) reminds us that postmodern narratives do not suppose any grand narrative, nor do they emphasize any single truth. Conversely, "postmodern theories are always small scale, and refer to situational, contingent and temporary situations" (Cherryholmes, 18). Postmodern theories assume that truth is also only meaningful within context, and context is always changing. The postmodern approach emphasizes, in relation to a historical study like this, that it is the historical context/climate which provides insight into the meaning of citizenship education. Citizenship education is not static; it has evolved and changed over time according to the historical and geographic context in which it is placed. Leading from Heilman and Segall's (2006) explanation, citizenship education takes on a pragmatic character. Citizenship education, like all knowledge for pragmatists, is socially produced, and its survival depends on how it can adapt to the current societal and philosophical trends. Tanner and Tanner (1990) stress the danger of oversimplification when attempting to create an account of the development through time of any concept. But here again, the postmodern approach provides some guidance. Keeping in mind that truth is neither static nor obsolete can aide in crafting an account which does not oversimplify and create stereotypic labels that ignore the complexities and significant historic contributions of a particular era. Care must be taken to ensure that concepts are not forced into neat categories; history never fits into neat categories (Tanner and Tanner, 1990).

The postmodern approach informs this research not only in terms of theoretical underpinnings for research purposes but also in its connection with the complexities of

9

Canada's unique identities. Sears, Clarke, and Hughes (1999) suggest a multitude of Canadianisms in their discussion of citizenship education within Canada, but Sears' (1994) survey of Canadian research into citizenship education argues that what is consistent within the development is the concern for citizenship education to create some kind of unity for Canadians.   The authors also note that since the eighteenth century onwards, several nations have existed within national borders, and two of these have shared power of the state – 'Canada outside Quebec' and 'la nation canadienne-française' and the more recent challenge of Aboriginal nationalism (Sears, Clarke, and Hughes, 1999). Canadians have a strong sense of identity but still associate strongly with regional and community loyalties. There are a multitude of uniquely Canadian factors that must be considered when examining citizenship education including forms of political and legal institutions and the decentralized nature of government (Sears, Clarke, and Hughes, 1999). For Heater (2004) it is this status of multiple citizenship which characterises Canadian citizenship and citizenship education; that these pluralities are an accepted part of Canadian political life. It is these uniquely Canadian factors that will provide part of the contextual information needed in a study which focusses on the factors which worked to influence citizenship education in any Canadian province, and Canada's distinct plural identity also reminds us of the importance of regional identities.

The connection between Canada and its identity cannot be divided from an historical discussion and analysis of citizenship education. As Lefrançois and Étier (2012) argue, citizenship education is a reflection of national histories and identities. Furthermore, debates and discussions concerning citizenship education are informed by national identity despite the recent turn within citizenship education to human rights and global themes (Lefrançois & Étier, 2012). One of the most prevalent themes across works that focus on the Canadian case for citizenship and identity is the influence of the U.S on Canadian identity formation and education. In exploring challenges to Canada's identity, Sears, Clarke, and Hughes (1999) argue that unlike the U.S, Canada has not developed the myths and ideologies that make up what some call the 'American civic religion.' Penny Clarke (1997) argues that Canadian social studies curricula have been heavily influenced by the prevailing trends in the U.S. Clarke (1997) argues that the heavy influence of the U.S can be seen in the textbook selections and suggestions within

10

various curricula across the country, the number of American speakers invited to speak in Canada, and in the use of American authors to offer legitimacy to social studies curriculum. Clarke (1997) even argues that the shift to an emphasis on Canadian national, regional, and local topics during the 1970s and 80s can be tied back to the American influence because the shift was born out of a perceived threat on Canadian culture from the U.S.

Since the focus of the curriculum analysis is the influential impact of societal, philosophical, and political trends on the development of citizenship education, it was useful to consider works which analyzed these same factors. The work of Tanner and Tanner (1990) represents a comprehensive effort to render concrete the connection between societal, political, and economic trends with educational philosophy and curricular developments. Tanner and Tanner (1990) cite several societal influences, arguing that the social, economic, and political issues of a time become the educational issues of the time which results in new educational philosophies and ways of working with children. Furthermore, changes in knowledge and political and economic developments are linked with changes in curriculum; there are dominant ideas, and those ideas influence the curriculum (Tanner & Tanner, 1990). Highlighting the social activism and unrest of the 1960s and 70s, Tanner and Tanner (1990) argue that the call for relevancy in education can be traced back to the social unrest of the period. Society demanded a more relevant curriculum that would prepare youth to combat the social ills and make the world a better place. By the late 1970s another shift was underway in society, the activism that had characterized earlier years subsided and the inward looking trend of the period surfaced in education in the form of moral education and the 'back-to-the-basics' philosophy of the time (Tanner and Tanner, 1990). What remained from the social activism era of the 1960s and 70s was the emphasis on equal education for all. This, in turn, grew into an emphasis in education on the individual learner and the differences between learners, which has its roots in social philosophy (Tanner and Tanner, 1990).

In addition to Tanner and Tanner (1990) there are several authors who especially emphasize the point that times of crisis in society often influence changes in education

11

and curriculum development (Clarke, 1999; Osborn, 1996; McGrane, 1990; McCleod, 1989; Tomkins, 1989). Along with other factors, these authors note the importance of societal trends and climate in influencing the curriculum. The crisis in values and the shift to an emphasis on multiculturalism was reflected in education, and by the 1980s most Canadian educators took pride in the promotion of multiculturalism (Osborne, 1996). The social stresses of the period (The Quiet Revolution, multiculturalism, discontent amongst First Nations, breakdown of federal/provincial relations) (Clarke, 1999; Osborne, 1996) provide the historical context within which to consider the heavy emphasis during the period on Canadian Studies and citizenship education. Many programs and forms of multi and biculturalism resulted from the shift to multiculturalism in Canadian society, as schools were seen as the primary venue for instilling these values and resolving the tensions of the time (Tomkins, 1989). Considering a later period, Osborne (1996) concludes that the emphasis on world affairs in schools during the 1970s and 80s can be attributed to Canada's shifting immigration patterns as Canadian classrooms became increasingly internationalized. During the 1990s, Osborne (1996) argues that citizenship education all but disappears as a focus from Canadian curriculum because there was an increasing focus on schools preparing students for their work life as part of the global marketplace. This trend is reflective of the larger societal trend where citizens were increasingly defined as taxpayers and consumers (Osborne, 1996).

Since citizenship education, and education in general, is so entwined within political identity, the historical political climate and the influence of political philosophy on the conception of citizenship must be considered. Reaching back much further than this study will consider, Heater (2002) argues that citizenship education is inextricably historically linked with political developments. He argues that there have been three powerful political developments that have forced citizenship education to the forefront in a number of countries: the evolution of parliamentary governments, growing sentiments about nationality and identity, and the process of decolonization (Heater, 2002).

For Manzer (1994) education is immensely political. He argues that educational politics and policies are informed by dialogue pertaining to political principles. The principles determine and shape what the public sees as educational problems and issues

(Manzer, 1994). Manzer (1994) argues that two ideological traditions have informed Canadian conceptions of educational purpose, educational governance, policy design, and political evaluation – liberalism and communitarianism. Liberalism emphasizes the importance of the individual and value little involvement from the government in supporting individual growth (especially for economic liberals). Communitarians, conversely, emphasize the collective, seeing humans as social beings who rely on the community for purpose and meaning. For conservative thinkers on the right, those political communities are hierarchical structures that are governed by obedience and command (Manzer, 1994). Radical communitarians do not see the political community in the same way. For these radicals, the political community is egalitarian and based on democratic participation. Both types of communitarians find common ground in the importance of language and culture in the formation of these political communities; the development and protection of these communities is a collective right that takes precedence over individual rights (Manzer, 1994). Although Manzer highlights the influence of these two political ideologies, he concludes that the dominant ideology has been liberalism. Additionally, that contemporary educational policy analysis can be typified as three successive liberal education projects: political (the focus is on the formation of political nationality), economic (industrial expansion), and ethical (the development of the individual) (Manzer, 1994). In the context of the Canadian political climate it is also critical to consider the dominant political ideologies of conservatism and, especially for Saskatchewan, social democracy.

In his dealings with the political philosophic traditions of citizenship, Osborne (2000) explains that conservatives define citizenship for the most part in terms of loyalty, duty, responsibility, and tradition because social stability is much more important that individual rights and social change is only accepted where absolutely necessary. Liberals, on the other hand, define citizenship in terms of individual rights and liberties; "to be a citizen is to be a bearer of rights" (Osborne, 1997, pp.12). Socialists have always traditionally rejected a nationalist concept of citizenship but have, as of late, started to define it in terms of social justice, equity, and redistribution of wealth (Osborne, 2000). Discussions such as these which are concerned with exploring and elucidating political ideologies which work to influence citizenship education are helpful in providing some

13

foundational understandings through which to explore the impact of political ideologies for the time periods in question.

    While political ideologies and societal trends will shed some light on the influences at play with regard to citizenship education, the prevailing educational philosophies will provide an added point of analysis. Despite their focus on broad societal and political trends, Tanner and Tanner (1990) also reflect on the influence of educational philosophy, explaining that ideas from the progressive education movement are the underlying foundation to our current education theory. It is essential to consider the influence of educational philosophy in curriculum design because it provides foundation and guidance for decision making and informs which direction curriculum will take (Ornstein, 1991). Winch and Gingwell (2004) use educational philosophy in order to examine the central questions of educational policy; they aim to uncover the underlying philosophy which informs educational policy. The central argument presented is that educational philosophy is an important contributor to understanding the formation of educational policy, while at the same time showing that educational philosophy requires both political and policy engagement (Winch & Gingwell, 2004). Not only is educational philosophy a key component in understanding educational policy, but the context within which it is situated is key because these educational values are always intertwined with other values such as social relationships, morality, and individual freedoms (Winch & Gingwell, 2004). We only have to look so far as the curriculum itself to realize that there are certain philosophic underpinnings which are working to inform the construction of that curriculum. Educational philosophy acts as a significant influence on the creation and emphasis of curriculum documents.

    One source to trace the development of educational philosophy is to consider the major influential works within the time period which work to reflect philosophical leanings. Tomkins (1989) highlights major influential writings throughout eras in order to draw some conclusions about trends in Canadian curriculum. Clarke (1997), in her discussion of the American influence on Canadian education, argues specifically that Bruner's work acted as source of validity for changes to Canadian Social Studies. Noting a Canadian influence, both Tomkins (1989) and Clarke (1997) point to the immensely

14

influential impact of Hodgett's (1969) analysis of the state of Canadian social studies on the development of the Canadian Studies movement. Tomkins (1989) work in particular highlights the importance of analyzing the influential educational texts of the time in attempting to identify and elucidate trends within the development of curriculum.

The accumulation of these works provided a good foundational starting point from which to consider the historical development of citizenship education. Some have provided the theoretical background necessary to develop a clear approach to the study, others have provided insight into methodological considerations, and others still have emphasized the integral connections between society, politics, theory, and curriculum development.

METHODOLOGY

Briefly outlined above were the theoretical underpinnings which inform the study including pragmatism, critical theory, an interdisciplinary approach, and postmodernism. All of these frameworks weave together to create a path that not only values historical context for the sake of understanding the past through a critical lens, but which also values the conclusions drawn through the examination of the small scale situational context.

These broad theoretical frameworks provide the foundational ideas which worked to inform the more precise method for research employed. As a textual analysis, the aim of the research is to provide deeper insight into the content, structure, and functions of citizenship education in the Social Studies 9 curriculum. The central aim is to understand the forces which have informed citizenship education through the study of the patterns displayed in curriculum. Of the four major approaches to textual analysis identified by Frey, Botan and Kreps (1999), content analysis is favoured because the aim is to identify and analyse occurrences of specific messages (citizenship) embedded in texts. The qualitative content analysis approach is favoured as the research is concerned with the meaning associated with citizenship. The unit of study is syntactical considering the focus is on discrete units of language associated with citizenship.

Four themes which Osborne (1997) identifies through the course of his analysis of citizenship education within Social Studies are used to organize and guide the textual content analysis. The four themes identified by Osborne (1997) plus one additional contemporary theme identified by Sears and Hughes (1996) are used to identify the prevailing character of citizenship within the curriculum documents.

Identity

Schools have always had some role to play in teaching their students about their country and also making them proud of this history. This has always been a problem in Canada throughout history. Early on it can be attributed to provincially controlled education and Canada's English-French duality. The embrace of multiculturalism

16

following Trudeau's 1971 Multiculturalism Act meant that plurality over one distinct definition actually became a part of Canada's national identity. Since then, it has been questions over answers and regional/plural identities as opposed to a singular Canadian identity that have dominated the discussions (Osborne, 1997).

Political Efficacy

Citizenship education carries with it the idea that citizens should be politically active. Being productively politically active requires teaching, it is not simply inherited. There were five main elements to the approach to political efficacy following the 1970s: understanding of issues, political science as the organising discipline, activism and participation, politics as conflict, and respect for democratic values (Osborne, 1997).

Rights and Duties

Citizenship provides its citizens with certain rights, which make citizenship valuable, but these rights require balance with the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms has meant that Canada has seen an emphasis and value placed on rights over the duties of citizenship. Citizenship education is the perfect venue to consider the appropriate balance between rights and duties; to wonder about the tipping point where individual rights become a threat to society. Political proponents of both the political left and right argue that a citizen's rights must be balanced with the duties and obligations to society at large (Osborne, 1997).

Social Values

When considering citizenship beyond a narrow legal sense, it is a value laden concept. Citizenship education not only includes knowledge and skills, it also includes behaviours and actions which are based on values. These values will change according to the context within which they are situated, but there will always be a set of accepted values. It is a part of citizenship education to teach and instill these accepted values through the curriculum which means that citizenship education and the curriculum become powerful agents for messages about power and authority (Osborne, 1997).

Global/Social Justice Democracy

This type of approach to citizenship education supposes that citizens should participate more actively in society; their actions should be much more than occasional voting. Free and equal discourse, diversity, and multiple understanding of national citizenship are also key components to this type of democracy. Citizens in this type of democracy also share a commitment to not only their local but global communities (Sears & Hughes, 1996).

Keyword Analysis

The following keywords serve as the discrete units of language examined and were developed using the five themes of citizenship education outlined above. The list is not exhaustive and keywords may be added as the research unfolds. The five themes also do not represent stark, hard division for the classification and interpretation of key terms. Some terms overlap and interpretation will lead from and consider textual, societal, and philosophical contexts.

Theme	Key Terms
Identity	nationalism, nation, history, loyalty.
Political Efficacy	politics (political), democracy, democratic, participate, participation, advocate, advocacy, active
Rights and Duties	right(s), obligation(s), duty(ies), responsibility(ies)
Social Values	respect, tolerance, acceptance, fairness, equality, diversity, freedom
Global/Social Justice Democracy	tolerance, equality, diversity, plural, local, global, community, freedom, action, advocacy

In addition to this thematic organization which served to complete the keyword content analysis, two additional sources were used in reflecting upon the character and

type of citizenship and citizen which is espoused by the curriculum documents. Much research concerning citizenship education has shown that many forms or types of citizenship education and varieties of the good citizen arise in curriculum guides and classrooms across the country, (Sears and Hughes, 1996). The range of approaches to and conceptions of citizenship can range from extremes of elitism and radical activism with many variations in between (Sears and Hughes, 1996). Sears and Hughes (1996) sum up some of the key points concerning different conceptions of citizenship education using four different conceptions ranging from the more traditional to more critical or radical orientations.

In similar fashion, Westheimer and Kahne (2004) found three conceptions of citizenship helpful in navigating the variances in educational approaches. Their categorization has less to do with connections to education and educational approaches to citizenship and more with the types of citizens which appeared in the documents studied. The two tables created by Sears and Hughes (1996) and Westheimer and Kahne (2004) have been augmented and adapted to form the basis of four types of citizenship and citizenship education which have then been used to provide further interpretation of the character of citizenship and citizenship education in the curriculum guides studied (Table 1).

Critical Analysis of Texts

A critical foundation for the analysis of citizenship and its associated terms within the official curriculum documents is required to provide adequate analysis of the term which has historically served to exclude and assimilate groups of peoples. Despite the fact that Werner (2012) intended to provide direction in terms of guiding students to critical analysis of their texts in the classroom, his framework has been applied to achieve a critical analysis of curriculum. Werner (2012) outlines eight overlapping concepts, five of which are considered here, which he borrows from cultural studies in order to provide deeper insight into the authorship of texts. The first is representation, which highlights the point that writings are representations of people, places, and events, and these representations are always partial because of the array of decisions which are made through the process of representation. The gaze, Werner's second concept, refers to the

implied attitude, value stance, or power relationship between the author and the content. Voice addresses questions of who it is that speaks; what is the dominant or authoritative voice? Absences ask the reader to address and consider what or who is missing from the account and why this is important. The last of Werner's concepts utilized, authority, is concerned with which storyline is favoured within a text. For instance, is the text arranged and presented in such a way that favours progress and growth?

Process

In seeking to make connections between society and curriculum documents, this study also included an analysis of sources pertaining to trends in the areas of focus. Prior to the primary source analysis of the curriculum documents, a variety of sources will be used to determine the sweeping characteristics of the time period in relation to political and educational philosophy, and societal trends. Secondary sources form the basis of efforts to identify the characteristics of the time period. The analysis of these sources will follow the same methodological approach as the curriculum documents because this will provide the common ground required for establishing connections between societal trends and curriculum documents. With this in mind, the analysis of these sources will be divided into political, educational philosophy, and societal trends. Key word analysis and frequency will not be utilized in the analysis of these sources but the focus will remain on Osborne's (1997) four themes and Sears and Hughes' (1996) one theme. Osborne's (1997) four themes and Sears and Hughes' (1996) one theme. These themes served as the guiding framework through which to consider the non-curricular sources. Once the trends, during each of the eras in question (70s, 80s, 90s, 2000s) were established, primary source analysis concentrating on the curriculum documents will follow.

Key word analysis began with identification of the key words within the curriculum document. In order to keep analysis focused, organized, and easy to interpret, a chart was kept for each of the curriculum documents which detailed the frequency and location (i.e. aims or outcomes) of the key word and the categorical theme within which the term fit.

Table 1 Conceptions of Citizenship and Citizenship Education

	Conception A	Conception B	Conception C	Conception D
Description/Core Assumptions	Acting responsibly Obeying laws Recycling, giving blood	Participation to resolve public issues Improving society through leadership in organizational structures.	Global understanding Planning for alternative futures Individual actions have global consequences	Seeking out and addressing issues of inequality and oppressive structures.
Knowledge	Core knowledge Arriving at the same answers Focus on politics and military history presented in a progressive narrative	Knowledge required to participate in society. Liberal democratic institutions are the best option for social organization but are flawed in practice	World systems and global issues Environmental sustainability and issues Issues are presented from varying perspectives.	The ways that structures oppress Examining structures for oppressive and discriminatory nature
Values	Particular set of values which lead to improvement of society	Encouraged to question issues to value Clarify and defend personal value positions	Multicultural perspectives Environmental responsibility Equality Justice Pluralism	Equal participation of all members of society Speaking out and working against oppressive and discriminatory structures
Skills/Participation	Informed voting Donating/contributing to community efforts	Critical thinking in order to participate to resolve issues Active participation	Skills to effect change in issues of sustainability and equality. Critical and cross cultural thinking Working collaboratively across cultures	Skills to effect change to rectify oppressive and discriminatory structures
Theoretical/Philosophical Links	Traditionalism Elitism Essentialism	Progressivism Critical inquiry	Communitarianism Global/peace education Critical inquiry Multicultural education	Social reconstructivism Critical theory Critical inquiry

Adapted from Sears and Hughes 1996 and Westheimer and Kahne 2004.

Further analysis considered the frequency within the categories which determined the emergent patterns in relation to prevailing societal, political, and philosophical trends. Since the study considered three separate curriculum documents from the 1970s through to the most recent 2008, the process will repeat three times over. In an effort to compensate for the gap between 1971 and 1991 in curriculum development, the 1984 *Final Report* from the Committee of Curriculum Review and Instruction was analyzed. From this data analysis, conclusions may then be drawn concerning the connections between the curriculum documents and society.

In addition to the thematic keyword analysis of the sources, each will also be considered through the lens of Werner's (2012) five critical analysis concepts. The thematic analysis provides the content organization required to weave the connections between society and curriculum, while the critical analysis concepts provide the lens through which all documents will be considered. Using Werner's five concepts of critical analysis will afford the necessary lens that will contribute to deeper insight into the trends at work within the documents. It is crucial to a critical approach to contemplate not simply what appears in the documents, but also what does *not* appear and *how* it appears.

The application of Osborne (1997), Sears and Hughes (1996) and Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) thematic orientations provide much needed organizational structure for analyzing trends within documents concerning citizenship education. On a deeper level, it is Werner's five concepts of critical analysis which provide the requisite lens which uncover the authority and power hidden within the documents.

The prevailing political ideologies that have dominated the Canadian and, at times, the international scene provide insight into political culture, society, and issues of education. In order to better understand the political culture of Canada, and the narrower context of Saskatchewan, a starting point is a brief overview of the political ideologies that have dominated Canadian politics. Canadian politics have been dominated by three ideologies: conservatism, liberalism, and social democracy. In addition to these dominant political ideologies, Canadian political culture and society was also heavily influenced by the doctrine of Keynesian economics, followed by the more contemporary policies of neo-liberalism which still prevail today.

In its classic form liberalism values the individual above all else and favours laissez faire economics where free market capitalism prevails. By the late 1800s though, liberalism began to favour a more interventionist economic approach which was developed, in part, to deal with the growing discontent of the working classes (Orlowski, 2011). As reform liberalism continued to develop, another important cornerstone developed: meritocracy. The term refers to a social system whereby each individual attains status and success based solely upon their individual merits and talents. In this way, it works to reinforce the inequalities in society as it fails to recognize, or ignores, any notions of privilege (Orlowski, 2011).

In contrast to the embrace that liberalism provides for progress and change, the critical and threatening pose taken against these same ideas is represented by the ideology of conservatism. Conservatism values tradition and stability above all else and holds that progress and change are a threat to that tradition. Traditional conservatives aim to maintain the status quo in the face of economic, social, and political turmoil (Orlowski, 2011). Conservatives favour a society where everyone has, is aware of, and understands their place in society – a hierarchical order where each individual works to maintain tradition and stability within a larger community (Orlwoski, 2011).

