

Treaty and Citizenship Education: Learning Activities through History and Social Studies

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Abstract: What it means to identify as a Canadian, be an active citizen, and what should be taught in citizenship education are of increasing concern in Canada. In this article, citizenship education, in combination with treaty education, is suggested to help foster students' sense of Canadian identity and citizenship. In the process, I theorized that such education could support settler Canadians' reconciliation with Indigenous people, which is a concern of civic responsibility. The article proposes learning activities that attempt to bridge issues of youth civic participation through symbol-based lessons that align with citizenship and Indigenous treaty education. The learning activities are situated in Ontario's Social Studies, History, and Geography curriculum. Potential barriers and professional recommendations to using the activities are addressed.

Keywords: Citizenship, History, Identity, Learning Activities, Treaty Education.

Introduction

Twenty-first-century skills and knowledge have become the dominant focus of education policy within Canada. This includes the ability to navigate changing technological landscapes and communicate in diverse societies. Across Canada, diverse stakeholders are concerned with ensuring that educators and learners are prepared for the twenty-first century (Furlano & Pak, 2020). Central to this concern is the question of what learners need to know. The statement from the Ontario Ministry of Education's (OME, 2014) mission is that "Ontario is committed to the success and well-being of every student and child" (p.1). The OME asserts that through the education system, students will "develop the knowledge, skills and characteristics that will lead them to become personally successful, economically productive and actively engaged citizens" (OME, 2014, p. 1). However, concern for citizenship education and the type of citizenship education is growing as ongoing civic issues persist, such as the rights of Indigenous peoples (Donald, 2009; Furlan, 2020; McKenzie, 1993) and decreasing youth civic participation (Broom, 2015; Hill, 2020). In reference to declining youth voter turnout, Elections Canada (2022) stated, "when it comes to preparing future voters to take part in civic life, education matters."

In this article, I explore how issues surrounding citizenship, with a particular focus on Indigenous peoples, and education are related and how they might be addressed through education, particularly Social Studies education. At first, I examine how Indigenous treaty education contends with Canadian education that is impacted by and intersects with colonial frontier logic, citizenship, and multiculturalism. After that, I provide an example of potential educational activities that align with Ontario's Social Studies, History, and Geography curriculum, which might be useful for elementary school teachers. In the end, I conclude with potential challenges teachers will encounter while using these activities, my recommendations to help educators overcome them, along with the limitations of this article and future research considerations.

Positionality

I am a second-generation Chinese Canadian who comes from a family of educators who work in Ontario, Canada. Growing up in Ontario, I recall how limited the Indigenous education we received was. As a person of colour, I have seen how racialized and immigrant communities have dismissed the issues Indigenous peoples face by comparing them to their own struggles. Though I am not an Indigenous person and do not want to homogenize the plights of Indigenous peoples, I have gained some first-hand insight through accompanying my parents in a social justice effort that aimed to support Indigenous children over the course of a decade on Curve Lake First Nations Reserve in northern Ontario. After getting my Master's degree in Child Study & Education and Curriculum & Pedagogy, I am currently working as a Ph.D. student whose doctoral research is about an education program supporting primarily Indigenous children living in prison in Bolivia. What's more, I serve in the Canadian Armed Forces, an institution that is intimately tied to this country's history and symbology, relations with Indigenous peoples, and has been in the process of changing to become more inclusive. More importantly, concerning my research focus, I am a teacher in the Toronto District School Board (TDSB) and have seen how teachers, students, and parents react to Indigenous

education. Such as the generally negative and misinformed reaction to the TDSB's replacement of the Grade 11 English course with a curriculum that focuses on First Nations, Métis and Inuit writers. Therefore, I am able to bring the experience of my cultural heritage, personal experience, educational background, and professional development to my work. Based on my personal background and my study experiences, I believe I am situated to deal with the tensions that come with citizenship, Indigenous peoples, and education.

Conceptual Framework

Citizenship, National Identity, and Citizenship Education

The concepts of membership and belongingness are at the heart of citizenship (Bellamy, 2008). Citizenship, in its most basic definition, means to hold the position or to have the status of being a citizen of a particular nation (Britannica, 2018). Under the Canadian Citizenship Act, a Canadian citizen is a person who "is Canadian by birth (either born in Canada or born outside Canada to a Canadian citizen who was themselves either born in Canada or granted citizenship) or has applied for a grant of citizenship and has received Canadian citizenship (naturalization)" (Service Canada, 2023). Modern conceptions of citizenship are recognized as more than just legal status conferring civil, political and social rights but also being balanced by societal obligations and active citizenship (McKenzie, 1993; Howard-Hassmann, 2006; Bellamy, 2008). Merely having the status of a citizen and nationality or national identity is not enough to ensure civic participation. Citizens must cultivate nationalism; identifying with and having allegiance and belongingness to their nation. Active citizenship, national identity, and nationalism require a legitimizing function such as education (Brenton, 1986; Bosniak, 2000; Tupper, 2011). As Howard-Hassmann (2006) states, "Identity is a state of mind; to think of oneself as Canadian is to be Canadian" (p. 534).

In his seminal book on nationality, Benedict Anderson (1983) analyzes the means and end by which national identity and nationalism are formed and maintained. He starts by defining a 'nation' as "an imagined political community and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign...it is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know, meet, or even hear of most of their fellow members, yet in the mind of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson, 1983, p. 6). Anderson adds that there is this horizontal comradeship "regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may occur" (p. 7) and that the people of a nation have deep and intense feelings for their nation, which is called an Imagined Community. Imagined Communities and national identities are constructed through history, symbols, and rituals (Anderson, 1983; Kim, 1993; MacPherson, 2018; Zadjia, 2009). Symbols and rituals are tied to a country's history, often denoting specific historical events. A country's flag and national anthem are primary examples of such symbols. In 2013, for the first time, a national statistics program named Statistics Canada's General Social Survey collected information on a range of national identity measures, including Canadians' appreciation of national symbols and perceptions of whether Canadians share specific values. The results showed that the vast majority of Canadians think symbols, such as the national flag (89% - second highest response) and the national anthem (88% - third highest response), are important to Canada's identity (Sinha, 2014). Furthermore, the Canadian government page lists official (ex., The beaver, The national flag, and The Maple Tree) and unofficial symbols (ex., The maple leaf, The Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and parliament buildings) that "are recognized by the Government of Canada as being strongly associated with the Canadian identity." National identities are intrinsically connected to and constituted by symbols and instilled through institutions like school systems.

Citizenship education is a subject and socialization process whereby individuals learn about civic knowledge, such as their rights and duties, as well as the need for them to work together with other citizens to develop their community (McKenzie, 1993). However, citizenship education has come to be interpreted and challenged differently among diverse groups within society (McKenzie, 1993). Scholars (Kim, 1993; Leeman, 1999; Kymlicka, 2004; Howard-Hassmann, 2006) have divided Canadians into three "forces": 1) Indigenous peoples (status Indians, non-status Indians, Métis and Inuit), 2) colonizing/Charter groups (French- and English-speaking communities), and 3) racial and ethnic minorities who fall outside the Charter groups (native and foreign-born Canadians with some non-French and non-British ancestry). These forces have had vastly different experiences as Canadians due to regional, geographic, ethnic, social, linguistic, political, religious, economic, and historical experiences. As a result, people's national identity and sense of

nationalism have been riddled with conflicting and weakened interpretations (Kim, 1993). These interpretations are of increasing concern amongst educators as national identity and nationalism were thought to occur naturally (McKenzie, 1993; Mitchell & Parker, 2008; MacPherson, 2018), which suggests a new type of citizenship education is needed.

Problems with Citizenship Education—Colonial Frontier Histories and Multiculturalism

In order to understand why citizenship education is not adequate, we must analyze why different groups have such different interpretations of their national identity. Therefore, we need to consider the role of the dominant ideologies or hegemonic forces (Zadja, 2009). Indigenous scholars in North America recognize the long-standing history of Western European colonial projects in the Americas (Medina & Whittle, 2019). Canada was the site of various European colonial projects, and its formation in 1867 as a nation saw separate British colonies joining to form the Dominion of Canada under the British North America Act. Colonialism overtly permeated Canadian education, as the goal was to create a homogeneous nation built on a common English language, a common culture, and a common identification with the British Empire (Kim, 1993; McKenzie, 1993; Peck et al., 2010; Sabzalian, 2019; Schaeffli et al., 2018). For example, the residential school system is the epitome of such colonial projects. Residential schools were designed to assimilate Indigenous children into the Euro-Canadian culture, forcibly separating children from their families and forbidding them to acknowledge their Indigenous heritage and culture or to speak their own languages (Hanson & Manuel, 2020). “This approach to citizenship education did violence to the linguistic and cultural traditions of many, it was particularly devastating for Canada’s aboriginal Peoples” (Peck et al., 2010, p. 66). Furthermore, colonialism also impacted Canadian education through the promotion of colonial frontier histories. These histories are derived from colonial projects and have led to a particular understanding of Canada that excludes Indigenous histories, perspectives, and the importance of treaties and the treaty relationship for all Canadians (Donald, 2009; Schaeffli et al., 2018). These official versions of history begin as cultural and contextual interpretations of events and then morph into hegemonic expressions of existing value structures and worldviews of dominant groups in society (Donald, 2009; Ladson-Billings, 2004). Under such a historical context, the Canadian Imagined Community was strongly based on colonial frontier histories (St. Denis, 2011; Peck et al., 2010).