The youngest of influential political ideologies within the Canadian landscape is social democracy, which represents the left in Canada. A hybrid of socialism and liberalism, social democracy represents a unique development when compared to the U.S. and also holds particular importance for examining political culture in Saskatchewan. Following the failures and atrocities of the Stalin-led Soviet Union and the almost decade long Great Depression, the popularity and acceptance of socialism began to wane (Orlowski, 2011). In its place developed the hybrid political ideology of social democracy which holds that efforts are necessary to help those members of society who have little chance and opportunity to improve their economic standard of living (Orlowski, 2011). As a result of its hybrid nature, social democracy is liberal in regards to social issues and usually winds up in between socialism and liberalism in regards to economic issues (Orlowski, 2011).

In his interpretation of the Canadian ideological landscape, Horowitz (1966) argues that the influence of what he calls the 'tory touch' can be seen in all three of Canada's dominant ideologies. Horowitz (1966) argues that the Conservative 'tory touch' is exemplified through traditionalism, elitism, and the strong state. Canadian liberalism has been influenced by toryism in their acceptance of state intervention and their tolerance of feudal systems like monarchism (Horowitz, 1966). Horowitz (1966) also argues that the presence of the Canadian Liberal Party as the middle ground that trumps both the ideological left and right is unique to English speaking Canada. Furthermore, the refusal of the Liberal Party to become a class party has forced the left (Social Democratic) and the right (Conservatives) to mitigate their class appeals and become themselves, in a way, centre parties (Horowitz, 1966).

In addition to the major political ideologies of Canada, there were two integral economic ideologies that dictated and shaped western politics, political culture, and society. Despite the variances in the ideological underpinnings of political parties, the postwar years in Canada, as well as the western industrial world, were dominated by Keynesian economics. Keynesian economic policies gained prevalence during the post war years as the western world tried to evade another depression like the one experienced in the 1930s. A different system was needed in order to ensure economic supports during

24

times of economic downturn. Keynesian economics valued a balance between private enterprise and state intervention and a social security safety net for citizens that worked to ensure social welfare (Bumsted, 2008). In his analysis of Canadian macroeconomics in Canada during the 20th century, Niel Bradford (2008) explains that "Keynesian macroeconomics privileged the employment objective over price stability and fiscal policy over monetary policy" (pp.198). The development of the modern welfare state during these formative years can be attributed to this system of economic principles. Although Keynesian economics had been accepted through the industrial world for close to 30 years, the system began to unravel during the late 1970s under both international and domestic pressures (Bumsted, 2008). The economic ideology that would come to replace the Keynesian model would hit its stride during the 1980s and continue to dominate both domestic and international economics until the present day. Under the neoliberal model the market place replaces the state and the individual the community (Smith, 2004). Private enterprise, deregulation, big business, tax cuts, and profitability are at the core of neoliberalism, leaving little room for crucial social welfare policies.

Politics, Political Culture, and Society

The politics, political culture, and societal trends within Canadian society, and more specifically Saskatchewan, have developed alongside one another as each works in turn to influence the other. This section is presented as a whole, without separation as it takes a holistic approach to the analysis of political culture. More specifically, political culture is viewed as an "ethos" which encompasses and also conditions society (Bell, 2000). Thought of in this manner, politics and political culture are inseparable from society – the two compliment and inform one another as they shape and define the historical climate of a particular time. This is not to say that politics and society are never once at odds or contested, but just that each is inseparable from its counterpart as each works to aid in developing trends, currents, and countercurrents within an era. Political culture is shaped by its larger context just as society is. Political culture is influenced by cultural baggage as well as formative events and structural considerations such as class relations (Bell, 2000).

Political culture represents the values and dispositions of a particular population, region, or time period. Speaking of a Canadian political culture becomes difficult once we begin to take into account the regional variances represented across the great landscape of Canada. What is easier to speak of is the political culture at a national (federal) level. Although national politics do not always reflect or provide insight into the particularities of provincial politics, they do provide an important backdrop to more specific provincial studies.

The nuances of Canadian political culture and society from the 1970s through to the present era are far too vast to cover within this context. The representation which follows outlines only a portion of the larger political and societal trends of these years and does not purport to represent a complete, or even near complete, overview of the issues which Canada faced during these years. An attempt has been made to simply highlight some of the larger political and societal trends which worked to characterize the Canadian experience during those years, with particular attention to the West and Saskatchewan.

Canada in the 1970s, 80s and 90s: The Era of Political Rights, Multiculturalism, and the Move to Neoliberalism

The period from post war up until 1980 represented a heyday in Canada for equality and individual rights. There was a clear commitment during this period to create greater equality in society (Finkel, 2006). A good portion of the years in question can be characterized, at the national federal level, by the politics and policies of Pierre Elliott Trudeau. Trudeau is arguably one of Canada's most well-known, and charismatic political leaders in recent history. Canada experienced some of its most defining moments under Trudeau as he struggled to build a bilingual, multicultural Canada. His arrival on the national political scene as prime minster in 1968 also marked the beginning of a new era dominated by liberal hegemony (Bumsted, 2008). By the 1970s it was clear that assimilationist policies of earlier governments were no longer acceptable. Under increasing pressure from immigrant groups, the government abandoned these assimilationist policies in favour of a more tolerant approach (Kymlicka, 2004). In 1971 Trudeau began what would eventually be termed multiculturalism within a bilingual

framework. It was in 1971, as part of the Multiculturalism Act, that Trudeau declared that despite having two official languages, Canada had no official culture. As a result of this absence of an official culture, Trudeau also maintained that all cultures are to be viewed and treated equally; no one ethnic group takes precedence over any other (Troper, 2002). For Trudeau, pluralism was the only true base for identity within Canada. This meant that the federal government would work to preserve the multiculturalism of Canada while also honouring its bilingual heritage too (Bell, 1992). Building upon this framework, within the next ten years Trudeau, demonstrating his adherence to liberal ideology, would add another element to his multicultural framework – equality rights. The 1982 Charter represented a move to guarantee both individual and minority rights within the Canadian Constitution. For Trudeau the Charter was a central and unifying document for Canadians as he felt it represented Canadian values, equality rights, along with minority and language rights (LaSelva, 2004). Although Trudeau's hope for Canada was an inclusive citizenship that represented true pluralism which every Canadian could identify with, the Charter is often criticized for its ignorance of both the distinctiveness of Quebec and the accommodation of Aboriginal issues (LaSelva, 2004). McGrane (2011) argues that this era in Canadian politics can be termed liberal multiculturalism as the government worked to recognize and preserve heritage cultures. Furthermore, that minority cultures also work to share their cultural heritage with the majority in order to foster greater tolerance and acceptance of diversity (McGrane, 2011).

Despite the fact that most studies of Trudeau imply that there was a Canada before Trudeau and a Canada after Trudeau, Linda Cardinal (2004) argues that for the most part Trudeau was a product of his time. Cardinal (2004) argues that the rights based, multicultural, pluralistic politics that Trudeau is renowned for were a product and reflection of the changing relationship between politics and society and a shift away from a traditional parliamentary approach towards a more rights based approach. Trudeau's accomplishment was bringing this new rights based approach into the realm of identity and citizenship. His vision was based on the premise of defining language and culture as individual rights and as the main criteria for belonging and identity in Canada (Cardinal, 2004). Trudeau came to federal politics in the late 1960s under the influence of the civil rights movement and growing concerns within Canadian society concerning justice and

equality. The rights discourse in Canada, was moving away from concerns about the nature of federalism and towards debates concerning the protection of rights for individuals in society and it was within this political and societal environment that Trudeau came to power (Cardinal, 2004). The pressure that government felt from immigrant groups was also characteristic of the period as Canada continued to see rising numbers of immigrants from non-European Third World countries. In fact, after 1973 Canada's immigrant population was chiefly from Third World countries and by 1986 Canadian residents from the third world totalled 30% of all foreign born residents (Bumsted, 2008).

The concentration and commitment to greater equality in society began to wane in 1980 as the post war boom began to slow in the 1970s and Keynesian economics came under attack. Faced with new fiscal constraints and concerns brought about by increased internationalization of investment. High inflation rates combined with high unemployment combined to present a new problem which Keynesian economics seemed unable to account for (Bradford, 2000). The macroeconomic policies of the 1970s were full of inconclusive experimentation as the federal government grasped for a reliable direction to deal with the challenges of the time (Bradford, 2000).

The struggle to find an assertive direction in economic policy during the 1970s ended with the paradigm shift to neoliberal policies which were cemented during the 1980s (Bradford, 2000). The conservatives, who would come to power in 1984 under Brian Mulroney, would attribute the state of economics to government over spending on social programs. The solution for Canada, as all other western economies, was a return to a liberal marketplace with little state intervention or regulation (Finkel, 2006). Conservatives were successful in convincing many Canadians that overspending and state interventionism of the former liberal years were responsible for the economic situation and had worked to strangle the economic potential of the country (Finkel, 2006). Between 1972 and the early 1990s, the old liberal consensus had all but disappeared and what replaced it was free market monetarism accompanied by intense concentration on a private enterprise mentality (Bumsted, 2008). No longer was the political climate defined

28

by policies and debates concerning individual and group rights but by upholding private ownership rights over the participatory rights of citizens (Smith, 2004).

Although the Conservative party was defeated in 1993, the neoliberal influence did not end there. The election of Chretien and his Liberals in 1993 saw not just a continuation of the neoliberal goals of the Mulroney's Conservatives but an actual acceleration of those goals. The Conservative goals of drastic public service cuts and reduction of deficit was adopted by Chretien as the Liberal party worked to continue the neoliberal legacy (Dobrowolsky, 2000). The process of cutting federal program spending culminated in 1995 where the depth and breadth of the cuts introduced by the Liberals in that year's budget prompted some to question what remained of Canada (Bradford, 2000).

Canadian society became very much influenced by the economic climate of the neoliberal era. Canadians everywhere in the country were living well beyond their means and the intense self-absorption of the western world is well exemplified by the over excess of the 1980s. Bumsted (2008) points to two interesting developments in particular to exemplify the over excess and self-absorption of the 80s. The first is the development and completion of what was then North America's largest mall – the West Edmonton Mall. Completed in 1986, this massive complex is a symbol of the consuming society which imagined it. The increasing demands and domination of consumer culture also meant that birth rates began to fall during the 1980s (Bumstead, 2008). Young couples too concerned with their own consumer needs became reluctant to push their own personal consumer desires aside to start a family. This trend, in turn, meant that population growth in Canada became increasingly dependent on immigration with the vast majority of new immigrants coming not from the industrialized western world, but Africa and Asia. These new immigrants brought with them new cultural influences as well as old world social issues (Bumsted, 2008). Despite the fact that this most striking characteristic of the period, self-absorption, is one that came to dominate society during the 1980s, it still remains a defining characteristic for contemporary society as the western world continues to be dominated by neoliberal economic and political policy.

Canada in the Global Age

As the neoliberal climate continues to prevail in Canada it has become enmeshed with the process of globalization. The 21st century is highly characterized by its increasingly global nature. Although this process of internationalization of companies is not unique to the 21st century, the extent to which these companies impact both local and global communities has increased significantly. International actors have the increasing power during this time to enact critical impact on economic stratification, environmental problems, human rights, basic human needs and a nation's debt and social safety nets which are not always positive. This global system only works to benefit those individuals, corporations, and governments who have the education and capital to take advantage of the global financial markets. Billions of people have not benefitted from the processes of globalization but instead are trapped by the hegemony of international companies and financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund (Duty and Merryfield, 2008). This global interconnectedness also hinders the ability for nations to solve major problems within their own borders. Problems like air pollution, water crises, nuclear weapons, and terrorism can only be successfully addressed if nations work together (Duty and Merryfield, 2008).

The increasing interconnectedness between countries and cultures has also meant that people view the world in a different way. The time that it takes to make connections between diverse cultures, separated by vast distances, has been compressed as technology works to actively make the world seem smaller (Duty and Merryfield, 2008). Our communities are increasingly impacted by decisions that may have been made thousands of miles away, and conversely, the decisions that are made within local communities have the potential to impact other places far beyond the reach of national borders (Duty and Merryfield, 2008).

Political Culture in Saskatchewan

The distinct nature of Canada's regionalism and each province's history means that the national climate provides a backdrop to the questions of society and political culture in Saskatchewan but surely not a complete picture. As Brooks (2004) argues, there is little variance in fundamental values and political culture across English Canada

30

but if we examine citizen's opinions about their province's history, the future of Canada and their aspirations for their province's role in that future, there is a case for regional political culture. Saskatchewan's political and societal history is one that resides within the Canadian landscape, linked through the shared borders of the country but simultaneously set apart by that same landscape.

Although social democracy has been successful outside of the province, Saskatchewan is the only province where a social democratic party has dominated the political scene (Bell, 1992). The election of NDP and CCF governments over the majority of the province's history is indicative of its strong social democratic tradition. A brief glimpse of Saskatchewan's history aids in understanding the prevalence of the social democratic tradition in the province.

The economic and social development of the province, both in regards to agricultural heritage as well as immigrant population, provides significant indicators for explaining the tradition of social democracy. The uniqueness of agrarian life in Saskatchewan, with its reliance on sale of wheat through the grain exchange, meant that Saskatchewan farmers could not live off of their own produce exclusively. They faced much higher risks and higher costs than other farmers and so required more of their government as there was much he could not do for himself (Young, 1969). Young (1969) argues that the individualist nature and ambition of prairie farmers combined with their need for positive government assistance meant that they were willing to engage in political activity. Furthermore, as those farmers experienced the value of cooperation "amidst the alien vastness" of the prairies, they became attracted to ideas that opposed competition and instead favoured the group (Young, 1969).

In addition to the uniqueness of the prairie farmer experience, the historical immigrant population lends a hand in uncovering the unique political culture of Saskatchewan. Unlike many of the eastern provinces, which were predominantly populated by English speaking European immigrants, a large proportion of Saskatchewan immigrants were non English speaking Europeans who worked to form a demanding portion of the population that favoured socialist policies (Fierlbeck, 2006).

31

These unique characteristics of population also played into Saskatchewan's reaction to Trudeau and his multiculturalism policy. Saskatchewan's multicultural heritage of non-English speaking European immigrants, and the fact that by 1971 53% of Saskatchewan residents were neither British nor French, fit well with the Multicultural Act of 1972 and Saskatchewan became the first province to pass its own multiculturalism act in 1974 (McGrane, 2011). This act was then updated in 1997 where it adopted an approach to multiculturalism that favoured a mix of liberal multiculturalism and civic republicanism which focused on the preservation, strengthening, and promotion of all cultures all the while functioning within the democratic principles and laws of Canada (McGrane, 2011). The debates concerning the Multicultural Act of 1972 in the years following were not as vigorous as in other areas of the country. Unlike provinces like Manitoba, Ontario, and Quebec, Saskatchewan had a very small francophone as well as new immigrant population so debates concerning multiculturalism and national unity did not occupy the political landscape as they did in other provinces (McGrane, 2011). These differences meant that Aboriginal issues dominated public discourse (McGrane, 2011). A multicultural education policy was also adopted in 1994 in the province, but McGrane (2011) argues that much more focus was placed on Aboriginal integration by the Department of Education.

Saskatchewan's social democratic tradition stretches back to the formation and election of the CCF (Cooperative Commonwealth Federation). The CCF was founded during the depression years in 1933 and represented a union of existing socialist, labour, and farmer provincial parties. Their view concerning political authority was that it should be used to carry out the will and interests of the community which would then allow the community to gain political and economic control to redistribute wealth and power equitably (Rusch, 1950). The end result of negotiations between the CCF and the CLC (Canadian Labour Congress) to form a new political left that also represented the labour movement was the founding of CCF's successor, the NDP, in 1961. Long-time Saskatchewan premier and leader of the CCF Tommy Douglas became the new party's leader in the same year. The newly formed NDP was responsible for the establishment of the Keynesian welfare state in Saskatchewan and Tommy Douglas responsible for arguably one of Canada's greatest welfare achievements – universal healthcare. The

CCF, and subsequently the NDP, became the dominating force in Saskatchewan politics. The principles and values of social democracy were widely supported in the province as was the idea of a mixed economy defined by its mixed private, cooperative, and state owned economic framework (Warnock, 2004).

As the principles of the social welfare state waned in the rest of Canada, Saskatchewan was not immune to the shift to neoliberalism in and by the 1980s. Saskatchewan too found itself in the midst of policies concerned with free market capitalism above all else. The PC government, first elected in 1982 and then again by a narrow margin in 1986, marked a distinct departure from the earlier liberal policies of progressive taxation and instead took a much more right wing approach favouring corporate tax cuts, flat tax on income, and the privatization of Crown corporations, all of which work towards the ultimate goal of private accumulation of capital (Warnock, 2004). There seemed to be hope for the social democratic tradition in Saskatchewan as the NDP regained power in the province in 1991. The people of Saskatchewan, demonstrated through public opinion polls from that year, desired a return to the 'Saskatchewan way' – a mixed economy that functioned within a progressive and caring welfare state (Warnock, 2004). Although these public opinion polls made clear that the majority wished for a return to the social democratic tradition of the Douglas, Lloyd, and Blakeney governments, the NDP government elected in 91' abandoned their election platform promises and continued the neoliberal direction that was established by the previous Tory government which favoured big business, individuals in the highest tax bracket, privatization, and deregulation (Warnock, 2004). In the past the people of Saskatchewan were able to rely on their NDP government to oppose corporate interests and the political right, but the post 1982 governments of Romanow and Calvert changed this as these governments abandoned the social democratic objectives of their predecessors (Warnock, 2004).

Writing in the early years of the 21st century, Warnock (2004) argues that Saskatchewan is in a transition period. He argues that in the past there was a consistent and obvious political split in the province – the moderate left (CCF/NDP) who wanted greater control of the Saskatchewan economy and greater equality for all, and the right

(Conservative) who wanted less government control and opportunities to make bigger profits. Warnock (2004) argues that this split has all but vanished and what has replaced a debate concerning the free market and individual greed has now become the only discourse. More current evidence suggests that the transition period that Warnock (2004) argues for may have reached a close and that Saskatchewan's discontent with neoliberal politics has again shifted. The last two elections in Saskatchewan suggest that the people are favouring more conservative policies as the Saskatchewan Party, first elected in 2007, won by a landslide in the 2011 election.

In the same manner that Saskatchewan's political culture was heavily influenced by its agrarian roots, so were its societal characteristics. Despite Saskatchewan's political heritage in the social democratic principles of greater equality for its citizens, its agrarian and settlement history mean that there is also a tradition of patriarchal values and racism. Saskatchewan is different because it maintains a deep commitment to the principle of the individual family farm commanded by the patriarchal head of the family (Warnock, 2004). One indicator that Warnock (2004) uses to demonstrate the low status of women and their place in the home in the province is the treatment of child care. In 1994, 1995 and still in 2001 Saskatchewan had the lowest budget for child care in the country and also had the lowest ratio of spaces to children of working mothers in that same year (Warnock, 2004). Warnock (2004) also argues that there is a dominant order of racism towards Aboriginal peoples in the province of Saskatchewan which stems from and ideologically justifies the seizure of land from those peoples.

Aboriginal Issues in the Era of Political Rights, Multiculturalism, and the Move to Neoliberalism

Like many other issues that came to the forefront during the rights revolution during the 1960s, Aboriginal issues moved into an activist phase during this period too. By the end of the 1960s Aboriginal groups were confronting the government and forcing the federal government to rethink their relationship with Aboriginals (Bumsted, 2008). There is no question that at the core of this rethinking has been the issue of Aboriginal self-government. Although the Constitution Act of 1982 did entrench Aboriginal and treaty rights, it failed to acknowledge or come to terms with the issue of Aboriginal self-

government mainly because the federal government and First Nations groups were so far apart on the issue (Bumsted, 2008). Bumsted (2008) argues that as Aboriginal groups persisted in their efforts to gain political autonomy, the 1990s represented the first time that Aboriginal issues were perceived as an important political "problem" and also represent the most important political issue of that decade and beyond. Land rights, self-government and residential schools, as Bumsted (2008) argues, occupied, and continue to occupy, the attention of the political arena. A clear divide continues as most cases of Aboriginal self-government function as types of municipal government where that government remains responsible to and, to a large extent, controlled by provincial and federal governments but First Nations groups advocate that it needs to be much more than this (Bumsted, 2008).

The period from the 1970s to the present represent a formative period in relation to the development of Canadian identity and belonging. Trudeau felt that the model of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework would work to create a plural Canada where everyone felt at home. Although not without its merits, the adoption of the multicultural model, which still persists today, fails to properly address the diversity of Canada and its founding peoples. The politics and economic policies of the neoliberal era continue to dominate the landscape but in a global world with the help of the processes of globalization. Diversity and interconnectedness, for better or worse, have become much more visible as the world has become increasingly smaller under the pressures of globalization. The formation and domination of social democracy in Saskatchewan throughout much of this time is of particular importance in determining the political culture of the region. Equally important is the province's more recent move to the right in overwhelming support for the Saskatchewan Party. Saskatchewan, even with the NDP in power, did not escape the influence and domination of the neoliberal mentality which reared its head during the 70s only to become essentially the only way to do politics and business from the 1980s through to the contemporary years. Together these currents have a great impact on the conception and realization of what it means to be a citizen, and more specifically a Canadian citizen.

The type of citizenship presented in curriculum documents will ultimately rely on the regional context built within the new plural identity envisioned by Trudeau in the 1970s. The regional particularities of active participation in government as well as issues of Aboriginal inclusion and participation and adaptability in the face of changing environmental conditions are fundamental to any analysis within the Saskatchewan context.

The rights revolution of the 1970s along with the passing of the Charter in 1982 have meant that citizenship through those years has taken on a predominantly rights centred character. Much participation during these years was centred on fighting for equality and equal representation. The defeat of both the 1982 Meech Lake Accord and the Charlottetown Accord of 1992 demonstrated the unwillingness to accept a multinational citizenship. Along with these defeats, the continued acceptance of the multicultural model and the ongoing battle for sovereignty still very much alive in both Quebec and amongst First Nations groups compounded the reluctance to accept a different notion of citizenship. Although this is the case at the political level, the reimagining of citizenship continues to be debated. Will Kymlicka (2004) argues that there are three different forms of what he calls 'differentiated citizenship' in Canada: self-government, accommodation rights, and special representation rights. Issues of self-government pertain to the desire of Quebec and First Nations to have control over certain key matters to ensure the continuation and full development of their cultures. Accommodation rights refer to the recognition and protection of cultural practices intended to promote integration not self-government. Since Canada is such a diverse nation there is also the suggestion of special representation rights to ensure that each group within Canadian society is represented in government affairs (Kymlicka, 2004).

Working to change the foundation of citizenship further, the impact of the neoliberal mentality and domination has meant favouring the individual over groups or the whole. Favouring the individual, the rights of the individual, and free market capitalism results in a conception of citizenship focused on upholding individual rights and participation predominantly as a consumer. Although this is certainly the case for much of the 80s, 90s and early 2000s, it seems as though there is appearing a challenge to this conception of the citizen's role.

Within the framework of the transnational global economy, there is room to reimagine citizenship. Neoliberalism and the subsequent development of transnational economies through the process of globalization have meant decisions made by these

transnational companies have a real impact on domestic policy. At the same time that the global interconnectedness can sometimes work against the agency of nation states, it can empower citizens to work at a global level through regional and international organizations to effect change in the realm of social justice, environment, or conflict (Duty and Merryfield, 2008). This means that the participation of citizens is no longer limited to the borders of one country but rather allows for and indeed requires participation at a global level (Smith, 2004). Smith (2004) argues that citizens in the modern age have an opportunity to combat the neoliberal model of individual property rights over participatory rights of citizens with the use of the internet. The internet offers an opportunity to reimagine a state centred national citizenship in favour of a people based citizenship as it facilitates the expression of opposing views. The modern internet offers an opportunity to be an active creator of content as opposed to a passive consumer (Smith, 2004). Some argue that Canada is reimagining the concept of citizenship and belonging to include tolerance of group diversity, recognition of minority rights, collectivist values of wealth distribution and a more flexible idea of citizenship that allows for different members to belong to Canada in different ways (Brooks, 2004). Globalization is actively changing what it means to be a citizen, the knowledge and skills required to be a citizen because citizenship is no longer confined to national borders (Duty and Merryfield, 2008).

The history of educational theory and trends represents a complex undertaking wherein prevailing trends are represented by an interplay of prevailing currents and countercurrents that are at once opposing yet parallel. Within each of these currents and countercurrents are also variations in approaches which work to define the same approaches in differing capacities. It is with these complexities in mind that the following overview of educational theory and trends through the years in question are considered. Tomkins (1986) argues for the difficulty in attempting to categorize and represent the prevailing trends in education working from the premise that the social demands of the times make it difficult to organize curriculum change into conventional categories. It is with these challenges in mind that the chronological structure of the previous section has been loosened here in an effort to reflect the complexity and relative fluidity of the prevalence of approaches and theories as it is conversely structured using themes and topics rather than years. The trends and theories abound within this time period and are represented here in an effort to glean some understanding of the currents and countercurrents present within the time period studied so as to later reflect upon their influence in curriculum documents of that period.

Prevailing Currents and Crosscurrents in Educational Theory

In their historical study of school curriculum Tanner and Tanner (1990) argue for two currents and countercurrents which have worked to influence the development of curriculum over the last two centuries. In addition, Tanner and Tanner (1990) also use umbrella type theories to encompass and define these currents and countercurrents: traditionalism/essentialism and progressivism/experimentalism. These overarching theoretical approaches are used here to conceptually organize the development of varying theories in the field of educational theory. Added to these two umbrella categories are three more approaches which can be used to provide organizational structure in regards to educational theory, individualism and communitarianism and critical theory/social reconstructivism. Then, in addition to these theories, the educational trends of multicultural education, values and character education, 'back to basics', globalization,

the common core, and Aboriginal perspectives and content are considered in an attempt to also consider trends that work to inform curricular content and approaches. As a last point of analysis into the educational climate of the period, connections to citizenship education and the purposes and approaches to social studies and citizenship education in particular are briefly examined.

Traditional and Essentialism

Traditional approaches to education and curricula tend to be characterized by subject or discipline oriented learning which emphasizes the vocational and academic competence of students (Tomkins, 1977). Traditional approaches also tend to favour a behavioural understanding of student learning which sees the learner as a detached intellect where preferences, interests, and experiences are irrelevant. In this way, knowledge acquisition is mechanical and much is broken down into smaller subsets of tasks and skills which lead to more complex sets of skills (Tanner and Tanner, 1990). Curricular documents which feature behavioural style objectives are ones which concentrate on measurable tasks as curricular objectives. As such, the only knowledge that is valuable is that which can be assessed and measured. Curricular objectives and goals are developed in such a way that allows teaching to take on the form of designing activities to meet the goals/objectives and then designing assessments that will measure the student's mastery of that skill, a process which continues to influence curricula (Scott, 2008). Also a product of the 1970s, behavioural objectives were conceived, much like the back to the basics rhetoric, to counteract the progressivism of earlier years and restore accountability, order, and economy to the teaching profession (Tomkins, 1977). This stress and attention on skills based models of learning also means that individualisaton took on a different shape equating it with a reductionist model of sub skills (Tanner and Tanner, 1990). McNeil (2009) identifies three types of knowledge which are a part of an academician's (one which favours discipline/subject based learning) approach which clearly aligns with skills based knowledge of the traditional approach: basic operations, problem solving strategies, and domain specific knowledge.

Closely aligned with, and evident within current standards-based curricula, skills based approaches to curriculum is what McNeil (2009) calls systemic curriculum. In this

approach skills are accompanied by performance standards which are to be attained by students with the overarching theme of control (McNeil, 2009). An instrumentalist view is expounded and the greatest attention is paid to the transmission of skills and knowledge as opposed to offering intellectually challenging opportunities for students.

Essentialism is probably best represented by the 'back to basics' approach which began to gain momentum by the late 1970s. A reaction against the 'humanizing' of schools which had taken place during the 1960s and early 1970s, the back to the basics approach was also touted as the ideal way to deal with the widespread problems with youth during those years (Tanner and Tanner, 1990). Essentialists argued that the progressive movement of the 1960s and 1970s had served to neglect discipline, authority, and truth (Power, 1996). Despite the fact that a basics approach to learning will stress a particular kind of knowledge as essential, the character of the approach can alter based upon what knowledge is considered essential. For instance, academic rationalism highlights the traditional values of the academic disciplines whereas a social reconstructionists would highlight the concepts of justice and equality as 'the basics' resulting in an orientation that considers the possibilities of human life (Milburn, 1977). The approach seemed to take on different forms depending on the curricular context, creating both alliances and divisions amongst traditional conservatives, liberal progressives, and radical educators (Tomkins, 1986). In ironic fashion, this new emphasis on basics also marked a return to more subject specific and centered approach to curriculum and efforts to recentralize, and in effect broaden, the curriculum (Tomkins, 1977).

Centralization efforts culminated in the introduction of core curriculum across all the provinces in Canada. By the late 1970s every province across the country had mandated a form of core curriculum consisting of mostly broad objectives that left teachers with considerable flexibility (Tomkins, 1986). Core curriculum works from the assumption that there is certain knowledge that is essential and important as compared with other categories of knowledge. It recognizes that the accumulation of knowledge over the course of human history is an essential and important tradition and a requirement that enables students to think seriously about the world around them (Osborne, 1988).

41

Although essentialist in theory, the type of knowledge that is chosen as important and core to a student's repertoire of knowledge can alter the approach. Osborne (1988) for example links core curriculum with working class curriculum through an emphasis on the key principles of demystification and empowerment. In the 1980s and 90s the back to basics rhetoric fielded a different focus – the new literacies (Tanner and Tanner, 1990). The focal point for these new literacies was math and reading, a trend that still prevails in educational initiatives to this day. Although introduced during the late 1970s in connection with back to basics rhetoric which emphasized traditionalism, the nature of core curriculum depends on the approaches taken in regards to core knowledge and skills and is influenced by additional trends of the time.

Accompanying the priority for a return to the basics and discipline centred learning, there was also a heavy stress on the 'structure' of the disciplines which was made popular by Bruner's *The Process of Education* (1960) which centred upon an argument that the focus on the content within the subject areas ought to be replaced by knowledge of the methodologies and concepts core to the discipline that provide it with its distinct structure or form (Milburn, 1977). Although it insists upon the importance of the disciplines, structuralism also stresses the importance of inquiry learning, a concept usually associated with progressive approaches to learning. Milburn argues that the presence of the word 'inquiry' in such a large number of Canadian curricular materials is a testament to the popularity of structuralism in the 1970s.

Progressivism and Experimentalism

At the same time that some educators were emphasizing the back to basics rhetoric of the late 70s, others were looking for ways to put the learner back in the learning process. In his survey of Canadian curriculum, Tomkins (1986) speaks of a neo-progressivism which was epitomized by the Hall Dennis Report (1968) published in Ontario. It deviated from usual approaches to educational aims in its focus on the issues and ideas relevant to the promotion of learning which also emphasized a greater socialization role for schools (Tomkins, 1986).

A central differentiation between progressive and traditional approaches can be found especially in the treatment of learners. In the most traditional conservative

approaches, learners occupy a neutral, passive state. The progressive view is much different in that the learner is viewed as central to the learning process. Progressive theories embrace the cognitive field view of the learner which accepts a holistic conception of the leaner (Tanner and Tanner, 1990). As such, progressive approaches are interested in the experiences and attributes of the learner as they work to impact the learning experience of the student. In discussing his argument for the three prevailing theoretical approaches of the 1970s (structuralism, child centred, and social reconstructivist), Milburn (1977) stresses that such child-centred theories sway from the traditional discipline or subject centred theories and place less stress on those aspects of schooling which work to inhibit the growth of students (Milburn, 1977).

Arguably the epitome of a child-centred curriculum would be the humanist curriculum. Central to the goals of a humanist curriculum are the personal growth and development of the student, with the ideal goal of self-actualization. Furthermore, that the purpose and function of the curriculum is to provide students with intrinsically rewarding educational experiences which serve individual development and liberation (McNeil, 2009). The humanist curriculum takes a marked departure from the discipline centred traditionalism through its view that knowledge attained through personal expression and existence and interactions with others and the natural environment is also key in the overall development of the learner (McNeil, 2009).

In the years that followed the emphasis on 'the basics' there was a return to concern for higher order thinking in the curriculum. By the late 1980s researchers were beginning to see the effects of the reductionist curriculum which focused on straight memorization and surface facts and skills. What researchers discovered was that an emphasis of this kind results in low retention of the content as opposed to learning which takes place within a broad framework where concepts are interrelated in meaningful ways (Tanner and Tanner, 1990). "Teaching thinking" became a central focus for many theorists and educators but still maintained its skill based approach as opposed to any kind of critical inquiry (Tanner and Tanner, 1990). Since that time, the goal of teaching thinking, reasoning, and problem solving has been an issue pursued with vigor throughout the field of curriculum studies and theory (McNeil, 2009). Taking on a

pragmatic or instrumentalist flavour, McNeil (2009) argues that new theories concerning thinking emphasize the importance of thinking not as a mental discipline but as a way to use previously learned information and understandings in order to apply them to new situations. In considering these new theories pertaining to thinking, McNeil (2009) goes on to distinguish humanist, academician, and social reconstructionist approaches. McNeil (2009) argues that humanist goals for thinking focus on the building of new ideas and understandings in order to fulfill individual needs and development and include exercises that value creative thinking, risk taking, elaborating, flexibility, and fluency (McNeil, 2009). Academicians favour more pragmatic and logico-scientific modes of thinking based on categorization and the relationship between the categories. The last mode of thinking that McNeil (2009) considers is that of the social reconstructionist where critical thinking and a healthy criticism of the world is the primary mode of thinking.

An added contemporary view of knowledge and learning theory in particular that has gained in popularity is that of constructivism. In recent years there has been much opposition to traditional transmission style learning that serves only to provide basic, surface level understanding of concepts and ideas (Davis, 2010). Closely associated with Dewey's ideas concerning experiential learning, constructivist curriculum works from the assumption that learners construct their knowledge, they cannot simply have knowledge inserted into their brains. The social approach to constructivism does not leave learners to their own devices. Working from Vygotsky's theories of social learning, social constructivists claim that learners will achieve greater mastery when working alongside adults or other learners (McNeil, 2009).

Individualism and Communitarianism

Rooted in the ideology of liberalism, individualism places the needs and progress of the individual at the centre. Throughout the history of the philosophy of education, individualists are most often concerned with the individual freedom of the student and often criticize schooling for neglecting the uniqueness of individuals and imposing a rigid curriculum on students (Portelli and Menashy, 2010). Schooling is seen as a means to build skills and knowledge that will enable an individual to function in society and lead a

productive life all the while keeping the individuals interests and development as primary considerations (Portelli and Menashy, 2010).

Contrary to individualists' beliefs, communitarians hold that education should work to support the community; it is education *for* the community (Portelli and Menashy, 2010). There are two varying approaches to communitarian schooling which enable it to take on conflicting assumptions. One contemporary approach, conservative and neoliberal in nature, views the end goal of education as the successful participation of a student in the economy; the student is represented as 'human capital' and is receiving an education in order to serve the community through economic participation. In this view curriculum is designed in order to create a profitable and efficient workforce (Portelli and Menashy, 2010). An additional contemporary approach, radical and critical in nature, focuses on the transformation of society through education. The approach endeavors to move beyond the acquisition of knowledge to encourage students to think critically about their lives and their communities (Portelli and Menshy, 2010).

Social Reconstructionism and Critical Theory

A third orientation which appeared frequently within Canadian curricular documents of the 1970s and rose to prominence during the 1980s is labeled 'democratic', 'reformist', 'social reconstructionist' or 'critical theory' (Milburn, 1977; Osborne, 1991). The basic premise which social reconstructionist approaches accept is that it is the role and purpose of schools to provide education that will shape society for the better (Milburn, 1977). Although social reconsturctionists may differ in their views concerning how society should change for the better, all agree that reforming principles are fundamental in the design of curricula and also oppose conservative, free enterprise systems (Milburn, 1977). Social reconstructionists are most often concerned with the relationship between curriculum and the political, social, and economic development of society (McNeil, 2009). Speaking more specifically about critical theorists, Scott (2008) points out the common underpinning for these theorists is that schooling serves a distinct role in introducing students to, preparing them for, and legitimating a specific kind of life. Critical educators look to disrupt the dominant forms of understandings which promote and perpetuate unequal social relation by "fostering awareness of conditions that

45

limit the possibilities for human becoming and legitimate the unequal distribution of social goods" (Scott, pp.14). As such, critical theory assumes that all education is political education as it works to legitimize and condemn certain views of the world (Osborne, 1991). A central tenet of learning and schooling is then to introduce students to and confront the many challenges that humankind face (McNeil, 2009). Just as the name suggests, critical theorists are 'critical' and are committed to both criticism and recurring analysis of their assumptions (Osborne, 1991).

McNeil (2009) argues that social reconstructionists of today work primarily from the ideas of Paulo Freire and his 'cultural action for conscientization' which involves educating students about the obstacles that make it impossible to have a clear perception of their reality; a process where individuals become aware of their reality and their power to reshape that reality. Contemporary social reconstructionists also often pay heed to environmental concerns and recognize that the environment requires a conception of human freedom that will sustain the earth (McNeil, 2009). Social reconstructionists and critical theorists represent a distinct approach to the issues of power and domination within education and society, but some of the central issues diversity and the special needs of children cut across ideological and philosophical lines. Neo-progressives and conservatives would all agree that schools need to find ways to deal with these issues more effectively (Tomkins, 1986).

Multicultural Education

Coupled with the prevailing theories are a number of educational trends that gained prominence during the 1970s or 80s and continue to influence curricula today. Multicultural education was developed as an approach to the preoccupation which began in the later decades of the 20th century with diversity and inclusion (Enslin and Hedge, 2010). Following the 1971 Multiculturalism Act many ministries of education carried out examinations of texts and other related curricular materials in efforts to eliminate various forms of discrimination (Hebert, 2001). Stemming from the move to multiculturalism in the wider Canadian society, multicultural education is an area of study that continues to figure prominently in educational arenas and continues to today.

Although the presence of multicultural education within the field of curriculum studies has taken on different forms throughout various time periods, and also within the same time, multicultural approaches all seek to acknowledge the issue of diversity. In their 1977 study of multiculturalism within Canadian social studies curricula, Werner (1977) and his colleagues concluded that there was significant omission of Aboriginal peoples and British and French remained the predominant cultural groups portrayed in the curricula. The study also found that whenever non British or French cultural groups were portrayed they were considered exotic and often at odds with the dominant groups (Tomkins, 1986). The Werner (1977) study conceptualized four different approaches to multicultural education and diversity as they saw in the curriculum documents. The first was museum approach where different cultures were studied at a distance and viewed in terms of their exotic nature without any context. The second approach, heritage, worked to stress charter group dominance and was often ethnocentric and paternalistic. The disciplines approach focused on studying the cultural groups mainly within the discipline of history. The last approach, and also least common amongst the approaches, was the interdisciplinary approach. This approach sought to examine cultural groups using social studies concepts that considered conflicting interpretations and values issues (Tomkins, 1986). In a similar fashion, Brown and Kysilka (2002) argue that although contemporary multicultural education advocates would disagree on the types of approaches being used in the field, they would accept that the development of multicultural education can be viewed as some sort of progression from cosmetic contributions to more thoughtful considerations which may be represented by James Banks' (1994) four stages. The contributions approach, much like the museum approach, offers superficial features of cultural groups without any context and is outside of the main curriculum. In the additive approach, small pieces of content, perspectives, and issues are added without altering the structure of the curriculum. The transformation approach, as its name indicates, transforms the basic curriculum in order to view content and issues from diverse cultural perspectives. Another view of cultural diversity which honours varying perspectives is the cultural difference approach. In this approach cultural differences are viewed as strengths which can be built upon to facilitate learning as opposed to deficiencies in learners (Sleeter and Grant, 1999). The final stage, the social action approach, goes

47

beyond the curriculum to make decisions and enact change to help solve important issues (Brown and Kysilka, 2002). Sleeter and Grant (1999) also recognize the development of the social action branch of multicultural education in their discussion of the field's development. They argue that it was an approach that developed through the 1970s and 1980s but only gained real recognition into the 1990s as it sought to extend the realm of multicultural education into social action resistance to social stratification (Sleeter and Grant, 1999).

Reflective of the social action approach as well as contemporary prevalence of critical narratives concerning inclusion and diversity, Enslin and Hedge (2010) discuss two contemporary approaches in particular: liberal and poststructural. A liberal approach is one which seeks to extend the normative definitions of inclusion in an effort to meet the demands on individual as well as group justice. Poststructural inclusion seeks to rearticulate and restructure inclusion and diversity in order to decentre it and recognizes that the two are a process rather than an end game (Enslin and Hedge, 2010). With this in mind, Enslin and Hedge (2010) are adamant that the approach taken must be mindful as some approaches have the potential to threaten the very objectives that they wish to pursue.

Limitations of Multicultural Education

Hebert (2001) argues that following two decades of multicultural education in Canada it is clear that there are limitations to an attitudinal emphasis within the field. Much of the focus within multicultural education since its inception in the 1970s has been on the feast and festival approach which is harmful and limiting because of its inability to address issues of belief and value systems and of political activism and social justice (Hebert, 2001). More seriously though is the failure to address racism and discrimination in Canada (Hebert, 2001). Hebert (2001) argues that some efforts have been made to redress these short comings through three approaches: anti-racist education, specialized schools, and citizenship education. Anti-racist education focuses on working to change institutional policies and practices that perpetuate racist attitudes and understandings and also focus on providing for the needs of students form diverse backgrounds in order to foster a greater sense of belonging within educational institutions. Specialized schools

48

work to better provide for the needs of diverse populations by establishing educational institutions which represent narrow cultural backgrounds. Finally, citizenship education attempts to redress some of the limitations of multicultural education through an emphasis on the political context of education (Hebert, 2001).

Aboriginal Perspectives and Content

At first included as part of the vast array of cultures which make up the Canadian plural landscape, Aboriginal content and perspectives have increasingly become an area of separate study and consideration within the broader context of multicultural studies and diversity and inclusion. Donald (2009) speaks of a shift within Canadian curriculum concerning Aboriginal perspectives and content. He acknowledges that many initiatives have been implemented across the country in an effort to recognize and incorporate Aboriginal perspectives and ways of knowing. Additionally, Donald (2009) argues that this is a significant shift because it marks a shift away from Aboriginal perspectives as a special area of interest that is supplementary to more rigorous issues. Arguing also for decolonization, Donald (2009) maintains that the first step is to reframe Aboriginal issues and perspectives in ways that are not exclusionary or isolationist.

Building upon an anticolonial argument, St.Denis (2011) takes the caution of multiculturalism for Aboriginal issues and perspectives a step further arguing that multiculturalism actually undermines Aboriginal rights and sovereignty. St.Denis (2011) explains that there are a number of ways that multiculturalism serves to undermine Aboriginal sovereignty and rights including its ability to help erase and trivialize Aboriginal claims and the need to amend Aboriginal rights. Furthermore, multicultural national narratives focus on the representation of Canada as a successful, just, multicultural state. Aboriginal rights and perspectives lose their unique location as indigenous to Canada because Aboriginal peoples are grouped in with racialized minorities within a multicultural framework and "Aboriginal content and perspectives are to be regarded as merely one perspective among many" (St.Denis, pp.313). The multicultural framework is at once able to legitimize the neglect of Aboriginal perspectives and content and make teachers feel as though they are becoming more inclusive and respectful (St.Denis, 2011).