Today, Canadian education has moved away from overtly colonialist discourses and publicly embraced the principles of multiculturalism as part of Canadian citizenship and identity (Peck et al., 2010). After World War II, there was a shift in citizenship, citizenship education, and national identity as multiculturalism was introduced to respond to the demands of an increasingly culturally diverse citizenry in Canada (Kim, 1993; Leman, 1999; MacPherson, 2018; McKenzie, 1993; Peck et al., 2010; Sabzalian, 2019; St. Denis, 2011). For example, MacPherson’s (2018) analysis of the 1982 Canadian Charter and 1988 Multicultural Act shows a focus on multicultural integration through institutional practices of generating a sense of common identity and solidarity across differences by way of shared symbolic cultural and historical narratives of the state. It shows that multiculturalism has become a tenet of Canada’s national identity. However, even though multiculturalism has modified the meanings of citizenship and education to include diverse and critical approaches, colonialism still permeates education and is implicitly in effect (Haynes Writer, 2010; Sabzalian, 2019). In the following paragraphs, this article will draw on Calderón’s (2009) idea of Normative Multicultural Education (NMCE) to show how the progressive changes brought by multiculturalism can still be impacted by colonial frontier logic and histories. Calderón (2009) defined NMCE as education that “favours settler narratives, actively delinks present settler dominance from historical genocide of Indians, and actively erases engagement with tribal nations and sovereignty” (p. 70) by conflating Indigenous issues with those of minority communities. This is problematic because, despite similarities, it does not take into account the importance of Indigenous rights, self-determination, associated nation-building projects, and Indigenous cultures and knowledge in maintaining Indigenous sovereignty (Calderón, 2009; St. Denis, 2011; Tupper, 2011). Furthermore, multiculturalism ignores the ethnic and political (or multinational) diversity of Indigenous peoples and nations (Sabzalian, 2019). For example, how and who should the Haudenosaunee, Indigenous peoples whose ancestral land straddles both Canada and the United States, identify with? The Haudenosaunee Confederacy itself is made up of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, and later joined by the Tuscarora in 1722 (Ramsden & Parrot, 2006). Similarly, the Quebecois feel that multiculturalism and the Canadian national identity devalue their distinct societal statuses and undermine their ties to Canada’s history (Leeman, 1999). Bolstered by the Quiet Revolution and as noted by the 1965

preliminary report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Quebecois feel that they are part of a distinct Canadian society (Warren & Langlois, 2020). Quebec is notable for its distinct traditions, religion and the primary French language used by the majority of its inhabitants. The Quebecois' Imagined Community has been defined by these distinctions, which have been symbolized in their own national reference, such as the Fleur-de-lys flag (Warren & Langlois, 2020). Canada's 2013 General Social Survey found that Quebec residents, especially Francophones, were the least likely to believe in the importance of national symbols (Sinha, 2014). Note that these national symbols are commonly associated with English-speaking Canadians and dominate the Canadian imagined community. Interestingly, in the same survey, a strong appreciation of national symbols was more common among Indigenous people than non-Indigenous people born in Canada (Sinha, 2014). This finding reflects the idea that despite Indigenous scholars' debates and critiques over what should constitute the Canadian national identity, identity is important. As Harty & Murphy (2005) explain, "these national identities matter for [Indigenous peoples] and they will judge state action and government policy in relation to its respect for national identities and its fair treatment of them" (p. 6). Sabzalian (2019) similarly found that "nationhood has been a powerful discourse for protecting Indigenous peoples' rights and cultures" (p. 320).