49

Values and Character Education

By the late 1970s the climate of activism and strife had largely subsided and people reverted to an individualist model favouring self-improvement over social improvement. This came to be reflected in the curriculum through the values clarification model of moral education which continued to prevail into the 1980s (Tanner and Tanner, 1990). The values clarification approach to moral education focuses on the development of personal preferences in order to help students be mindful of their priorities, be more productive as they learn to analyze where their actions will take them, be more critical as they learn to see through the mistakes and silliness of others, and be better able to communicate and interact with others (McNeil, 2009). The central focus in the approach is "helping students use rational thinking and emotional awareness to examine personal behaviour patterns and to clarify and actualize their values" (Knapp, pp.1). Despite the popularity of values clarification, major criticisms were apparent which questioned the approach's failure to incorporate any real critical thinking and its relativism concerning values (Boyd and Bogdan, 1984). As a result of its no-content approach, many felt that the values clarification approach was blurring the lines between moral judgments and simple preferences resulting in a lack of moral grounding for students (Leo, 1999).

Character education had taken on a more limiting focus by the late 1980s endorsing and teaching students a particular set of morals (i.e. kindness, honesty, courage), but the focus was broadened during the 1990s to include a more expansive approach. The character education of the 1990s expanded its framework beyond the traditional consideration of values, morals, and justice to encompass issues of caring social relationships, personal and civic responsibility, democratic ideals, and multicultural understandings (McNeil, 2009). Character education can also be divided into performance based character, which focuses on building attributes such as organization, teamwork, self-discipline, and initiative, and moral based character which is concerned with developing morals like honesty and kindness fostered through collaborative interactions and discussions (McNeil, 2009).

Global Dimension

Not unlike multicultural education, global education can be understood and implemented in varying forms. Teaching about the world that students live in is no new concept within social studies, but global education which seeks to teach a global perspective is a relatively new addition (Werner and Case, 1997). Throughout the 1980s and 1990s global education was seen as part of advocacy for a more global perspective in curriculum as its defining aim was to foster a less ethnocentric single minded worldview through encouraging students to consider issues from varying diverse perspectives (Werner and Case, 1997). An early form of global education that took shape during the 1970s was developmental education. This early form of global education was primarily concerned with teaching students about the challenges of the developing international community. Although an early approach Werner and Case (1997) argue that it did take on a global perspective as it sought "to shift away from a first world point of view of 3rd world development as essentially a matter of economics or charity" (pp.177). International development was instead viewed from a more holistic and inclusive perspective which emphasized both the interconnectedness of economic, social, moral, environmental consideration as well as the interests of all those affected (Werner and Case, 1997).

In considering the contemporary case for global education, Werner and Case (1997) advocate for global education as an orientation as opposed to content or topic areas within social studies. In addition, they structure their orientation according to the four themes of interconnections (examining the complexities of the linkages that exist in the world but also that those linkages do not benefit all those involved), perspectivity (encouraging students to consider issues from varying perspectives), caring (developing a sense in students that they are implicated and affected by the processes of the global world), and alternatives (considering alternatives to the way the world is now and how we might attain that) (Werner and Case, 1997).

Equally important in examining approaches and key tenets of global education is the view from which globalization is considered. Globalization can be viewed in a variety of ways which will work to determine the approach for educating students

concerning that global world. Schultz (2012) uses the three approaches to globalization as set out by McGrew (2000) in order to explore global citizenship. The first is the neo liberal approach, characterized by its celebration of a singular global market and liberal economy driven by capitalism and technology. A radical approach characterizes globalization as an extension of Western imperialism which works to further subjugate populations through economic domination. The third approach, transformationalism, understands globalization as an interconnected web of social, economic, political, cultural, and environmental patterns which work to create new patterns of inclusion and exclusion (Schultz, 2012). The deviation amongst the three approaches will invariably result in equally diverse conceptions of global citizenship.

THEORETICAL AND TREND CONSIDERATIONS IN SOCIAL STUDIES AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

Social Studies

In his study of contemporary issues and trends in Canadian social studies, Sears (1997) argues that although the subject is rooted in the progressive notions of Dewey, the content and organization of social studies has always been and continues to be a contentious issue. Sears (1997) divides the approaches into two broad approaches which either argue for a discipline centred (with history as dominant discipline) or an issues, problems organization. In discussing some common themes within social studies at that time Sears (1997) argues that the incorporation of multiple perspectives, global education programs are seen as important organizing principles.

In their study of the wide and conflicting range of purposes offered by social studies programs Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977) argue for three dominant positions of citizenship (or cultural) transmission, social science, and reflective inquiry while Morrissette and Haas (1982) organized approaches into the categories of conservative cultural continuity, the intellectual aspects of history and the social sciences, and the process of thinking reflectively. While they use varying organizational categories, both sets of researchers agree that there are three main purposes served by social studies: socialization into society's norms, transmission of facts and concepts from the academic disciplines, and the promotion of critical and reflective thinking (Ross, 2000).

Stanley and Nelson (1994) argue that the central dividing factor in the approach to social studies is in the emphasis given to cultural transmission or critical or reflective thinking. If the first is emphasized the result is to promote social adaptation through the teaching of behaviours and values accepted by the dominant, traditional dominant society. Conversely, if critical thinking is the focus, the resulting emphasis is on social transformation achieved by questioning and critiquing the standard views of dominant society (Ross, 2000). Stanley and Nelson (1994) then organize these two approaches into three broad and not necessarily conflicting sub categories. Subject centred approaches argue that social studies gets its content from disciplines of higher education rendering subject matter knowledge of utmost importance. Civics centred models are unified by the

53

theme of civic competence and are more concerned with individual and societal behaviours rather than subject knowledge. The third approach places issues at the core of social studies programs and focuses on the examination of particular issues and controversies as the primary content (Ross, 2000). Within each one of the approaches there exists a spectrum of views concerning their overarching categories of organization – cultural transmission versus critical thinking. Ross (2000) argues that social studies has had a mixed history as it predominantly accepted conservative purposes but has also at times incorporated progressive and even radical approaches.

Citizenship Education

As is the case with social studies, conceptions of citizenship education will differ according to the underlying principles which inform them. Many scholars argue that citizenship education in Canada has, for the most part, emphasized an elitist conception of citizenship where citizens are conceived as passive members of society who leave the affairs of politics to the politicians and only become involved while fulfilling their civic duty of voting (Sears, 2004). From its earliest years, education was concerned with making political subjects who were not self-creating but rather created by their governors while promoting the image of an easily governed population (Sears, 2004). Traditionally, schools have favoured a passive kind of citizenship which promotes obedience and conformity for most students with a few allegedly academic students encouraged to think for themselves (Osborne, 1991). Historians of education have shown that the motivation for compulsory schooling was to quell the masses into a kind of responsible citizenship (Osborne, 1991). The type of citizenship that has been taught in schools has been a restricted, status quo type citizenship that pays little attention to the principles of active participation and enhancement of democratic principles (Osborne, 1991). Although this is the case, Sears (2004) argues that in recent years there have been efforts to conceptualize citizenship education within a more activist awareness, at least in official curricula.

Sears and Hughes (1996) identify a spectrum of conceptions of citizenship education ranging from the most traditional, conservative view of citizenship to radical critical/social reconstructionist and which easily highlight the connections between theory and citizenship education. The most traditional, conservative, elitist, and essentialist theories inform of type of citizenship that emphasizes a particular set of knowledge, skills, and values that will enable students to participate in democratic society through informed voting; the end goal is to develop a citizen who can make informed choices in the voting process. A more progressive underpinning highlights an interdisciplinary approach to knowledge and where active participation in public affairs is encouraged through the development of critical thinking skills. A third conception hints at critical theory and social reconstructionism by placing emphasis on issues like social justice and environmental responsibility. In this conception citizen participation takes place in the wider global context with an emphasis on plurality where students are required to think critically and cross culturally in order to aide in creating a most just and environmentally sustainable world. The fourth conception focuses explicitly on recognizing the structures that have worked to create inequalities in the world. Students learn the skills to recognize such oppressive practices and structures and participate in actively to challenge and change them. (Sears and Hughes, 1996).

Aboriginal perspectives regarding citizenship work to highlight the issue of plurality of the Canadian landscape. Although there are multiple perspectives and theories concerning Aboriginal citizenship within the Canadian landscape, three conceptions offer promising frameworks which work to acknowledge Aboriginal rights and unique position within Canadian society while at the same time working to reconcile issues of exclusion. Battiste and Semaganis (2002) argue that in order to understand issues of citizenship from within an Aboriginal perspective, there is a need to define and explore the Aboriginal conception of citizenship. The influence of critical theory is apparent as they advocate for the decolonization of the concept of citizenship and note that, "citizenship education is another manifestation of cognitive imperialism that doesn't

recognize Aboriginal perspectives" (Battiste and Semaganis, pp.94). In his attempts to address the lack of inclusion of Aboriginal perspective brought to light by Battiste and Semganis (2002), Burrows (2000) argues that a citizenship with the land is needed in order to extend the idea of Aboriginal citizenship past the bounds of Aboriginal control over Aboriginal affairs into Aboriginal control in Canadian affairs. Burrows (2000) argues that the unique relationship that Aboriginal peoples share with the land can serve as a basis for a conception of citizenship that will enable Aboriginal culture and values to be preserved and reflected not only within reserve lands but outside of them as well. The result is a landed citizenship which reflects the same kind of relationship that other Canadians have with their provincial and federal governments – a kind of federalism that is fluid and grounded in the land and our relationships with it (Burrows, 2000). In similar fashion, Blackburn (2009) advocates for a transformed conception of differentiated citizenship that affords certain groups of people special rights in addition to the individual rights common to all citizens.

Theory will invariably influence the presence of and the form that citizenship takes in the Social Studies curriculum. The backdrop of the prevailing currents and countercurrents of traditionalism/essentialism and progressivism/social reconstructivism the trends of multicultural and Aboriginal perspectives, global education, character education, and the common core will work to provide a deeper understanding of the form that citizenship education takes on during a particular era. The prevalence and approach taken to each of the trends and currents will influence and underpin the attention paid to and approach taken concerning citizenship education.

Despite variation concerning trends and currents, what should be remembered is that citizenship has the distinct nature of dictating a common set of values to its citizens. Citizenship education is meant to socialize students to participate in a particular kind of society. Although there are instances where certain values take precedence over others and times where some values are completely absent, there are particular values that are core to the Canadian identity through the better part of the time period under study. At the core of these values is the idea of pluralism, arguably the only part of Canada's

identity which can be pinpointed and the acceptance that Canada is comprised of many differing cultures and identities.

1971 Curriculum Guide

The revised 1971 Social Studies curriculum guide begins with an overview of the changes in structure and philosophy in comparison to the earlier 1960 program of studies it came to replace. The most notable change in the organizational structure of the course was the shift to a conceptual framework. This conceptual framework was chosen, as opposed to the earlier chronological organization, in an effort to help the learner see "the interrelationships of the information and ideas and to understand the broad meaning of the concepts," (Saskatchewan Education, pp.1). The two major concepts, from which students will build these interrelationships, are culture and society. The guide, and course, was subsequently organized into thematic units of study which address and explore the two broad concepts of culture and society. The main purpose in exploring these two broad concepts was for students to gain an understanding and appreciation of their Western heritage. Students explore the concepts as they existed within ancient societies in an effort to provide students with the opportunity "to use the methods of inquiry of the social sciences to explore his [*sic*] heritage" (Saskatchewan Education, pp.1).

Each one of the units of study was organized into concepts, components, understandings, related content, and suggested activities. Of the listed concepts historical evidence and societal and cultural patterns and change appeared most often. There was a focus on the practice and skills of uncovering the past with particular emphasis on archaeological evidence. Cultural patterns and change refer most often to religious and artistic representations and variations while societal patterns and change focused primarily on political and economic structures and systems, (Saskatchewan Education, pp.3-5). With these primary areas of focus in mind, the overarching approach to the content was to explore the structures of organization which are present in the societies studied, the ideas which underpin these structures, the progression of change in societies, and what may occur in the face of these changes.

Working from the content analysis, which included the word frequency analysis as well as contextual analysis of the entire document, several themes emerged from the guide. In relation to the influence of educational philosophy in the document, the presence of a progressive, student centred approach focused on developing lifelong learners who know their cultural heritage and think critically about how it came to be was evident. The introductory material mentioned the importance of catering instruction and resources to both student needs and interests (Saskatchewan Education, 1971). The introductory material also favoured a pragmatic approach stating that under the guidance of teachers, students acquire knowledge and skills which will serve them throughout their lives, (pp.1). Hints of a structural approach were also evident within the guide as there was certainly a focus on students acquiring the skills associated with gathering information about the past. The process of historical inquiry was a key component within each of the six thematic units of study as well as a central aim within the introduction to the course. Although not explicitly evident in terms of a true inquiry approach to learning, the importance of inquiry was stated within the introduction and within the suggested activities for the units of study. The emphasis on the teaching of cultural heritage hints at what Tomkins (1989) terms neo-progressivism. Although the guide certainly leans more in the direction of a progressive approach, there was a particular emphasis on the importance of the promotion of learning and a socialization role for education in its aims for promoting learning experiences that will create memorable experiences for students and continue to influence students throughout their lifetime. The guide stated in the introduction that "transmission of a cultural heritage from one generation to another is a universal purpose of education" (Saskatchewan Education, pp.31). The key aims of the course guided students to understand the past and to see the links between that past, ancient civilizations of the Middle East and the Mediterranean and Western Europe in particular, and their current lives (Saskatchewan Education, 1971).

The shift to a more progressive approach was also evident in the type of thinking students were encouraged to display. Critical thinking was highlighted as one of the key skills that students should master through the course in relation to considering evidence. Students must learn to base judgments on sound evidence and to determine the reliability

59

and validity of sources based on critical examination of that evidence (Saskatchewan Education, 1971). The temporal quality of conclusions drawn from historical evidence is also accompanied by a conception of time which accepts a relative position. In investigating the concept of time students are encouraged to understand that there are multiple ways of understanding and interpreting time and that time is not a concept which is fully understood (Saskatchewan Education, 1971). This approach encourages students to consider varying interpretations and also accept the validity of those varying perspectives. In the earliest unit and subsequent units which follow students were also encouraged to understand that gathering historical evidence can be difficult because there is always the possibility that evidence may change over time to augment a once accepted explanation or theory (Saskatchewan Education, 1971).

The year of publication for this guide (1971) makes it somewhat difficult to discern the societal and political influences at play because the historical analysis considered the 1970s and not the 1960s. The societal influences of the 60s were not readily apparent in the piece as its development took place during the previous decade. This means that the climate of diversity and multiculturalism which really came to heavily influence society and policy during the 1970s was not apparent in this document. Instead the guide focused on the dissemination and transmission of a single cultural heritage stemming from the ancient civilizations of the Middle East, the Mediterranean and Western Europe. Plural identities and multiple definitions of Canadian heritage were not considered as students are left only to consider their cultural roots in relation primarily to the achievements and contributions of Western culture. One aspect that one might expect to find within the document might be an emphasis on equality since the 1960s can be characterized by its equal rights movements, but this was not the case. Equality and issues of oppressive structures were rarely mentioned, and in cases where equality or oppressive practices were addressed, the document did not encourage any consideration of the importance of equality, instead the document simply explained that not all people have it. For instance, a key understanding within the unit on ancient Rome was that "exploitation is generally a feature of imperialism," (pp.29). The issue of exploitation is not explored in terms of its injustice to those who are exploited, but simply that it is a characteristic of imperialism.

Despite the absence of trends characteristic of the 1970s, there was evidence to suggest the influence of the agrarian settlement heritage of Saskatchewan. Throughout the document references to the environment certainly encourage the settlement mentality of adapting to the conditions of the environment. The environment was represented as a contributing factor in the explanation for certain societal patterns and societal developments. Although a minor focus within the guide (only three understandings throughout the document deal with the natural environment or geography) an understanding is developed that the environment can influence the organization and development of societies (Saskatchewan Education, 1971).

Of the five themes used for determining the nature of citizenship education identity was certainly at the core in this guide. From the outset it was made very clear that the purpose of this course of study is to explore "those early civilizations that have shaped the fundamental cultural and social concepts of our Western culture" (Saskatchewan Education, pp.1) and provide students with the opportunities to explore the Western cultural heritage which is assumed to be theirs.

The development of that heritage was expressed with an assumption of progress. Man begins developing tools and increased brain power which leads to the development of systems of organization. These advanced systems of organization then lead to economic and government structures which work to control and organize civilizations. Advanced civilizations look to conquer and expand, although the reasons for this are not considered, causing adaptations in political and social organization which tend to eventually fail and result in the breakup of the empire. Students were also urged to identify with, but not question the impact, of some of the oppressive characteristics of their heritage (imperialism, slavery, social stratification and hierarchy).

Political and government structures were explored to some extent as they appeared in one form or another within five out of the six thematic units of study. The focus was on the evolution of political systems and government as societies progress and change throughout the expansive course of history that the guide covers. Students do not consider to any real extent the implications of the style of political organization but are only encouraged to consider the key characteristics and organization of varying styles of

61

government. The development of early political organization was explained as required in order to organize society as the diversification of types of work increases (Saskatchewan Education, 1971). In terms of political efficacy, the concept was not specifically addressed but the concept of participation in society was. Participation in society was included within both the introduction as well as the overall aims of the course. Within the two sections students' participation in everyday affairs and "becoming effective participants in their society" were noted, (Saskatchewan Education, pp.3). Democracy was mentioned once in the guide, citing its roots in Greek culture with equality before the law and personal freedom as its two major underlying principles, (pp.26).

Rights and responsibilities occupied little space within the guide and were referenced only in connection with Greek civilization. Within that context, students are encouraged to understand that it is usually the rich who enjoy more privilege and greater rights in societies and also that as societies progress, rights become protected by the rule of law (Saskatchewan Education, 1971).

Value systems of the societies were not explored to any detail, nor was instilling particular values in students an obvious aim within the guide. The introductory material did not cite the importance of students developing an appreciation of the different values systems of various societies but there is no real focus on the values held by the societies in the specific units of study. Again the focus was more on students developing a relationship with these past cultures as they are encouraged to appreciate those varying value systems in relation to the influence they have on their present way of life (Saskatchewan Education, 1971). The implicit values that were promoted by this guide include an appreciation for the past and the societies of the past included in the course because of their relevance and impact on the present.

Although students were encouraged to be critical thinkers in the introduction to this course, global and social justice issues were virtually non-existent. There were points at which the guide referred to topics that provide potential for exploring issues of social justice and ecological sustainability but these opportunities were missed. There were numerous instances where the topics of this nature were presented but there is no

attempt made to examine these topics and concepts in relation to their detrimental and long lasting impacts. For instance ethnocentrism and imperialism were explored but both were simply presented as occurrences which have taken place, neglecting to explore their impact. Invasion and conquest were represented in a positive light as the impact of cultural losses were ignored in favour of changes and new elements being introduced to that culture. Furthermore, conquest was represented as a unifying factor for varying cultures by breaking down the differences in customs and manners (Saskatchewan Education, 1971).The only instance where the consequences were considered was in relation to the issue of conquest, "the consequences from a struggle between rival groups generally differ for the conquerors and the conquered" (Saskatchewan Education, pp.20). Clearly the intent was not to encourage students to understand the harmful consequences of conquest but simply to understand that viewpoints and consequences will differ. Although the environment and geography were certainly areas of study included in the course, the focus was not on sustainability or the impact that societies can have on their natural environments, but instead upon the adaptability of humans to the environment in order to ensure survival.

The most notable absences in this document can be explained by the position that the document takes in exploring the cultural heritage of Western society. The focus was limited to the roots of Western cultural development. There was no mention of the plurality of Canadian identities, instead there was the heritage of Western Europe. Students are assumed to all be decedents of the Western European cultural identity and are all encouraged to identify with this, and only this, heritage.

Perhaps the most glaring absence in exploring the ancient roots of Canadian society was the complete absence of Aboriginal society and culture. There were two references to Aboriginal content, both within the suggested activities sections of the guide. One activity recommended having students explore Aboriginal groups of Australia or the Eskimos in relation to societal organization and structure while another encouraged students to explore the differences in rights by investigating the rights of an Indian on a reserve (Saskatchewan Education, 1971).

What Type of Citizenship?

Concentration on a number of concepts and how these concepts are presented led to several conclusions concerning what type of citizen this document promoted. One of the most notable areas of concentration for the course was the promotion of a singular identity, culture, and heritage in both the introductory material and objectives for this course of study. Students were encouraged to learn about and appreciate their past in an effort to explain their contemporary lives. Political systems and types of government also figure prominently in the document where the focus lies on exploring their characteristics and development. Each society was studied for the most part in relation to its structures of social organization with some attention paid to cultural aspects such as art and literature. Social organizational changes were not viewed as a product of citizens' efforts and desires but rather as a more natural process of progression as societies needs outgrow the organizational structure in place. Although the environment and geographic factors were present within the document, these issues were not presented in relation to environmental issues or patterns of environmental degradation. The environment was viewed as a factor which contributes to societal change and forces humans to adapt.

Each of these factors combine to construct a conception of citizenship that aligns most fittingly with a traditional, responsible citizenship. Students were encouraged to be informed in terms of their knowledge of political systems and past societies which form the basis of Western culture but certainly not to question or evaluate those social structures for their validity or contribute to social change in their environments. Students are active in their investigation into the information required as content knowledge, but there was little focus on the evaluation of ideas and structures in the societies studied or different interpretations of the information.

This is not to say that there were not hints of a more progressive approach but the signs were somewhat limiting and continue to be more traditional than anything else. For instance, although students were encouraged to be active participants in society, they were to do so with their uniform identity and values in mind. The key to effective participation is in the knowledge these students acquire in relation to their shared history and heritage. Students were also encouraged to develop thinking skills but with little

focus on varying perspectives or alternative approaches. Despite the fact that the aim of the course was to provide students with the ability to appreciate the past and make connections with the present, this was not readily apparent in the content of the curriculum. Students were afforded little opportunity to make real connections between the past and the present and so were simply left to passively receive and consider the viewpoints of the ancient societies studied as the ultimate source of their identity and heritage.

Directions; Curriculum and Instruction Review 1984

Since there is a wide gap between the curriculum documents (1971-1991), the final report of the Curriculum and Instruction Review was considered in order to provide some guidance in the significant alterations in the structure and organization of the 1991 curriculum guide as compared with the 1971 document. The document provides great insight into the climate of the period and the driving forces for curriculum change at that time. The Curriculum and Instruction Review Committee, whose work began in 1981, were tasked to determine the quality of education in Saskatchewan and provide some vision and direction for the future (Saskatchewan Education, 1984). The final report represents conclusions regarding the information that the committee gathered over their three years of work and suggestions for changes to current educational practice in looking towards the future and improving education in Saskatchewan.

Although key word frequency analysis was not completed for this document as the intent was to provide a general overview of the changes for education and implications for citizenship education, the five themes and critical considerations used to analyze all other primary documents remained the organizational structure for the analysis.

Notable societal influences within the document pertain to statements concerning the purpose of education and the diversity of Saskatchewan students, with particular emphasis on Aboriginal students. Saskatchewan's unique preoccupation with Aboriginal culture and issues over other cultural groups is evident in the suggestions and recommendations of the committee. The issue of Aboriginal students and Aboriginal education occupies its own section in the document outside of concerns relating to

diversity and multiculturalism. The focus on Aboriginal students is viewed as an area of concern and interest in addition to concerns relating to meeting the needs of individual learners. The diversity of students is much more in relation to catering instruction to differing learning styles and needs as opposed to honouring or taking into account cultural diversity.

Several aspects of particular political philosophies are apparent in the document most notably in the areas of the attitude towards change and the value of the individual. Liberal ideas concerning education, most evidently the valuing the development of the individual above all else, are reflected in the educational goals suggested by the committee. The committee states that, "education should develop the full potential of each person to the fullest extent," (Saskatchewan Education, pp.26). The end goal of this individual development provides added insight into the nature of the underlying principles of the recommendations. One of the central concerns in the document is to produce students who are "well equipped to function in a complex and changing world" (Saskatchewan Education, pp.7). There is little emphasis on the holistic development of an individual learner as the main focus is on turning out graduates who are able to enter into the fields that they wish to in order to function effectively in society. Liberal tendencies prevail again in relation to the whole notion of change and progress in the document. The idea of change is viewed in terms of its potential for the betterment of the educational experience for students. Although the committee spends some time highlighting the content of members of the public with Saskatchewan's education system, it is held by the committee that change, and not radical change, is needed "to better meet the needs of Saskatchewan children" (Saskatchewan Education, pp.10).

An interesting note on the societal impact in the document concerns the economic consumer culture and economic preoccupation climate of the 1980s. The effects over concern for the over excesses of the period in relation to consumerism are reflected in the goals of Saskatchewan education where a section appears concerning consumer decisions. In describing the characteristics of an educated person, the committee suggests that making informed consumer decisions is a key area of focus in career and consumer decisions, (Saskatchewan Education, 1984). Also reflecting the trend towards

66

preparation in education, the end goal is that each student be prepared for life following high school including several references to preparation for vocational life.

The clearest impacts in regards to education theory within the committee recommendations are the emphasis on a student centred, individualized approach to curriculum and instruction, the discussion of basics in education, and the introduction of skills based behavioural objectives. The committee is very much concerned with meeting the needs of and developing the potential of each individual student. The committee explains that the policy framework and suggestions included in the document reflect the knowledge "that children develop at different rates and learn in a variety of ways" (Saskatchewan Education, pp.36). Furthermore that when "instruction is matched to the demands of content and the needs of the child, learning can be expected to increase" Saskatchewan Education, pp.37). A notable absence in the discussion of individual students and their needs though is the importance of students' interest that is usually characteristic of student centred approaches.

The back to the basic approach that became characteristic in curriculum development in the 1970s and then redressed for being too narrow in the 1980s is reflected in the committee's recommendations. The committee notes, as did many others in the curriculum field in the 1980s, that basic education needs to encompass more than the traditional skills of mathematics and language (Saskatchewan Education, 1984). The committee states that although the simplicity of an education based in mathematics and language is attractive, this type of education might better prepare students for the past rather than the future. As such, the committee sought to expand upon those basic skills without removing the importance of mathematics and language. Working from this premise, the committee suggested a definition of basic skills which included higher order thinking skills focused on gathering and interpreting information, communication skills and problem solving skills (Saskatchewan Education, 1984).

In addressing the wide range of skills that students need in order to participate in the world following their completion of high school the committee suggests the introduction of more specific skill statements articulated in the goals for education. The committee cites as a problem of the past the ambiguous nature of the goals of education

67

in describing the skills that are necessary for students to acquire during their education in the K -12 system in the province. Clearly articulated skills will enable schools and teachers to plan more effectively in preparing students for the future (Saskatchewan Education, 1984). The goals statements created concerning the basic skills that students need reflect the influence of behavioural objectives as they represent measurable tasks that students are able to 'do' or complete (Saskatchewan Education, 1984).

It is somewhat difficult to relate the issues and suggestions of the documents to the thematic analysis of citizenship education as easily as the other curriculum documents because the thematic orientations occupy little space in the document. The development of an identity is not a concept that is explored within the recommendations as the focus is instead placed on the development of the individual learner to fulfill their potential in terms of their participation in the world once they complete their education. Although this is the case in considering the document in a holistic sense, there are a number of references to the importance of including Saskatchewan and Canadian content in learning and instruction. The committee was concerned that there was a lack in terms of not only Canadian and Saskatchewan content but also in the area of Indian/Native history (Saskatchewan Education, 1984).

There are also a small number of references to political and societal participation in the document. The goals of education as articulated by the committee suggest that membership in society should be an area of focus. The goal statements relating to the overarching goal of membership in society aim to equip students to "participate in the democratic processes of government, perform the duties of citizenship, and respect the property of others" (Saskatchewan Education, pp.27). This statement also represents one of the four explicit references in the document to the rights and responsibilities/duties of membership in society. Added responsibilities are in reference to taking responsibility for one's own actions and decisions and taking responsibility for those in need in society (Saskatchewan Education, 1984). A further reference to rights within the section includes exercising the right of dissent, but in a responsible manner and in accordance with the principles of personal conscience and social justice (Saskatchewan Education, 1984). A particular set of social values are also explicitly suggested in association with

membership in society and are represented as an ethical framework that include honesty, integrity, compassion, and fairness (Saskatchewan Education, 1984).

Coupled with the two references to acting in accordance with the principles of fairness and social justice in mind within the membership in society goals of education, there are also a few other references to issues of a global and social justice nature throughout the document. One of the central concerns represented by the committee is that current educational practices do not prepare students for life in a changing and complex world. One vision for education in the year 2000 that the committee suggests is that education should develop a sense of the worldwide community.

More than preparing students for a global world is the concern for the inclusion of content and provisions for alternatives to serve the needs of Indian/Native and Northern students. Suggestions to address these concerns included the development of an elective Native course at the secondary level, development of Native language materials, inclusion of Native content in the identified core subject areas, addressing issues of discrimination and prejudice at the grade 8 level or before, and the examination of what was present curricula for examples of stereotypes and negative representations (Saskatchewan Education, 1984).

As is the case with all of the documents selected for analysis, the issues which are neglected completely within the document are reflective of the representative quality of the document. The document represents only a summary of the concerns which the committee felt would best serve the needs of Saskatchewan education and students in moving forward. The information presented in the document represents the views of those members of the educational community, parents, and students who were willing to offer their feedback. Resulting absences in the document include little consideration of plurality outside the presence of concerns over Aboriginal content and students. The document pays little attention to other issues of diversity and exclusion such as gender or class issues. Even in considering the recommendations for rectifying the issues concerning Aboriginal interests, the committee is not suggesting any considerable changes in the structure of curriculum but instead reflect a sort of combination of the contributions and additive approaches.

69

The dominant voice and representation in the document is one which favours maintenance, for the most part, of the status quo and a liberal ideal of education which attends to the needs of the individual learner in efforts to prepare that student for productive and responsible participation in society. Tradition and the roots which the education system has established are valued and changes are only productive if they consider the traditions and build upon them – radical change is not a solution.

What Type of Citizen?

The representation of the good citizen here is difficult to place into just one category. The good citizen here falls somewhere in between conception A and conception B (Table 1). The committee's recommendations highlight a good citizen as one who makes responsible decisions which accord with a particular set of values including fairness, honesty, and equality. Although the committee encourages and demands the inclusion of higher order thinking in solving problems, there is little room for this type of analysis in relation to participation in society. Students are encouraged to participate in democratic processes and act in accordance with principles like social justice but there is no mention of advocating for this in society or seeking to redress oppressive structures. A specific set of values are viewed as those which students should embrace and exhibit in society as opposed to questioning or embracing one's own system of values. Little attention is paid to developing citizens who appreciate difference and diversity in the plural landscape of Canada or on the global environment or global impact of decisions made on local levels. Citizens are those who are informed enough and expected to participate in democratic processes and act in accordance with set principles but not to advocate for change or consider too much issues like global interdependence.

1991 Curriculum Guide

As would be expected following the work of the Curriculum and Instruction Review Committee during the 1980s, there is a marked difference in the organizational structure of the 1991 curriculum document. Front matter pertaining to philosophical orientations and central aims of education which have become commonplace in today's curriculum are introduced in this guide. Additional materials include a description of the goals of Social Studies programs, the core curriculum, Indian and Metis curriculum

perspectives, gender equity, and resource based learning. The scope and sequence process is made available in the guide as well as an outline of the Social Studies program from K -12. Also included are philosophical instructional and assessment considerations to guide teachers in following what are outlined as best practices in these areas. In all there are twenty additional pages of front matter which precede the actual objectives of grade 9 Social Studies course. Content analysis was completed not only for those pages that address the objectives for the unit, but for the entire document. One point important in the analysis of the 1991, as well as the 1999 document, is that the length of the documents means that words appear many more times on that basis alone. The ratio of words in relation to the length of the documents was considered as there is a considerable difference in the lengths between the 1971 and 2008 documents as compared with the 1991 and 1999 documents.

The course of study portion of the guide also received an overhaul in regards to its organizational structure. The thematic nature of the curriculum is maintained but the objectives for the course are organized in a different fashion. The guide presents the objectives in three separate categories of knowledge, skills, and values. Within each thematic unit of study there are a number of topics to be covered. Each topic contains a number of objectives which cover all three categories. Key objectives for the unit are outlined in the overview for the unit and more specific objectives appear within the outline of each topic. Objectives are repeated throughout the course and students are expected to move progressively from introduction to mastery of the knowledge and skills objectives. This guide also provides more detail in terms of suggested activities as the guide actively describes full lessons which target the specified objectives.

Although there are areas of content which remain constant from the 1971 to the 1991 guide, there are number of significant alterations and additions. One of the most notable of the additions to content is the unit of culture which focuses on the exploration of Aboriginal pre contact culture in Saskatchewan and contemporary issues. Another notable addition is that of the values objectives. Each unit of study as well as each topic within those units presents a number of values objectives which accompany the knowledge and academic skills content. The learning process and instructional and

71

assessment strategies are also given much more attention in this guide as well as activities focused on developing democratic skills in students.

The content within the units of study have not altered to a great deal but the course has been adjusted to focus more on the connections between the past and the present. Units of study focus most clearly on making connections between the developments of the past societies under study in terms of their impact on present societal organization and worldview and also reflect modern societal concerns and trends. The content reflects, to some extent, societal trends in relation to technological development and impact, respect for diversity, and Canada's plural identity.

The recommendations for a greater focus on Aboriginal content suggested by the 1984 Final Report documents has been implemented in this curriculum guide. The front matter of the guide outlines key points for the integration of Indian and Metis perspectives and content. The added note in this guide, which differs in the approach taken in the 1984 document, is that the inclusion of Indian and Metis perspectives and content will aide in the fostering of a sense of identity but also provide all students with a positive attitude in regards to Indian and Metis peoples and cultures, (Saskatchewan Education, 1991).

The lack of attention to the multicultural and diverse nature of both Canada and Saskatchewan that was surprisingly absent in the 1984 report is somewhat remedied in this guide. The attention afforded to Indian and Metis perspectives in the guide is also accompanied by statements concerning general diversity. A marked departure from the singularity of identity and heritage put forth by the 1971 guide is the inclusion of the statement that "the roots of Canadian society are many and varied," within the key objectives for the course (Saskatchewan Education, pp.27). Likewise, that students "develop an awareness that people in Canada and the world have a wide variety of beliefs and value systems" (Saskatchewan Education, pp.27). Given the nature of the course, the approach taken in regards to multiculturalism in the documents is one which aligns most closely with the discipline approach. Students are consistently encouraged throughout the course to investigate and explore the varying perspectives, beliefs, and values of the societies studied in the context of historical study. Each unit considers the value and

belief systems of the society studied but each society is one of the past. The guide also deters from the use of the contributions or museum approach which highlights superficial elements of cultures void of any context as students are encouraged to "appreciate that multiculturalism consists of more than promoting the customs and traditions of cultural groups" (Saskatchewan Education, pp.417).

Liberalist ideas in regards to the importance of the individual and individual development prevail in this document too as the value of and right to self-determination is repeated throughout multiple units within the values objectives. The concept is presented as a key value to students, "appreciate that self-determination is an inherent right of all peoples," but is tempered by the view that exercising self-determination should not interfere with the basic rights of others (Saskatchewan Education, pp. 447). The concept of change is viewed in the same light as presented in the 1984 document - as necessary for improvements to society. Students are exposed time and again to the understanding that change is usually not readily accepted by society but is an inevitable part of the evolution of a society (Saskatchewan Education, 1991).

Much like the 1971 guide there are elements which reflect both a progressive and more traditional approach to education and learning in the document. The importance of meeting the needs of individual learners which appeared briefly in the 1971 guide occupies more space in 1991. The adaptive dimension section outlines the need for teachers to plan with all students in mind and accommodate the learning needs of all of their students. It is also stated though that this does not mean that teachers should attempt to plan for every individual students but simply that they should plan with all of their students in mind. The adaptive dimension is intended to provide teachers with opportunities to adjust instruction so that all students may reach their potential, (Saskatchewan Education, 1991).

The individual lives and interest level of students are a primary area of focus in the suggested activities and lessons for each topic of study. The instructional strategies frequently include making links to student's experiences and lives. For instance, in exploring the concept of time in unit one students are asked to create a timeline of their lives and also discuss the role that time plays in their lives and the purposes that it serves,

73

(Saskatchewan Education, 1999). The focus the guide places on the experience of students in the learning process is also reflective of the use of constructivist principles in the learning process. Through the multitude of examples where teachers are encouraged to use activities where students consider the concept in relation to their own lives and experiences thinking about that concept, they work to construct that learning for themselves under the guidance of their teacher.

The issue over the inclusion of higher order thinking skills as part of the 'basics' of education for students is present throughout the 1991 guide. Creative and critical thinking is viewed as a goal for students to work towards through the development of prior skills which enable them to conduct such thinking. Learning is viewed as a developmental process where students must first learn skills like categorization and conceptualization before they can evaluate or analyze. As a result of this perspective, the Social Studies program identifies a scope and sequence of intellectual abilities which guides the teaching of skills in Social Studies for grades 4 through 12. Students are to attain mastery of one or two skills at each grade level to the point at which they can use that skill confidently and independently by following a process of introduction, practice, independent use, and maintenance and expansion of the skill, (Saskatchewan Education, 1991).

At the same time that progressive ideas concerning the needs of individual leaners, critical thinking and the importance of making learning a relevant and active enterprise for students abound, more traditional academician influences are also evident in the 1991 guide. Much of the content of the course is focused on basic operation, domain specific knowledge which pertains to the development of historical inquiry and problem solving skills. The inclusion of the skills objectives also indicates a shift to the more traditional conception of knowledge and skills as measurable and assessable. Each one of the skills objectives in each unit emphasizes the need to track the development of a student through what they are able to demonstrate. The presence of the values and knowledge objectives have the effect of mitigating the importance of the presence of those skills objectives as they are not the sole focus of learning, but their presence surely notes a shift in the direction of behavioural objectives.

Unlike the 1984 document, this guide addresses the growing societal and educational trends regarding global education. This focus of global issues from an orientation approach rather than a content approach can be explained not as much part of an intentional effort but more to do with the fact that the course focuses primarily on the development of ancient civilizations. This orientation is limited in nature though as there is only one instance where students are expected to display the skills of examining issues from more than one perspective, (Saskatchewan Education, 1991). The prominent focus is on the more limiting approach of students gaining an appreciation of varying perspectives and understandings. The importance that the 1984 Final Report placed on the recognition of an interdependent global world is reiterated here as the Social Studies program aims to provide students with the skills and abilities to function effectively in a society "enmeshed in an interdependent world" (Saskatchewan Education, pp.3).

The presence of the influence of environmental factors continues in this document and occupies even more space as compared with the 1971 guide. The perspective is much the same in 1991 as the guide seeks to have students understand and appreciate the impact that the environment has on all peoples. There is more attention paid to the reliance of humans on nature and also on the influence that the environment has on the beliefs and values that humans develop. The majority of the content and attention to environmental concerns is within the unit which explores Aboriginal hunting gathering cultures. The protection and preservation of the environment is explored in the context of hunting and gathering but attempts are made to make links to the present through two values objectives in particular. One objective states that students should "appreciate the timelessness of resource conservation," while another specifies that students should "appreciate the timelessness of protecting the environment and the necessity of preserving the environment to ensure continued survival" (Saskatchewan Education, pp.431, 433).

Environmental values are accompanied by an additional promotion of attributes connected with ideas of diversity and tolerance. The key values objectives for the course are oriented around instilling in students a respect and appreciation for diversity and an acceptance of those differences in culture, values, and beliefs (Saskatchewan Education,

1991). In two out of the five units of study students are taught that values and beliefs are a reflection of the society and form the basis for decision making both at an individual and societal level (Saskatchewan Education, 1991). The aim is not only to instill the importance of personal and contemporary values in students throughout the course, but the historical importance of values and beliefs also occupies considerable space in the guide. Students come to understand the importance of values in modern society through learning that these values are integral to the study of the ancient societies included within the course. A trend emerges from the knowledge objectives in each of the five units of study that, as students understand the significant role that belief and value systems play in the overall organization and structure of a society and that they also serve the needs of that society, (Saskatchewan Education, 1991).

There is a definitive effort to instill the values of environmental preservation, conservation, and diversity in the guide but in a large number of instances throughout the guide students are left to decide for themselves what is of value. In this way, a values clarification approach is taken at most points through the units of study. Certain values based on the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms are cited as basic values but within the units of study students are often encouraged to 'appreciate' certain points rather than adopt them as their own. In one instance a suggested activity to explore the importance of paradigms and the existence of competing paradigms asks students to consider and discuss which of two competing paradigms of Canadian society would be best to adopt, the technological paradigm which values economic productivity, individual efforts as key to progress, and science and technology or the ecological paradigm which conversely values harmony with the environment, conservation, and humane values as key to progress (Saskatchewan Education, 1991). The lesson does not present one as better than the other; instead students are left to consider the consequences and benefits of both within a problem solving framework. The document also seems to mitigate some of the concerns of the values clarification approach which saw the absence of content as the cause for students with little ability to make moral judgments by reiterating the point that while students should not have particular values and beliefs imposed upon them, they should still be aware that there are certain basic values that are better than others. It would be irresponsible for teachers to promote the opinion that no belief is better than

76

any other because that is not one which this (Canadian) society accepts (Saskatchewan Education, 1991).

The concept of identity building is slightly more complex than its representation in the 1971 guide as there is an effort to encourage students to see that competing value and belief systems can coexist within societies. In unit four, which deals explicitly with culture as its organizing concept, identity is represented as comprised of both a unqiue individual identity as well as a shared cultural identity (Saskatchewan Education, 1991). The aim of the course, not unlike 1971, is to help students to understand the origins of contemporary customs and beliefs and how those beliefs and customs influence behaviour through the study of the two major traditions which have impacted the development of a Canadian identity – the ancient Middle East and North America (Saskatchewan Education, 1991). Identity as it has been developed through the cultural traditions of the past is a key organizing principle of the course. Students are encouraged to see the links between the past and present and understand that identity is partially constructed in the past. The suggested closing activity for the course demonstrates well the central aim of exploring the roots of and coming to conclusions concerning Canadian identity. The activity suggests that students come to their own conclusions about what it means to be Canadian in reference to the issues and content explored throughout the entire course of study (Saskatchewan Education, 1991).

Similar to the 1971 guide, political efficacy and rights and duties occupies little space in the content and objectives for the course. There are objectives and content related to political systems and principles, but the focus remains the same when compared to the 1971 guide. Students are encouraged to understand the functioning of the systems and how this relates to the needs of society as well beliefs and values. Rights and duties garner much less attention with considerations mostly limited to the exploration of duties and roles within feudal Europe.

In spite of its historical focus the guide does take steps to address issues of social justice and inequality. Although there has been little effort to infuse these principles throughout the course of study, the last unit in the course (technology) does take some time to consider issues of social justice. In the latter portion of the unit, the concept of

77

human rights is explored and then students apply the concept using three case studies: Indian and Metis people, women's rights, and the future of agriculture in Saskatchewan (Saskatchewan Education, 1991). The unit also considers the concepts of acculturation, assimilation, multiculturalism, and cultural uniformity in the context of exploring the closer roots of Canadian identity and heritage. Students are also encouraged throughout the course, as a values objective, that changes in society should be studied in light of a respect for human dignity (Saskatchewan Education, 1991).

These efforts to encourage students to value the diversity of Canadian roots and respect cultural differences are partially outweighed by the overarching aim and theme of the course. One cannot ignore that the roots of Canadian society are attributed to the ancient Middle East and Aboriginal North America throughout the course. The course content is organized using these two cultural traditions as the focus. European culture is also given precedence in providing the roots for contemporary Canadian worldview as students are encouraged to understand "the development of the European tradition as it evolved into a worldview that is basic to twentieth century Canadian traditions" (Saskatchewan Education, pp. 424). The immigrant experience of Western Canada is considered in unit five of the course but only in relation to changes and adaptations that these immigrants had to undergo in order to survive in their new homes. The consequences of cultural change are given little attention and adapting and changing in the face of a changing environment, including natural and non-natural forces, are viewed for the most part as an occurrence without critical evaluation. For instance, in exploring issues of assimilation, segregation, and accommodation in the context of Aboriginal peoples of the West, students are expected to know (knowledge objective) "examples of the application of segregation, assimilation, and accommodation in relations between Indian cultures and European cultures" and to empathize (value objective) "with those who have to struggle with and adapt to cultural change because their environment has changed to such an extent that it becomes intolerable" (Saskatchewan Education, pp.521). In exploring the concept of change students are to embrace the representation of it as a continuum which progressed from denial and rejection leading to eventual acceptance, (Saskatchewan Education, 1991).