Ultimately, institutions such as schools are predicated on colonial frontier histories and have served to enforce epistemological and social conformity to Euro-western standards and a particular Canadian national identity (Brenton, 1986). Though multiculturalism has made critical and inclusive improvements to include the cultural diversity of Canadians, many are still disconnected from the Canadian national identity. It is important to mention that this article is not meant to discredit the activism and scholarship of multiculturalism. Rather, it seeks to highlight the gaps with respect to citizenship education and national identity in hopes of leading to more inclusive and active conceptions. If left unchallenged, these idealized colonial standards will continue to dominate official curriculum documents and education systems (Donald, 2009; Haynes Writer, 2010; Tupper, 2011). Treaty education is one solution to bridge such gaps.

Indigenous Treaty Education

Traditional approaches to the teaching of history have centred around memorization and regurgitation of dates and facts. This is problematic because history greatly influences people's sense of identity (Zadja, 2009; Tupper, 2011). History should be understood as a series of interpretations that need to be critically analyzed with reference to their historical context (Sandwell, 2005). Tupper (2011) states that treaties between the Canadian Government and Indigenous people are foundational to the "story" of Canada, yet this story is largely absent in officially sanctioned curriculum. If colonial frontier histories are taught purely as fact, then particular settler and Indigenous identities will be created, which might mask current issues of Indigenous peoples (Tupper, 2011). For example, interviews with Indigenous teachers in public schools across Canada show that they take issue with teaching history as fact because the historical absence of and refusal to recognize Indigenous interpretations of history limits students' understanding of Indigenous sovereignty (St. Denis, 2011). Even in 1961, the Ontario Social Sciences Study Committee recognized that a "body of knowledge that must be acquired by anybody who is to become a good citizen" but noted that "in view of the complexity of world problems, simply learning facts was not enough" (McKenzie, 1993, p. 7). When the Saskatchewan government, with the support of the Office of the Treaty Commissioner (OTC), mandated treaty education in 2008, the mandate was meant to not just teach "the 'facts' of the numbered treaties; rather, it is about teaching through Indigenous worldviews and exploring the historical and contemporary relationship between Indigenous peoples and settlers" (Tupper, 2011, p. 39).

Indeed, much of Canada's land mass is covered by treaties, and "[Indigenous] treaty rights are recognized and affirmed in Section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982 and are also a key part of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which the Government of Canada has committed to adopt" (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2010). Treaties form the basis of the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people (Government of Ontario, 2023a). As non-Indigenous Canadians, we are all citizens on this land and have benefitted from settler colonialism and "therefore are responsible, as individuals and in collectives, for its continued functioning" (Lowman & Barker, 2015, p.18). However, misinterpretations of treaties based on colonial perspectives of written and paper term agreements from Indigenous nations who documented political alliances through oral and symbolic representations, along with outright violations of the treaties, have led to settlers exploiting Indigenous populations. Notably, in 2019,

the Supreme Court of Canada's judgment in *R v Marshall* found that oral agreements are part of treaties. Such exploits often had violent and fatal consequences. Historian J. R. Miller asserts that treaties are one of the paradoxes of Canadian history. "Although they have been an important feature of the country since the earliest days ... relatively few Canadians know about or understand what they are or the role they have played in the country's past" (2009, p. 3 cited in Tupper, 2012, p. 146).

Therefore, treaty education creates opportunities to not only learn about the diversity of Indigenous peoples, their Treaty rights, and our shared history but also to foster reconciliation and relationships (Tupper, 2011, 2012; Nova Scotia Government, 2022). Treaty education aligns with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's sixty-second call to action:

Make age-appropriate curriculum on residential schools, Treaties, and Aboriginal peoples' historical and contemporary contributions to Canada a mandatory education requirement for Kindergarten to Grade Twelve students (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015, p.7).

It requires students to consider the past and how they have benefitted from the treaties by virtue of living in Canada, like Dion (2009) said: "Through treaty education, students and teachers examine their relationship with colonization and engage with the traumatic content that constitutes historical and contemporary relationships with First Nations people" (Dion 2009, p. 113 as cited in Tupper, 2012, p. 147). This approach allows teachers and students to be informed and active citizens who address societal Indigenous issues, such as upholding treaty commitments and rights. Scholars in Indigenous studies have sought to broaden the meaning of citizenship education by including the historical and political contexts of Indigenous peoples (Haynes Writer, 2010; Tupper, 2012; Sabzalian, 2019). However, treaty and citizenship education are not without tension. Sabzalian (2019) states that citizenship education must support Indigenous students' identities, including their identities as citizens of Indigenous nations. Identification with different nations directly contrasts the colonial logic of multicultural and citizenship education, which presumes inclusion into the nation-state is a shared aspiration (McKenzie, 1993; Haynes Writer, 2010; Sabzalian, 2019).