78

What Type of Citizen?

The principle focus in the document is to encourage students to become participating citizens who value a number of core beliefs of Canadian society but have the skills to develop and clarify their own set of beliefs and values because of the principle of diversity. Students are taught the core principles which underpin democratic values but are also asked to decide for themselves which beliefs are best. The course aims to teach students that citizens must adopt the core beliefs of society but should be accepting of diversity and difference as well. Students are encouraged to build two skills in particular which promote democratic skills: working collaboratively and debate. Students are given many opportunities to debate and work in teams and partners to explore concepts and ideas. The skills of participation, critical thinking, and informed judgment are highly valued, leading again to a conclusion that the ideal citizen falls somewhere in between conception A and B. The guide does exhibit hints of conception C though in promoting the importance of diverse perspectives, an appreciation and respect for those perspectives and its attempt to include issues of social justice in the final unit of the course. Reiterating the core aims of the 1971 guide, this guide as well assumes that a good citizen is one who knows their history and sees this history as part of their identity both as an individual and as a society. The importance placed on the environment was also a focal point in the 1971 curriculum but here there is more emphasis on developing students who are mindful of conservation and respect for nature as students are asked to question the validity of an ecological paradigm and the potentially harmful effects of technological development.

1999 Curriculum Guide

The document features the same organizational structure that was adopted for the 1991 guide. One major alteration in the organization of the document is that this one provides much more detail in terms of instruction for teachers. The suggested activities from the 1991 guide have been augmented and added to in order to form a near completely package course guide for teachers to follow including assessment strategies and samples, student and teacher handouts, and full descriptions of instructional strategies. Another notable difference here is absence of one of the units of study which appeared in the 1991 guide – technology. The guide includes all of the front matter

79

which was included in the 1991 guide using the same headings for organization with the addition of two sections which deal with the treatment of persons with disabilities and multicultural perspectives and content.

Exploring cultural roots and identity through the investigation of past societies remains the focus of the course. Students are again encouraged to see the roots of contemporary Canadian society through the investigation of two cultural traditions in particular – the ancient Middle East and North America. The overview of Social Studies goes even further in stating that this program should provide students with opportunities to develop a sense of self. The program aim in this guide also adds the efficacy dimension to the role of Social Studies stating that, "the ultimate aim is to graduate students who have a sense of themselves as active participants in and citizens of an interdependent world" (Saskatchewan Education, pp.6).

The societal influences in the 1999 document strike some similarity to the 1991 guide. The focus on Aboriginal content and issues continues in this document with added emphasis on the inclusion of Aboriginal content. Unit four of this guide is also focused on exploring Aboriginal pre-contact history and culture but there is more space given to specifically explore this cultural heritage. The core objectives for the unit are not broad non-context related ones like those that appear in the 1991 guide. Instead, the objectives are specifically linked to the central objective of "understanding and respecting the history of Aboriginal culture and the contemporary needs of Aboriginal people" (Saskatchewan Education, pp.18). The inclusion of contemporary Aboriginal issues that was included within unit five of the 1991 guide is present in unit four of this guide. There is also the addition in this guide of explaining many of the terms which arise when discussing the history of and contemporary issues related to Aboriginal peoples. The overview for the unit includes significant attention to the varying definitions of Aboriginal peoples and terms which related to contemporary issues (i.e. self-determination and self –government). The previous guide sought, for the most part, to explore the history of Aboriginal culture with very little attention contemporary issues, but here there is an effort to spend some more time exploring contemporary issues like self-determination, self-government, and land claims. This guide also differs slightly in

reference to defining Aboriginal peoples as it seeks to promote the diversity of groups within Canada and Saskatchewan in particular. An attempt is also made to arrive at a more meaningful transformational approach to multicultural education as the guide seeks to encourage students to view problems from differing perspectives as well as include authors of diverse backgrounds in resource materials.

While the guide does not drastically alter its structure in order to better provide for multiculturalism and Aboriginal perspectives, there is an effort, at least in the front matter description of multicultural content, to go a step beyond the contributions and museum approaches of the 1971 and 1991 guides in creating an inclusive classroom environment. Less attention is paid to the inclusion of content in this area and more suggestions are provided for teachers in terms of creating a classroom that celebrates multiculturalism. For instance there are suggestions to "become educated about the cultural backgrounds of students and recognize and respect the languages of students" (Saskatchewan Education, pp.14).

The concepts of change, tradition, and values reflect a more conservative view in terms of how students are to understand them. Beliefs and values continue to occupy a great deal of attention in this guide and also continue to take on the same definition. The 1999 guide promotes, as does the 1991 guide, that values and beliefs are what provide structure, stability, and predictability to peoples' lives and to society in general. Students are encouraged to consider how difficult it is to reconcile tradition and change. Change is an important evolutionary element of society but there is also ample attention paid to place and importance of tradition in the document.

Educational theory influences continue to lean towards a progressive, child centred approach in this guide as well. The section outlining curriculum principles features references to active learning as well as the specific needs of middle years learners (Saskatchewan Education, 1999). There is also an entire section which explains the importance of getting to know students and provides teachers with examples and ideas for learning about the learning styles and personal interests of their students, (Saskatchewan Education, 1999).

The goal of critical thinking remains consistent in this guide and improves upon the appearance of these types of skills in the curriculum content. There are greater opportunities in this guide for students to not only consider different viewpoints, as was the case with the 1991 guide, but to "consider the implication for viewing an issue from a different worldview" (Saskatchewan Education, pp.90). There is a much greater focus on independent thinking and research in this guide as students are provided with numerous opportunities to research and explore concepts using their own thinking. This guide also incorporates more fully the aspect of critical thinking in exploring the concept of cause and effect as students are taught that events often have more than one cause, as was presented in 1991 guide, but are also encouraged to understand that different perspectives relating to those events will cause different interpretations of those events, (Saskatchewan Education, 1999). This guide continues the promotion of active learning in relation to constructivist ideas by reference in the instructional philosophy and strategies section which appears as one of the last sections in the guide. The guide explains that learners construct their own learning, hence the importance of creating learning experiences for students which are relatable to their everyday lives, (Saskatchewan Education, 1999). Of the instructional strategies presented throughout the guide the emerging common theme is the development of critical and creative thinking through active opportunities for students to research, discuss, collaborate, and debate on a regular basis.

The focus on identity formation remains a constant here as it did with the 1991 guide. The primary focus is on a valuing of history for its ability to provide reasoned explanations for the present in attempting to define contemporary society – "exploring roots gives context to the reality we live in" (Saskatchewan Education, pp.33). The goal of connecting the past with the present was a key component of the course in 1971 and 1991, but here there are many more tangible examples within the units of study to connect the past to the present. For instance, students explore content related to cooperative organizations and are then asked how these contemporary organizations reflect traditional Aboriginal values and beliefs. A series of lessons concerning the Reformation, Renaissance, and Enlightenment all ask students to consider the influences that these movements of the past have had on contemporary Canadian society (Saskatchewan Education, 1999). There is an emphasis here too, as there was in the 1991

82

guide, that a sense of self and individual identity is an important component of social studies. The 1999 guide additionally relates this concept of individual identity to participating in society as "students develop a sense of their own lives to enable them to participate in society" (Saskatchewan Education, pp.3). In terms of collective cultural identity the two traditions of the ancient Middle East and North America remain the main source of cultural identity for contemporary Canadian society.

Principles of political organization and rights and duties of citizens occupy the same space and orientation as the 1991 guide. The emphasis continues to be on the organizational structure of political organizations of feudal and later medieval Europe. Rights and duties are explored little and more attention remains on the roles of people in reference to what services they were responsible for providing and what their lives were like on a day to day basis. The contemporary issues explored in unit four do occupy another area of concentration in terms of rights. The issues of Aboriginal rights to self-determination and self-government are considered as well as Aborignal land rights and treaty rights. The information is presented in such a way for students to determine their own conclusions concerning these contentious contemporary issues. Students are presented with some key points concerning the issues but are guided to make their own judgments.

The promotion of social values continues to prevail in this document as Social Studies should present opportunities to explore and clarify values. The issue of promoting certain core values is addressed in the same manner in this guide as teachers are encouraged to avoid instilling in students that all beliefs are of equal value because this is not something that Canadian society accepts. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms is again cited as a basis for establishing certain core values and beliefs in students also citing the particular values of human dignity, equality, and diversity (Saskatchewan Education, 1999). Curriculum principles explain that students should be provided with opportunities to clarify their values while learning to appreciate and respect diversity (Saskatchewan Education, 1999). The Common Essential Learnings which are intended to aide in the implementation of the common core also address the issue of diversity and multiculturalism as part of the CEL personal and social values

83

through encouraging the inclusion of multicultural perspectives in an effort to extend students' appreciation for diversity (Saskatchewan Education, 1999). Unit two (change) pays particular attention to students' appreciation for diversity as students are encouraged time and again within the values objectives for each topic to respect others' points of view and perspectives (Saskatchewan Education, 1999). Specific reference is also made to the importance of appreciating Aboriginal perspectives when students are encouraged to "respect Aboriginal viewpoints and accept their validity" (Saskatchewan Education, pp. 430).

Environmental content is also an important component in the 1991 guide. The goals of the 1971 guide permeate here as well as students are encouraged to understand and appreciate the role that the natural environment plays in the development of societies. Several objectives in unit two (change) concern the role that the environment plays in societal change as people work to adapt to their changing environments. Similar to the content of the 1991 guide, students are asked again here to consider the value and impact of technological development. Part of the information provided to students is an explanation of the development of the environmental movement which has resulted in a shift in worldview in Canadian society (Saskatchewan Education, 1999). The contemporary issues that were presented in unit five (technology) in the 1991 guide have been limited to include a brief exploration of technological development but excludes completely the exploration of the concept of human rights (Saskatchewan Education, 1999).

The concepts of oppression and inequality still follow along the same lines as the 1971 and 1991 guides which stem from a top down approach to the expression and nature of power and authority in the societies studied. Again in this guide, the majority of the content exploring the concepts of power and authority are predominantly located in the unit on medieval Europe. Objectives focus on power as a controlling force which is exerted by a particular group in society and exercised through charisma or force (Saskatchewan Education, 1999). Students learn about the disadvantaged group in society (the serfs) and also explore the serfs' demands for change but are not asked to consider to any great extent the inequality present in the system. In exploring the

84

development and eventual disappearance of the serf class, students are left to understand that serfdom was no longer acceptable because it didn't meet the demands of the new economies that were developing and the circumstances that had provided serfs with their first taste of freedom rather than a group of people rising up against an oppressive force which sought to limit their freedoms to a significant degree.

The approach taken to the exploration of contemporary Aboriginal issues is comparable to the treatment of power and authority. Issues of self-government and land claims are included but, even though this is a course connecting the past to the present, there is little attention paid to the historical roots of injustice that Aboriginal peoples face. The focus is instead more about exploring the central tenets of contemporary land claims and self-government with almost no mention of the racist policies which have impacted and continue to impact Aboriginal communities. One lesson has students independently research a contemporary Aboriginal issue in light of its causes and what needs to be done to address the issue but the knowledge objective for the lesson presents Aboriginal issues as Aboriginal problems that require Aboriginal attention, "know that social and economic problems are rooted in the past, and that First Nations people are organizing and negotiating to address these issues (Saskatchewan Education, pp.235).

What Type of Citizen?

There is very little change in the representation of a good citizen in the 1999 document when compared to the 1991 guide. Students are still expected to adopt the core values of Canadian democratic society branching from the Charter while at the same time acquiring and practicing the skills of developing and clarifying their own values and beliefs. It is through this process of individual values clarification that students are afforded with the opportunity to develop an individual identity. Good citizens are to develop the collective values of respect for diversity, learn to see the validity in varying perspectives, and at times to even adopt those perspectives in order to gain a greater appreciation for diversity. Collective identity formation is achieved through the study of a collective past as great value continues to be placed on the citizen who knows the roots of their cultural heritage and understands how these roots impact their lives today. The

85

major aim of the course continues to be exploring the traditional roots of Canadian society to aide students in developing a sense of collective identity.

The concentration on issues of inequality in the 1991 document have been somewhat limited in this guide as the unit of study which considered issues of specific injustice and inequality has been removed. Issues of social justice are limited to the exploration of Aboriginal land rights and self-government, but in themselves are limiting as the issues are presented for the most part as Aboriginal problems. Although not explicitly linked to issues of inequality or injustice there is a new focus in this guide on developing a sense of efficacy in students. The overview of Social Studies education, program aim, and goals for Social Studies education all reference the need to instill in students the belief that they can make a difference. The connection with historical study is that "just as contemporary events have been shaped by actions taken by people in the past, they have the opportunity to shape the future" (Saskatchewan Education, pp.10).

Critical and creative thinking also continue to be of high value in this guide with many more opportunities and suggestions for the development of these skills in students presented in this guide. Just about every lesson throughout all five units of study include the incorporation of discovering and evaluating information. Students are not given many answers in terms of learning conceptual information, instead the basics are provided and students are expected to evaluate and represent the rest. Throughout the suggested lessons it becomes apparent that important skills to develop in citizens are those of critical thinking, collaboration, and expression.

Although evidence is somewhat lacking in the objectives portion of the guide, there is a focus in the aims and overview of Social Studies to develop citizens in line with conception C. Students are encouraged to understand that their actions can influence the future and that they can make a difference, what is lacking is the actual development of these skills in the course itself. While the participation and the opportunity to develop and clarify their own values as opposed to instilling an entire set of accepted values remain the two most evident areas of focus in this guide, students are pushed a little further along to consider multiple perspectives and to also value those perspectives.

86

2008 Curriculum Guide

The most recent update to the Social Studies curriculum differs significantly from the structure and layout of the1991 and 1999 guides. Despite the fact that the layout and structure is quite different, the philosophy and aims of the course have changed only slightly. The front matter included in both the 1991 and 1999 guides is presented here too with a few notable differences. In the same way that the 1999 guide sought to provide more specific guidance for teachers in relation to the core curriculum, the 2008 guide has introduced two new sections in lieu of the common essential learnings of the 1999 guide – broad areas of learning and cross curricular competencies. There is also an increased emphasis on the importance of inquiry and inquiry learning as this guide has added a section to explain this philosophy to teachers. Multicultural perspectives and content remain but there is no longer a section concerned with Aboriginal content or perspectives. The prevalent theme throughout the front matter in the guide is to develop the skills and attitudes in students that are required for contributing to the collective well-being of society through responsible and active citizenship. The ultimate aim remains consistent with the 1999 guide where the "ultimate aim is for students who have a sense of themselves as active participants and citizens in an inclusive, culturally diverse, interdependent world" (Saskatchewan Education, pp.6).

The organization of course content and objectives differs greatly from that of the previous guides studied. The language of objectives has been changed to outcomes where each outcome relates to one of the four goals of Social Studies K-12. These outcomes are no longer broken down into knowledge, skills, or values objectives and highlight a combination of knowledge and skills that students are to attain. The move towards skills based behavioural outcomes is glaringly apparent in this guide as each of the outcomes is expressed using language of actions that students can do. The multitude of suggested activities and lessons which were common place in all previous guides, and to the most extent in the 1999 guide, have disappeared here. The absence of units of study, topics within those units of study, and suggested lesson sequencing means that much more is in the hands of individual teachers in how they will approach the required outcomes. The absence of a sequence of study also means that this guide moves away from a definitive narrative style of historical inquiry. The move away from chronological

structure commenced by the 1971 guide has reached a fuller realization here. Each society can be studied in terms of a number of outcomes and the course can be organized in a number of ways to highlight connections between the past and the present. The approach taken and the resulting representation and view of historical development has much more to do with the teacher than with the curriculum guide in this case.

The reflection of society's increasing concern over environmental issues apparent in the 1991 and 1999 guides becomes even more pronounced in the most recent guide. Among the cross curricular competencies students are expected to develop an appreciation for human dependence on the environment, a respect for the environment, and a willingness to adapt lifestyle to the environment to ensure the well-being of the environment (Saskatchewan Education, 2008). The environment and the concept of interdependence also figures openly in the overall goals for Social Studies K-12 with three out of the four linking to issues of environment, sustainability, or interdependence. This guide moves beyond democratic principles to include environmental sustainability and the dependence of humans on the environment as core values that students are encouraged to adopt.

Judging from the exclusion Aboriginal content and perspectives in the documents which did appear in the 1984, 1991, and 1999 documents, it appears that this guide reflects a return to the ideas of early multiculturalism as presented by Trudeau. There is not an absence of discussion concerning the plurality of Canada of the diverse backgrounds of students in the province, but the discussion encourages an interpretation of all cultures as equal. The document values a position of equal multiculturalism where Aboriginal culture and perspectives are not given any distinct attention. The comments and evidence noted by St.Denis (2011) are reflected here through the clear message that Aboriginal perspectives are one among many in the Canadian landscape and should be included as such.

Reflective of the trend in education which concentrates on developing thinking, a new emphasis is placed on inquiry learning in this guide. Developing the skills of thinking is included as part of the core curriculum in relation to the cross curricular competencies reiterating the constructivist theory of learning. The comments in this

guide diverge somewhat in adding that creative thinking is divergent thinking that enables students to uncover varying approaches and solutions to questions and issues (Saskatchewan Education, 2008). The philosophies adopted in developing these thinking skills in students include both inquiry learning and constructivism. Teachers are encouraged to use inquiry learning as more than an instructional method and to understand that it is a philosophy grounded in constructivist research and theory (Saskatchewan Education, 2008). This approach allows students to be active participants in their learning instead of passively receiving it, take ownership of their learning, and transfer their skills to new situations. More specifically, the guide supports what McNeil (2009) calls an academician's approach to thinking as a greater number of the outcomes are concerned with pragmatic, logico-scientific modes of thinking that involve categorizing and determining relationships between those categories.

Though not as obvious as the influences of concern over teaching thinking or constructivist principles, there are some slight inclinations towards social reconstructivism in the guide. The evidence is only slight as the guide decides to promote in detail only one aspect of a social reconstructionist approach with the focus on the environment and environmental sustainability. Students are encouraged in both the overall aims and goals of Social Studies K-12 as well as within the objectives of the course to understand the interdependence of humans and the environment. The social reconstructionist stance is much more apparent in the front matter of the guide with little opportunity paid to sustainability in the outcomes for the course. The primary aim presented in the outcomes themselves, similar to the 1971, 1991, and 1999 guides, is for students to understand that the environment plays an integral role in the development of a society. There are brief references to some other elements of a social reconstructivist approach in the section that seek to highlight key aspects of teaching Social Studies. Outlined in the section in terms of opportunities that should be afforded to students and values they need to adopt through their Social Studies education are the skills of "enabling students to speak out against injustice," "recognize the equality of all humans," develop a global consciousness," and "understand how political and economic distributions of power affect individuals, communities, nations, and environments" (Saskatchewan Education, pp.8). The emphasis on these principles is again more evident

89

in the front matter as the outcomes and indicators themselves provide little attention to issues of injustice or inequalities.

Speaking out against injustices ultimately involves the concept of efficacy. The guide spends little time exploring the importance of political efficacy in particular but there is an emphasis on the importance of students feeling like they can make a difference in their world. In addition to the comment in the overview of Social Studies education that students need to make a connection between the impact of history on today and the impact they can have today on tomorrow, the concept of efficacy is included in the core curriculum relating to cross curricular competencies. An integral part of developing social responsibility in students is the point that "the positive attitudes concerning self involve a sense of personal worth and efficacy. The belief that one can contribute to the collective well-being and make a positive difference in society…" (Saskatchewan Education, pp.5).

As was the case with the 1999 guide, the issue of efficacy is not explicitly linked with ideas of political efficacy but there is greater emphasis in this guide on exploring several forms of political organization. The issues of power, authority and governmental organization were, for the most part, contained to the exploration of medieval Europe. As this guide outlines the outcomes with concern for the context of the learning, there is much more opportunity to explore differing systems of power and authority and the impact this has on people. It is implied through the inclusion of the goal "to investigate the processes and structures of power and authority, and the implications for individuals, communities, and nations," that students are to understand that there are varying systems of political organization and that these systems of government have implications for the lives of the people of those societies, (Saskatchewan Education, pp.6). The concepts of the power and authority exhibit another instance of a critical approach as, in addition to the examination of the systems of governance, students are expected to "analyze the impact of empire-building and territorial expansion on indigenous populations and other groups in societies" (Saskatchewan Education, pp.23).

The importance of developing a sense of self is connected not only with ideas of efficacy but also with participation in a more general sense as well as the development of

90

values. The ultimate goal in the guide is for students to develop a sense of identity because that development of identity will enable students to make connections and develop a sense of belonging in their communities. Students are better able to understand themselves when they give critical consideration to the viewpoints of others, (Saskatchewan Education, 2008). Furthermore, both a sense of identity and belonging are important if students are to act as active and responsible citizens who can contribute to the collective well-being and also understand the interdependence of local, national, and global communities, (Saskatchewan Education, 2008).

Apart from the attention paid to individual identity development, some space is also provided for a few points about Canadian identity. In the section concerning the teaching of Social Studies the understanding of the unique nature of Canada, its traditions, and symbols which serve to express Canadian identity are key points. Particular attention is also paid to recognizing the contributions of francophone and Aboriginal culture in shaping Canada's political and cultural heritage, (Saskatchewan Education, 2008). The attention given to Aboriginal contributions is apparent in the cultures which must be explored as part of the course as the study of at least one North American indigenous culture is required. There are also greater attempts in this guide to make clear connections between the past and contemporary Canadian society in the outcomes, as opposed to the suggested activities of the 1991 and 1999 guides, with 3 out of the 14 outcomes referring to making connections between past and present, (Saskatchewan Education, 2008).

The study of values and beliefs of the societies does not occupy as much space in this guide as it did in previous guides. Here there is an added concentration on understanding beliefs and values in relation to the broader concept of worldview. Worldview has become the new focal point in relation to concepts like beliefs and values of a society. Worldview is seen as the overarching concept which works to explore the values and beliefs of a society as part of a larger exploration of how societies view the reality that they live in. The guide does pay equal attention to the values which Social Studies seeks to instill in students. The core values presented throughout a number of areas relating to the goals of Social Studies in particular and the larger context of the core

curriculum all lead back to a value for diversity and the plurality of the Canadian landscape. The value for diversity is linked both to the development of self, as consideration of diverse perspectives allows for a richer understanding of self, and social justice, as critical consideration of one's own and other's perspectives "enables students to identify and speak out against intolerance, prejudice, racism, and other forms of discrimination" (Saskatchewan Education, pp.5). Diversity is also seen as the key to development of communities in pluralistic societies because "diversity is a fundamental aspect of human interaction" and an understanding which favours the complexities of cultures, communities, and societies "enables students to interact with others sensitivity and open-mindedness…" (Saskatchewan Education, pp.2-3). There is also brief mention of imparting to students a respect for the democratic ideals of justice, equality, and an appreciation of the rights and privileges and responsibilities of citizenship (Saskatchewan Education, 2008). One outcome in the course explicitly pertains to those rights and responsibilities as students are asked to "investigate the roles and responsibilities of members of the societies studies and those of citizens in contemporary Canada" (Saskatchewan Education, 2008).

There is also an effort to infuse this diversity further in this guide by calling for the inclusion of the study of an Eastern society. Although the inclusion was not completely absent from the 1991 and 1999 guides, the impact of Eastern culture on Canadian society was seen as an optional strand which teachers could pursue if they deemed it relevant. The overview of the 2008 course of study demands the inclusion of a study of either ancient Japan or China as part of the survey of societies, (Saskatchewan Education, 2008). The singularity of a Canadian heritage sprouting from the two traditions of the ancient Middle East and North America has been abandoned in this guide encouraging instead making links between the past and contemporary society outside of only European and North American heritage.

Consequences for this heavy emphasis on cultural diversity included some marked absences in the guide. This emphasis on cultural diversity has resulted in a decrease in references to Aboriginal issues and culture in the outcomes for the course. The study of Aboriginal culture is focused purely in the past with perhaps the only

92

opportunity for contemporary issues presenting itself in the exploration of the impact of imperialism and expansion. The absence of Aboriginal perspectives and content in the front matter of the course is reflected in the outcomes with only 5 out of the 14 outcomes referencing Aboriginal content as possible indicators for achievement (Saskatchewan Education, 2008).   The gender equity section included within the front matter of both the 1991 and 1999 guides are removed from this guide as well. Persistent absences of women and class considerations continue in this guide as there is no concerted effort to identify or explore issues of gender or class structures and inequalities.

What Type of Citizen?

The progression away from the more traditional conception of citizenship, represented by conception A, continues in this guide. The promotion of a citizen who is an active and responsible participant in society continues with the addition of a concentration on some elements from conceptions C and D. Students are encouraged to appreciate the diversity of humans and their perspectives above all else. Diversity is seen as the key to creating a citizenry who is able to participate in a pluralistic society. The development of an identity is important as well but not in the liberal sense of attaining independent functioning in society, but rather as a "foundation for interpersonal relationships, and a contributing factor for students' abilities to participate in their communities as active and responsible citizens" (Saskatchewan Education, pp.4). The move away from the focus on the individual continues as this statement also makes apparent the increased focus on a good citizen as one who develops a sense of belonging in their community and contributes to the collective well-being of the community. It is key for citizens to develop a sense of belonging in their communities because it encourages them to make choices that are "motivated by a concern for the collective well-being (Saskatchewan Education, pp.6). A positive sense of self and belonging are important foundations for the "belief that one can contribute to collective well-being and make a positive difference in society…" (Saskatchewan, pp.5). Diversity again becomes key in effecting these positive changes as the link is drawn between developing a critical awareness of self and others' views with the ability to identify and speak out against injustice (Saskatchewan Education, 2008). A valuable attribute in the K-12 program is also for students to understand that systems of political and economic distributions of

power impact both people and the environment. This goal provides opportunities for students to explore and uncover some potentially oppressive structures.

Good citizens are not only those who have a deep respect and appreciation for their communities and diversity but also recognize and appreciate the integral and interdependent relationship that humans hold with the natural environment. A central aim of the K-12 Social Studies program is for students to "develop a consciousness and sense of stewardship for the land, as well as an understanding of the principles of sustainability" (Saskatchewan Education, 2008).

The attention that was given to the practices of negotiation, discussion, and debate in the suggested activities sections of the 1991 and 1999 guides receives notice in the core curricular broad area of learning related to building engaged citizens. In this section active and responsible participation which takes into account the well-being of the community is attainable through the development of an appreciation for diversity and democratic ideals and the willingness to engage in discussion, negotiation, and debate, (Saskatchewan Education, 2008). As a final note students are also encouraged to examine the contributions that individuals are able to make to social and environmental sustainability (Saskatchewan Education, 2008).

INTERPRETATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Emergent Themes

As a first point it must be reiterated that interpretations and conclusions are based on the examination of only the Social 9 curriculum documents in the years under study without consideration of micro influences or accompanying documents. An examination of all four of these documents in light of their commonalities reveal a number of currents and countercurrents in relation to both societal/political and educational influences. Each one of the documents, regardless of their publication date, occupies a very similar space in terms of their representation of and connection with five of Werner's critical concepts of authorship. Of the prevailing societal/political influences a preoccupation with Aboriginal content, a frontier/settler relationship with and concern for the elements of the natural environment, the integral importance of rights and values based upon the democratic principles of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and pluralism, and the interdependence of the emerging global world students are a part of appear most evident within their specified context. Educational cross currents surface across all four of the documents under examination as each one presents some reconciliation of a number of traditional/essentialist and progressive/experiential undertones. Each of these attributes culminates to reveal curricula which ironically represent a part of Canadian educational and societal development through its own aims and objectives.

Each one of the documents aims to provide some representation of the roots of society. The result is that each one of the curriculum documents represents a partial view of which concepts and what cultures best describe society's evolution. This representation is the most singular in the 1971 document with its focus on the development of Canadian society through the examination of the ancient civilizations of the Middle East, Mediterranean, and Europe. The representation becomes slightly broadened in the 1991 and 1999 guides with the addition of ancient North American cultures in the development of Canadian society. Despite their slight variation in the societies considered, all three curricula make it clear that the aim is to uncover the roots of contemporary Canadian society through these traditions. The 2008 represents a shift to a more plural and diverse approach to the roots of society. The 2008 guide also pays

95

no attention to the representation of these societies and traditions as the roots of Canadian society. The aim in the guide is still to provide students with representations of the links between the past and the present but there is no overt attempt made to make explicit connection between the societies represented in the document as the formation of a Canadian identity. Links are to be made between the concepts studied and contemporary Canada but the restructuring means that those connections are not made with any one culture in particular. For instance, the implications of technologies of the past could be considered in the context of any one or a combination of the societies which must be studied.

The authority and gaze represented by the documents also begins to shift with the newest 2008 document. The 1971, 1991, and 1999 documents all tend to favour a progressive narrative which represents change and evolution in a positive light and continuously moving towards a better society. As societies experience change there is a process which includes denial and rejection of the proposed changes, but in time societies accept change. Cultural contact between groups is also viewed in a similar light as cultural conflict eventually changes to societies giving way to cultural enrichment. The 2008 guide takes on a slightly more critical view of change and cultural contact in its exploration of the impacts of imperialism and conquest on the conquered societies.

Two additional areas where slight changes and variations can be discussed are in the examination of both gaze and absences in the documents. The absences and positions of power in relation to the content of the curricula remain unchanged for the most part as a consistent authorship is maintained in each of the documents. Although multiple parties are often consulted in the creation of renewed curricula, the ultimate authorship is one of power in relation to the content presented. Especially in the case of the 1971, 1991, and 1999 documents there is explicit reference to the course as uncovering the roots of contemporary Canadian society. The authors assert their power and view of the development of Canadian society as predominantly from the ancient Middle East and Western European roots through the inclusion of this content and the neglect of competing views and interpretations. Although students are encouraged on a few occasions in both the 1991 and 1999 guides to consider varying perspectives and respect

96

diversity, the overall message is that students should feel most connection and identify most with the cultural heritage which has been passed down through the cultural traditions of Western Europe. In partial recompense for this emphasis on the Western European development and traditions, the 2008 guide includes the mandatory study of either ancient China or Japan in addition to one indigenous North American culture. The 2008 guide recognizes that there are a variety of ancient roots for contemporary society outside of the European and North America context, at least to some degree.

Aboriginal, gender, and class issues are given variable attention too throughout the period from 1971 to 2008. Of the three Aborignal content and issues is given the most attention in the documents. Aboriginal inclusion moves from a continuum of almost near neglect to a central concern and then back to near neglect again by 2008. The 1971 guide pays almost no consideration to the inclusion of Aboriginal content let alone Aboriginal perspectives or understandings. With the outline of concern over Aboriginal students and their particular needs in the 1984 *Final Report* came much more attention to the inclusion of Aboriginal content and perspectives. The approach taken to the inclusion, both in the 1991 and 1999 guides, is primarily focused on providing for the needs of Aboriginal students and promoting positive images of Aboriginal peoples in an effort to instill respect and compassion for cultural diversity in students. In 2008 the content for Aboriginal issues reverts back to near neglect perhaps reflecting Saskatchewan's 1997 revision of its multiculturalism policy which encouraged the equal promotion of and respect for all cultures in Saskatchewan.

Women and class considerations occupy even less space than do Aboriginal perspectives and issues across all of the documents studied. The only instance where women and the roles of women are considered in any of the documents is simply within the context of investigating the roles of women. The same comment can be said of class considerations as the only references to hierarchy in any of the documents is in relation to examining the roles and responsibilities of each member of a class. Of the three curriculum guides the 2008 is the only one to include an outcome which may work to remedy the exclusion of class, Aboriginal, and gender issues through the inclusion of a small number of indicators related to an objective concerning the investigating the roles

and responsibilities of members of society that consider the oppression of people and the neglect of rights (Saskatchewan Education, 2008).

The presence of the focus on Aboriginal issues and content in the guides where it does appear as a focus, 1991 and 1999, are indicative of the concern in Saskatchewan over these topics compared with other provinces. The population and history of Saskatchewan has meant that the focus on Aboriginal issues and education has become a central area of focus in Saskatchewan. Although there is a neglect in the 2008 guide for the specific consideration of Aboriginal content and perspectives, it seems might only be short lived as the last few years have seen an increased emphasis, especially in Social Studies, on the inclusion of Aboriginal perspectives and content as evidenced by the multitude of professional development opportunities and resources made available for teachers and administrators.

The influence of Saskatchewan as a western frontier settlement province is a second area of influence which permeates through all of the documents with a slight progression from simple inclusion and consideration to more complex understandings of the relationship between humans and nature. Through all the documents there is a concerted effort to teach students the crucial impact that the natural environment has on populations and societies. Through all of the years students are encouraged to understand and appreciate the connection that people have with their natural environments. A shift begins to occur in the 1991 guide when students are asked to consider the implications of adopting a technological paradigm and issues related to contemporary agricultural development in Saskatchewan. The 1999 guide removes the content emphasis of the 1991 guide but does include the continuation of the concept of environmental impact on populations. The 2008 guide continues on in the same direction in terms of content but adds an emphasis within the core curriculum considerations. Part of students' development of identity and interdependence is to establish a respect for the environment and willingness to adapt lifestyle to promote sustainability (Saskatchewan Education, 2008). Despite these progressive leanings in terms of a move towards environmental responsibility in the philosophical iterations, the focus throughout the years in question in relation to the actual outcomes certainly represents a further right orientation in relation

to humans and the environment. Environmental considerations are limited to exploring the impact that geography has on populations, for instance why is it that people settle close to a river? The end result of such reiteration of geographic impact on populations in the perpetuation of a right leaning model which favours exploring the environment only specifically in terms of how it can be used best to promote human development.

The ideas of pluralism, diversity, and individual rights and freedoms that were espoused by the politics and policies of Trudeau first during the early 1970s that worked to form the basis of belonging in the diverse landscape of Canada are represented as central components to instill in students in all of the curriculum documents save for 1971. Both the 1991 and 1999 guides cite the democratic principles expressed in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms as the basis for values. In describing the nature of Canada and Canadian society each of the three documents also cites the diverse and plural nature of the country which is the reason that a respect for diversity must be encouraged in students. The three documents represent a shift in Canadian society and political policy which privileged a move away from assimilationist policies towards inclusion and diversity.

The prevailing educational currents and crosscurrents under the umbrella categories of traditionalist/essentialist and progressive/experimentalism appear throughout the documents with some commonalties occurring across the guides. One of the clearest indications towards traditionalism in the documents is in the treatment of objectives and skills. All three of the 1991, 1999, and 2008 guides lean towards behavioural skills based outcomes which orient learning in terms of the knowledge and skills that students are able to demonstrate. The outcomes or objectives render the type of learning which is visible and assessable as the only type of learning which is valued in terms of curriculum content. The emphasis is made even clearer in the 1991 and 1991 guides which both feature sections outlining the skill sequencing that is intended throughout the program of Social Studies beginning in grade 4. Each grade focuses on developing the mastery of one or two key skills which will ultimately lead to other higher level skills, all in an effort to develop critical thinking in students. The 2008 guide lacks the focus on skills sequencing but still maintains the importance of a skills based model

of learning as each outcome is behavioural and measurable. The 1971 guide takes on a more discipline centred orientation in relation to learning and focuses frequently on the historical knowledge content needed to develop skills of historical inquiry and critical thinking.

Traditional/essentialist leanings appear again in the context of the core curriculum introduced in the 1991 document. The development of a core curriculum encourages the view that there is an essential core of knowledge and skills that students must acquire regardless of their needs as individual learners. As Osborne (1988) demonstrates through the example of class education, the content of the core is essential in examining the quality and nature of that core. The core has undergone significant change from its initial introduction in the 1984 *Final Report* and subsequent implementation in the 1991 curriculum guide. The initial core curriculum was only concerned with the subject areas and Common Essential Learnings that needed to be common for all students. The six foundational common essential learnings introduced in the 1991 document did not undergo any change in 1999 but added to those common essential learnings were the core concepts of the adaptive dimension, resource based learning, Aboriginal and Metis perspectives and content, gender equity, and multicultural perspectives. The added areas reflect a movement towards the incorporation of aspects of inclusion into the core curriculum as opposed to stand alone add ins as they were represented in the previous guide. The 2008 guide changed the language and approach to a more significant degree than did its predecessor. The language of common essential learnings has now been replaced with the ideas of broad areas of learning and cross curricular competencies. The move to cross curricular competencies again provides evidence of a skills based model of learning which emphasizes the learning of skills which students can demonstrate for their teachers.

The shifts in the core curriculum of the 2008 document also reflect a more collectivist orientation in relation to what is considered essential in education. The liberal orientation of the core curriculum begins to lose sway and is replaced with a much greater concern for the collective and community. The main focus in the two preceding curriculum guides was on developing the independent skills that were considered

100

essential in preparing students for their lives once they finished school. The focus has shifted in 2008 where four out of the seven key components in the core curriculum deal with encouraging in students concerns of collective wellbeing, interdependence, and belonging (Saskatchewan Education, 2008).

At the same time that these documents encourage discipline centred and skills based models of learning there are also undercurrents of characteristically progressive approaches to learning and education. Each one of the documents notes the importance of considering the needs and interests of students. Each pays some attention to the principle that connecting content conceptually and with the lives of students will result in better learning that will last and transfer into new situations. Noticeably absent from the 1971 document but developed with increasing importance in the 1991, 1999, and 2008 documents is the issue of active participation and constructivism. The documents progressively cite and encourage the theory of constructivism in relation to knowledge acquisition culminating in the 2008 guide with an entire section promoting inquiry learning because of its grounding in constructivist theory. Although represented with varying importance, with most attention and emphasis in 2008, all of the documents maintain the assumption that learning cannot happen passively and that students must be active in their acquisition of knowledge because it is not something that can be simply transmitted to students but must be constructed by them.

Closely connected with these ideas of constructing knowledge is the focus within each one of the documents on the skill of critical thinking. The 1971 guide cites the development of this skill as one of the central aims of the course and the core curriculum presented in all three of the subsequent guides also features these skills as central components to all students' education and learning. This emphasis on critical thinking points to a more critically reflective approach to Social Studies in general. Stanley and Nelson (1994) argue that the central dividing factor in programs of Social Studies is in the transmission versus critical and reflective thinking. The 1971 guide, because of its orientation towards cultural transmission in order to create a sense of heritage and collective identity for students is clearly oriented towards the first approach. The additional three guides move concertedly in the direction of critical and reflective

thinking as the focus moves progressively away from transmitting the value of the cultures towards a critical reflection of them but mediated by its reluctance to promote social transformation. Despite different degrees of emphasis, all three of the documents agree with the assumption made by Ross (2000) that Social Studies serve a threefold purpose of socialization, transmission of facts and knowledge from the disciplines and the promotion of critical thinking.

There is some slight evidence for the third broad educational orientation of social reconstructivism but it is limited primarily to the 2008 curriculum guide. Although the 1991 and 1999 guides do encourage critical thinking and critical evaluation of some issues of rights, the principles are most evident in the latest guide. Of the seven key components to the core curriculum in 2008 has been added the area of social responsibility. Here students are encouraged to develop a sense that they can contribute to the collective wellbeing and make a positive difference in society. Issues of inequality and injustice are also mentioned briefly as students are encouraged to both identify and speak out against them. The guide is beginning to take some steps towards a critical, social reconstructionist orientation but is also mediated through its concentration on awareness and identification, neglect of action by failing to address the importance of providing students with these opportunities, and preoccupation with discipline based knowledge and skills. The central orientation of the 2008 guide remains in the interdisciplinary knowledge of geography, politics, and history with limited attention to transformative or reconstructive practices.

The trends of both character education and multicultural education reflect the development over time of both aspects of education. In terms of character education there is move from the traditional approach of instilling a particular set of values, to values clarification, and finally to character education in the 2008 guide. The 1971 focus is primarily on transmitting the values that are presented by the cultural roots of the socties studied. Students learn to adopt a set of values because they are part of their collective traditions and heritage. The 1991 and 1999 guides both assume a mixed approach to the topic of values education in Social Studies. Both accept the primary role that Social Studies plays in values education and work from the premise that there are

certain values that students must adopt, those based on democratic principles and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and those which should not be pushed on students. The two guides explain that since there are a multitude of beliefs and values in a plural society, there is space for students to decide for themselves which values they will support. Mimicking the developments in the 1990s which worked to widen the focus of character education, the 2008 guide includes not only matters of values, morals, and justice but also issues of caring social relationships, personal and civic responsibility, democratic ideals, and multicultural understandings as evidenced by the broadened core curriculum.

Following a similar pattern, multicultural education through the four documents adopts a progression from cosmetic surface contributions to more meaningful inclusion. The issue of multicultural education or perspective is all but absent from the 1971 guide and only appears as a concern first in the 1984 *Final Report* in relation primarily to Aboriginal issues and content. The 1991 and 1999 guides both include sections which pertain to the inclusion of multicultural content perspectives. The focus in the 1991 and 1999 guides is with the needs of students in terms of multicultural backgrounds with some suggestions for teachers concerning how to ensure an inclusive environment. The content of the 1991 and 1999 guides is limited to the contributions that Aboriginal culture has provided to contemporary Canadian society but little efforts is made to encourage students to view issues or content from multiple perspectives. Moving along the continuum, both the 1999 and 2008 guides adopt the cultural difference approach in relation to students of diverse backgrounds as teachers are encouraged to work with the strengths and abilities that these students come with as a result of their cultural backgrounds. The 2008 guide, although not significantly so, encourages students to understand issues from diverse perspectives. Further evidence for a more transformative approach is indicated again by the intention of including multicultural content and perspectives to "help students develop multicultural perspectives that prepare students to live more enriched and compassionate lives while contributing harmoniously to a pluralistic society" (Saskatchewan Education, pp.12).

The emergent themes help to provide guidance in thinking about what this historical analysis has provided in light of the contemporary and future nature of citizenship education in Canada and in Saskatchewan in particular. The underlying aim through the research was to shed some light on the history of citizenship education in this narrow context in order to furnish some pragmatic suggestions for contemporary and future pathways. A number of threads throughout the curriculum guides illuminate several areas for continued emphasis and also reveal several areas which have been either historically or newly neglected. Each one of the documents, with varying emphasis and leanings, defines the nature of citizenship as an active endeavor. This is an encouraging one as we hope to move towards a conception which not only encourages students to participate in their own local contexts but also within the global environment. The type of participation promoted within the documents is one that takes on a historical movement towards action that is responsible and values the appreciation of both the environment and diversity. Not only environmental awareness, as noted in all the previous guides, the 2008 guides moves further to encourage environmental as well as social and economic sustainability. The 2008 guide hints at notions of a social reconstructionist and inclusive approach but is missing both the immersion of critical awareness in promoting equality for all members of society as well as the fluidity necessary to imagine differing notions of belonging and identity.

Although the active participation of citizens in a responsible manner is highlighted with increasing diligence through each of the successive guides, there are two areas of concern when dealing with the future of citizenship education. One is the seeming increasing concentration on and then almost complete oversight of Aboriginal content, students, and issues in these curriculum documents. The examination of the earlier curriculum guides of 1991 and 1999 provide historical precedence for and opportunity to revisit the separate inclusion of both Aboriginal students and content which has all but disappeared from the 2008 guide. In similar fashion, gender issues which occupy some space in both the 1991 and 1999 guides have become markedly absent from the 2008 guide. The implications here relate to the wariness with which inclusion without separation should be approached. One can imply that the intent is for an inclusion of issues which does not seek to highlight one area in particular within the

104

curriculum documents. While the intention is inclusion, the outcome in terms of curricular content is a neglect of some key issues which warrant attention in future publications.

Whether considering the neglect or limited inclusion of particular areas of critical reflection in contemporary society (sustainability, equality, diversity, Aboriginal issues, gender, class) a consistent theme throughout the documents is the absence of the well intentioned philosophical stance of the guide in the actual curricular content. Each of the guides, with increasing scope, promotes a number of philosophical and value positions within the preamble to the curricular content without avail in the actual content. In terms of curricular content as the guide for teachers in the classroom, if we hope to encourage students to become the type of citizens who will promote and work to actualize visions of equality and sustainability, ways must be found to incorporate these goals into the outcomes and content of the course itself. More than any of the documents, the 2008 guide pays a considerable amount of attention to the development of the students who are mindful of their roles as part of communities both through their actions as well as their core values, but there is very little attention paid to these aims in the course outcomes. The absence of these important philosophical components in the outcomes for the course has potentially detrimental effects for citizenship education. For instance, despite the fact that active participation is a fundamental element represented across several of the documents, the opportunities for students to become actively involved in social movements and political life are potentially severely limited as many teachers attempt to cover the explicit outcomes. Perhaps less attention should be paid to how much a student can achieve and more to developing in students the understandings necessary to foster a view where learning not only benefits that individual student but their communities both locally and globally as well.

This historical analysis has also shed light on a number of concepts or approaches which cut across political and philosophical lines to become commonly accepted tenants in education. Issues of diversity, pluralism, the individual needs and interests of students, and active participation have increasingly become points of emphasis in the curriculum documents despite the presence of more traditional and essentialist leanings. Although

usually predominantly underpinned by a progressive or traditional approach, each of the documents does not absolutely adopt or promote one approach or philosophy, but instead exhibits a number of seemingly competing tendencies within the same pages. Both contemporary and future conceptions of citizenship education will represent the same mix as we work to establish both the key knowledge and skills base necessary while maintaining issues of diversity, equality, sustainability and student needs and interests.

Future Research

Working primarily from the limitations of this study, several areas for future consideration have become apparent. One natural continuation from this research would be to consider the nature and representation of citizenship in the various grade levels in Social Studies. An interesting study would be a concentration on the grade 8 guides with their emphasis on civic education in relation to political systems. Another natural extension might be the nature of citizenship education in general throughout the curriculum documents through a set period in time. Although it would require a markedly different research framework, a complimentary or subsequent study might be to consider the interpretation of the nature of citizenship in grade 9 Social Studies classrooms. Especially in regards to the 2008 guide, there is considerable room for the curriculum guide to take on very diverse interpretations in the classroom setting depending on the orientations teachers choose to adopt. The micro forces at work, such as the identity and perspectives of those doing the actual work of curriculum writing, in the creation of curriculum documents would certainly provide some crucial insight into the full controls at work.

CONCLUSIONS

Citizenship education has always been and will continue to be an essential part of education and finds a comfortable fit in the space of Social Studies because of its focus on integral components like history, identity, politics, and societal issues. Just as the idea of citizenship in this plural landscape has changed over time and is specific to its time and place, so has its conception in Social Studies education. The nature and character of citizenship is complex, contested, and has been developed in light of and despite a number of conflicting and complimentary theories and trends and all of the factors and discussions ultimately lead back to the central question concerning the impact societal, political, and education trends and movements have on the nature of citizenship education in the Social Studies curriculum. Through this examination what is most obvious is the difficulty to elucidate an ultimate and overarching character of a number of curriculum documents. Each of the documents presents a number of links to what might be considered competing ideologies and theories within politics, society and education. The influences are clear and discernible but imply a combination of factors that do not pull from one side of the continuum or the other. At the core of the representations of citizenship are those which either cut across ideological and theoretical lines or promote views that are now commonly accepted despite their theoretical orientations. All of the documents accept a relatively core set of views concerning a good citizen: democratic ideals are the basis of citizens' value systems, citizens are able to and expected to participate responsibly in society, citizens have the ability to analyze and problem solve, citizens are lifelong learners, citizens are aware of and appreciate the relationship of humans with nature, and appreciate that history has connections to the present. What is missing is the diverse nature of belonging that the most recent notions of citizenship argue is necessary in a plural society. Although the diverse and plural nature of the country is cited on multiple occasions, students are still encouraged to find belonging in their communities through acceptance of diversity not because of it. The multifaceted, multilayered conceptions that authors like Kymlicka (2004), Battiste and Semangis (2002), Burrows (2000) and Blackburn (2009) suggest are not yet apparent in even the most recent guide.

107

The most notable progression of these values of citizenship in the 2008 document is the slight push towards a social reconstructionist or critical view as students are encouraged to work towards identifying and speaking out against injustice and working towards solutions that favour social, economic, and ecological sustainability. This move towards critical philosophical orientations is perhaps reflective that educational philosophy seems to be trumping the neoliberal agenda and policies that dominate the contemporary political landscape. Despite the often conflicting nature of the influence at play within the document what is clear, in looking towards the future of citizenship education in the Social Studies curriculum, is that the movement is one towards a citizenship which respects diversity, displays a healthy skepticism of the dominant traditions of our history and present society, and makes decisions oriented around and concerned with the collective wellbeing of their society at the local, national, and global level. This movement provides optimism that curriculum development will work to further consider and incorporate theories which advocate for critical examination and work to produce a citizenry who works to not only identify injustice, as the 2008 guide does at present, but provide an emphasis on opportunities for students to actively work towards greater equality for all members of society.

A separate yet intimately connected conclusion is hidden within the currents and crosscurrents and developments which have become apparent throughout this study. Hidden within all of the developments, deviations, and overlaps there is evidence for the relevance and integral nature of regionalism in Canadian curriculum. Two overlapping and underlying themes throughout these documents are arguably inseparable from their regional history. The first is the adamant focus on the citizen as one who participates. In spite of the particular reigning political party in the province, Saskatchewan has very deep and rich roots in the culture of participation in society because their continued survival depended on it. Equally crucial to early settler survival was the natural environment which provided nourishment to those early farmers. That agrarian heritage is another element which permeates through these documents and has even more importance than ever in the most recent 2008 guide. At the same time that the curriculum has moved along a continuum within the historical climate which encompasses it, it also finds itself situated within the distinct regional landscape where a few particular values

and identities developed in the early years of settlement continue to resonate in contemporary times.

References

Barr, R.D., Barth,J.L., & Shermis, S.S. (1977). Defining the social studies. Arlington: National Council for the Social Studies.

Battiste, M., & Semaganis, H. (2002). First thoughts on First Nations citizenship: Issues in education". In Y. Hébert. (Ed.). *Citizenship in transformation in Canada*. (pp. 93-111). Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

Bell, D. (1992). *The Roots of Disunity*: A study of Canadian political culture. Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Bell, D. (2000). Political culture in Canada. In M. Whittington and G. Williams (Eds.) *Canadian politics in the 21st century* (pp.275-303). Scarborough: Nelson Thomson Learning.

Blackburn, C. (2009). Differentiating indigenous citizenship: Seeking multiplicity in rights, identity, and sovereignty in Canada. *American Ethnologist*. 36:1. (pp. 66-78).

Bogdan, D., & Boyd, D. (1984). 'Something' clarified; Nothing of 'value'; A rhetorical critique of values clarification. *Educational Theory*. 34(4) pp. 287-300.

Bradford, N. (2000). Governing the Canadian economy: Ideas and politics. In M. Whittington and G. Williams (Eds.) *Canadian politics in the 21st century* (pp.193-216). Scarborough: Nelson Thomson Learning.

Brooks, S. (2004). Poltical culture in Canada: Issues and directions. In In J. Bickerton and A. Gagnon (Eds.), *Canadian politics* (pp.35-54). Peterborough Ont.: Broadview Press.

Broom, C. (2012). Citizenship, nationalism, "nation-building" stories, and the "good citizen": associating citizenship education and public schooling. *Citizenship Education Network Collection*. Retrieved from: http://www.ubc.ca/okanagan/education/__shared/assets/2912CERNCollection359 53.pdf

Brown, S., & Kysilka, M.L. (2002). *Applying multicultural global concepts in the classroom and beyond*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Bruno-Jofre, R. (1998). Citizenship and schooling in Manitoba, 1918-1945. *Manitoba History*. 36 pp. 26-36.

Bumsted, J.M. (2008). *The peoples of Canada: A post-confederation history*. Don Mills Ont.: Oxford University Press.

Borrows, J. (2000). 'Landed' citizenship: Narratives of Aboriginal political participation. In W. Kymlicka & W. Norman (Eds.), *Citizenship in diverse societies*. Available from: www.oxfordscholarshiponline.com.

Cardinal, L. (2004). Citizenship politics in Canada and the legacy of Pierre Elliott Trudeau. In L. Pierre Boyer (Ed.), *From subjects to citizens: A hundred years of citizenship in Australia and Canada* (pp. 301-328). Available from: http://site.ebrary.com.cyber.usask.ca/lib/usask/docDetail.action?docID=10132485

Cherryholmes, C. (2006). Researching social studies in the postmodern: An introduction. In A, Segall, E. Heilman, & C. Cherryholmes (Eds.), *Social studies the next generation; Re-searching in the postmodern* (pp.3-12). New York: Peter Lang.

Clarke, P. (1997) "Home-grown product" or "made in America?" History of social studies in English Canada. In Ian Wright & Alan Sears (Eds.), *Trends and issues in Canadian social studies* (pp. 39-67). Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press.

Davis, A. (2010). Learning. In R. Bailey, R. Barrow, D. Carr, and C. McCarthy (Eds.) *The Sage handbook of philosophy of education* (pp.323-336). Los Angeles: Sage.

Dobrowolsky, A. (2000). Political parties: Teletubby poltics, the third way, and democratic challenge(r)s. In M. Whittington and G. Williams (Eds.) *Canadian politics in the 21st century* (pp.275-303). Scarborough: Nelson Thomson Learning.

Donald, D.T. (2009). The curricular problem of indigenousness: Colonial frontier. In Nahachewsky, J. and Johnston, I. (Eds.), *Re-imagining the historical, personal, and social places of curriculum*. (pp.23-39). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Egan, K. (2012). What is curriculum? In Susan E. Gibson (Ed). *Canadian Curriculum Studies; Trends, issues, and influences*. Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press.

Enslin, P., & Hedge, N. (2010). Inclusion and diversity. In R. Bailey, R. Barrow, D. Carr, and C. McCarthy (Eds.) *The Sage handbook of philosophy of education* (pp.385-400). Los Angeles: Sage.

Fierlbeck, K. (2006). *Political thought in Canada; An intellectual history*. Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press.

Finkel, A. (2006). *Social policy and practice in Canada; A history*. Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press.

Frey, L., Botan, C., & Kreps, G. (1999). Investigating communication: An introduction to research methods. (2nd ed.) Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Heater, D. (2004). A history of education for citizenship. London: Routledge Falmer.

Heater, D. (2002). The history of citizenship education: A comparative outline. *Parliamentary Affairs*. 55 pp.457-474.

Hebert, Y. (2001). Identity, diversity and education: A critical review of the literature. *Canadian Ethnic Studies Journal*. 33(3) pp.155-185).

Heilman, E., & Segall, A. (2006). Researching social studies in the postmodern: An introduction. In A, Segall, E. Heilman, & C. Cherryholmes (Eds.), *Social studies the next generation; Re-searching in the postmodern* (pp.3-12). New York: Peter Lang.

Horowitz, G. (1966). Conservatism, liberalism, and socialism in Canada: An interpretation. *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 32(2), pp.143-171.

Knapp, C.E. (1981). The value of values clarification: A reaction to the critiques. *Journal of Environmental Education.* 13(2) pp.1-4.

Kymlicka, W. (2004). Citizenship, communities, and identity in Canada. In J. Bickerton and A. Gagnon (Eds.), *Canadian politics* (pp.35-54). Peterborough Ont.: Broadview Press.

LaSelva, S. (2004). Understanding Canada: Federalism, multiculturalism, and the will to live together. In J. Bickerton and A. Gagnon (Eds.), *Canadian politics* (pp.17-34). Peterborough Ont.: Broadview Press.

Leo, J. (1999). C is for character. *U.S News and World Report*. 127(19) Retrieved from: http://web.a.ebscohost.com.cyber.usask.ca/ehost/detail?sid=5cd3b65b-9040-44fc-86b945093af8e18f%40sessionmgr4002&vid=1&hid=4101&bdata=JnNpdGU9Z Whvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#db=heh&AN=2446002.

Manzer, R. (1994). Public schools and political ideas: Canadian educational policy in historical Perspective. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

McGrane, D. (2011). From liberal multiculturalism to civic republicanism: An historical perspective on multiculturalism policy in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*. 43(1) pp.81-107.

McLean, L.R. (2007). Education, identity, and citizenship in early modern Canada. *Journal of Canadian Studies*. 41(1) pp. 5-30.

McNeil, J.D. (2009). *Contemporary curriculum in thought and action*. Hoboken, N.J.: John Wiley & Sons.

Milburn, G. (1977). Forms of curriculum: Theory and Practice. In Stevenson, H.A. and Wilson, J.D. *Precepts, policy and process: Perspectives on contemporary Canadian education* (pp.191-212). London, Ont.: Alexander, Blake Associates.

Orstein, A. (1991). Philosophy as a basis for curriculum decisions. *The High School Journal.*74(2) pp. 102-109.

Orlowski, P. (2011) Teaching about hegemony; Explorations of educational purpose. Available from: http://link.springer.com.cyber.usask.ca/book/10.1007%2F978-94-007-1418-2.

Osborne, K. (1997) Citizenship education and social studies. In Ian Wright & Alan Sears (Eds.), *Trends and issues in Canadian social studies* (pp. 39-67). Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press.

Osborne, K. (1988). *Educating citizens: A democratic socialist agenda for Canadian education*. Toronto: Our Schools/Our Selves Education Foundation.

Osborne, K. (1996). Education is the best national insurance. *Canadian and International Education*. 25(2) pp.31-58.

Osborne, K. (2000). Public schooling and citizenship education in Canada. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*. 32(1) pp. 8-37.

Osborne, K. (1991). *Teaching for democratic citizenship*. Toronto: Our Schools/ Our Selves Foundation.

Portelli, J.P. and Menashy, F. (2010). Individual and community aims in education. In R. Bailey, R. Barrow, D. Carr, and C. McCarthy (Eds.) *The Sage handbook of philosophy of education* (pp.415-434). Los Angeles: Sage.

Power, E.J. (1995). *Educational philosophy; A history from the ancient world to modern America*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.

Ross, E.W. (2001). The struggle for the Social Studies curriculum. In. E.W. Ross (Ed.), *The Social Studies curriculum; Purposes, problems, and possibilities* (pp.19-42). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Rusch, T.A. (1950). Political thought of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. *The Journal of Politics*. 12(3) pp.547-569.

Saskatchewan Department of Education. (1971). Social studies: A curriculum guide for grade IX program of studies for the high school. Regina: Saskatchewan Education.

Saskatchewan Minister's Advisory Committee on Curriculum and Instructional Review. (1984). Directions: The final report. Regina: The Committee.

Saskatchewan Department of Education. (1991). Social studies: A curriculum guide for grade 9: The roots of society. Regina: Saskatchewan Education.

Saskatchewan Department of Education. (1999). Social studies: A curriculum guide for the middle level (grade 9). Regina: Saskatchewan Education.

Saskatchewan Department of Education. (2008). Social Studies 9. Regina: Saskatchewan Education.

Schultz, L. (2012). Educating for global citizenship: Conflicting agendas and understandings. In S. Gibson (Ed.), *Canadian curriculum studies; Trends, issues, and influences* (pp.302-314). Vancouver: Pacific Education Press.

Schwille, J., & Amadeo, J. (Eds.), *Civic Education Across Countries: Twenty-four National Case Studies from the IEA Civic Education Project*. Amsterdam: IEA. Retrieved from: http://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED431705.

Scott, D. (2008). *Critical essays on major curriculum theorists*. London: Routledge.

Sears, A. and Hughes, A.S. (1996). Citizenship education and current educational reform. *Canadian Journal of Education*. 21(2) pp.123-142).

Sears, A. (2004). In search of good citizens: Citizenship education and Social Studies in Canada. In A. Sears and I. Wright (Eds.), *Challenges and prospects for Canadian Social Studies* (pp.90-106). Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press.

Sears, A. (1997). Social Studies in Canada. In I. Wright and A. Sears (Eds.), *Trends and issues in Canadian Social Studies* (pp.18-38). Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press.

Sears, A. (1994). Social Studies as citizenship education in English Canada: A review of research. *Theory and Research in Social Education*. 22(1) pp. 6-43.

Sears, A., Clarke, G., & Hughes, A. (1999). Canadian citizenship education: The pluralist ideal and citizenship education for a post-modern state. In J. Torney- Purta, J. Schwille, and J.A. Amadeo (Eds.) *Civic Education Across Countries: Twenty-four National Case Studies from the IEA Civic Education Project*. (pp. 111-136). Amsterdam: IEA.

Sears, A., & Hughes, A.S. (1996) Citizenship education and current educational reform. *Canadian Journal of Education*. 21(2) pp. 123-142.

Sleeter, C.E. and Grant, C.A. (1999). *Making choices for multicultural education; Five approaches to race, class, and gender*. Upper Saddle River: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Smith, P. (2004). The impact of globalization on citizenship: Decline or renaissance? In L. Pierre Boyer (Ed.), *From subjects to citizens: A hundred years of citizenship in Australia and Canada* (pp. 301-328). Available from: http://site.ebrary.com.cyber.usask.ca/lib/usask/docDetail.action?docID=10132485

Stanley, W.B., & Nelson, J.L. (1994). The foundations of social education in historical context. In R. Martusewicz and W.Reynolds (Eds.), *Inside/out: contemporary critical perspectives in education* (pp.266-284). New York: St. Martin's

St.Denis, V. (2011). Silencing Aboriginal curricular content and perpestives through multiculturalism: "There are other children here." *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies*. 33(4) pp. 306-317.

Tanner, D. & Tanner, L. (1990). History of the school curriculum. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.

Tomkins, G.S. (1977). Tradition and change in Canadian education: Historical and contemporary perspectives. In Stevenson, H.A. and Wilson, J.D. *Precepts, policy and process: Perspectives on contemporary Canadian education* (pp.1-20). London, Ont.: Alexander, Blake Associates.

Tomkins, G.S. (1986). A common countenance. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc.

Troper, H. (2002). The historical context for citizenship education in urban Canada. In Y. Hebert (Ed.), *Citizenship in transformation in Canada* (pp.150-161). Available from: http://site.ebrary.com.cyber.usask.ca/lib/usask/docDetail.action?docID=10218680

Warnock, J.W. (2004). *Saskatchewan; The roots of discontent and protest*. Montreal: Black Rose Books.

Werner, W. (2012) Reading authorship into texts. *Theory & Research in Social Education*. 28(2) pgs. 193-219.

Werner, W. and Case, R. (1997). Themes in global education. In I. Wright and A. Sears (Eds.), *Trends and issues in Canadian Social Studies* (pp.176-194). Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press.

Westheimer, J. and Kahne, J. (2004). What kind of citizen? The politics of educating for democracy. *Americam Educational Research Journal*. 41(2) pgs. 237-269.

Winch, C. & Gingell, J. (2004). Philosophy and educational policy: A critical
    introduction. Retrieved from: Taylor & Francis eBooks
    http://www.tandfebooks.com.cyber.usask.ca/isbn/9780203465431.

Young, W. (1969). Democracy and discontent; progressivism, socialism and social credit
    in the Canadian West. Toronto: Ryerson Press.

APPENDIX

A1 1971 Curriculum Guide

Theme	Keyword	Frequency
Identity	culture	38
	heritage	2
Political Efficacy/Participation	politics/political	14
	democracy	3
	participate/participation	1
	government	14
	ideology	2
Rights/duties	rights	6
Social values	equality	2
	freedom	4
	value	2
Global/social justice	community	4
	oppression/oppressive	1
	conflict	12
	land/environment	7
	nature/natural	7
	geography/geographic	10
	conquest	5
	imperialism	7
	social stratification	2
	authority	11

A2 1991 Curriculum Guide

Theme	Keyword	Frequency
Identity	Identity	24
	Culture	300
	Loyalty	3
	Heritage	2
	Diversity	10
	Beliefs	136
	Tradition	56
	Customs	14
	Worldview	71
Political efficacy	Politics/political	33
	Democracy/democratic	9
	Participate/participation	3
	Government	17
	Debate	9
Right/duties	Right(s)	29
	Responsibility(ies)	5
Social Values	Respect	6
	Tolerance	2
	Equality/equity	16
	Freedom(s)	7
	Multiculturalism	8
	Value(s)	156
	Moral(s)	4
	Appreciate	72
Global issues/social justice	Acceptance	3
	Plural/pluralistic	6
	Local	1
	Community	3
	Conflict	18
	Land/environment	114
	Nature	18
	Geography(ic)	15
	Authority	14
	Power	37
	Hierarchy/stratification	3
	Interdependence	7

A3 1999 Curriculum Guide

Theme	Keyword	Frequency
Identity	Identity	13
	Culture	193
	Loyalty	3
	Diversity	18
	Beliefs	107
	Tradition	80
	Customs	8
	Worldview	108
Political Efficacy/Participation	Politics/political	35
	Democracy(tic)	5
	Participate(tion)	12
	Advocate(acy)	1
	Active	3
	Government	95
	Debate	19
Rights/Duties	Right(s)	80
	Duty(ies)	8
	Responsibility(ies)	6
Social Values	Respect	37
	Freedom(s)	21
	Value(s)	87
	Moral(s)	3
	Appreciate	62
Global Issues/Social Justice	Tolerance	1
	Acceptance	11
	Pluralistic/plural	3
	Local	4
	Global	6
	Community	40
	Conflict	5
	Land/environment	75
	Geography(ic)	3
	Authority	50
	Power	95
	Hierarchy/social stratification	4
	Interdependent(ence)	2
	Equity/equality	16
	Anti-racist/racist	4
	Stereotype	10

A4 2008 Content Analysis

Theme	Key word	Frequency
Identity	Culture	32
	Diversity	20
	Beliefs	19
	Tradition	7
	Worldview	22
Political efficacy/participation	Politics/poltical	1
	Democracy(ic)	2
	Participate	4
	Active	13
	Government	5
Social Values	Respect	13
	Understanding	4
	Multiculturalism	8
	Values	34
	Morals	1
	Appreciate	4
Rights/Responsibilities	Right(s)	7
	Responsibility(ies)	9
Global issues/social justice	Acceptance	3
	Pluralistic	4
	Local	5
	Global	7
	Community	16
	Conflict	2
	Sustainability	4
	Land/environment	27
	Geography(ic)	3
	Authority	5
	Power	8
	Interdependent(ence)	9
	Equity/equality	3
	Anti-racist/racist	2
	Stereotype	3
	Injustice	1
	Discrimination	1
	Ethnocentrism	3
	Imperialism	4