Traditionally, elements of citizenship education were contained in school history courses, to some extent in geography, and later in social studies (McKenzie, 1993; Haynes Writer, 2010; Peck et al., 2010). Social studies, history, and geography are often grouped together in schools, as the concepts of location and place are inseparably tied to ideas of history and social and cultural development. In fact, citizenship education is an explicit guiding framework for Ontario's Social Studies, History, and Geography curriculum (OME, 2018). The vision of the current Ontario Social Studies, History, and Geography curriculum is the following:

The social studies, history, geography, and Canadian and world studies programs will enable students to become responsible, active citizens within the diverse communities to which they belong. As well as becoming critically thoughtful and informed citizens who value an inclusive society, students will have the skills they need to solve problems and communicate ideas and decisions about significant developments, events, and issues. (OME, 2018, p. 6)

Social Studies has also been a prominent area for the promotion of multiculturalism (Kylmicka, 2004; Peck et al., 2010; Macpherson, 2015; Sabzalian, 2019). Increasingly, scholars such as Sabzalian (2019) have discussed the ways and benefits of including Indigenous citizenship in contemporary social studies curricula. Thus, social studies is a critical area for addressing issues of citizenship, identity, and Indigenous education.

Symbolic Poverty

The central argument of this article draws on Breton's (1984; 1986) concept of "symbolic poverty." One of the challenges to feeling like a citizen, belonging to a nation, or developing a national identity is "symbolic poverty." Symbolic poverty can be due to a lack of symbolic/cultural resources and their distribution or the richness of a symbol, the degree to which a person can derive their identity or define themselves through these symbols (Breton, 1984; 1987). In a report published by the University of Toronto Press in cooperation with the Canadian Government, Breton (1986) analyzed the federal policy of multiculturalism and the post-war transformation of the ethnic-symbolic order in Canada. He found corroborating evidence to Anderson's idea of Imagined Communities and that the integration of groups and individuals is not purely a material and

instrumental matter but requires participation in the symbolic order. The symbolic order involves the values and norms of life, the forms and style of institutions, and reinforced in laws, documents, and other public relations behaviours (Breton, 1984). “Those who are part of the society share its cultural assumptions and meanings, partake in the collective identity, and respond to common symbols” (Breton, 1986, p. 27). Despite the Government of Canada listing various official and unofficial symbols, “there are virtually no unifying national symbols in Canada” (Kim, 1993, p. 264). For instance, the General Social Survey found that prominent Canadian symbols such as the beaver and maple leaf were given little national importance, receiving a mere 16 and 14 percent, respectively (Sinha, 2014).

Canada, since its confederation, is only a little over 150 years old; relatively young compared to other nations worldwide. Unlike America, it did not separate from its British colonial roots. As a result, most of Canada’s symbols are direct imports of British symbols or are British-inspired. However, “Every country has its own set of symbols that establishes its identity and sets it apart from other countries of the world. Symbols tell the story of a nation, its people, environment, history, and traditions. They represent values, goals and aspirations shared by all its citizens” (Canadian Heritage, p. ii). Therefore, there are still a few uniquely Canadian symbols we have that are even younger than the country (Anderson, 2011). For example, the Canadian national anthem, a symbol required for the Canadian citizenship ceremony (Service Canada, 2023), competed against other patriotic songs and did not gain consensus until late in Canada’s history, only achieving official status in 1980 (Kim, 1993). Canadian symbols have been historically contested by Indigenous peoples and Francophones/Québécois, who reject their Anglo-colonial basis and feel that the symbology does not reflect their backgrounds (Kim, 1993; Leeman, 1999; Howard-Hassmann, 2006; Dawson et al., 2018). Geography and multiculturalism have further impeded the richness and connectedness of existing symbols: geographically, Canada is the second-largest country in the world, and its population is spread across its geographically distinct provinces and territories. Coupled with ethnic, religious, and cultural differences and distinct economies and lifestyles, high regionalism biases impacted national identities (Kim, 1993). These differences have only been exacerbated by an increasingly diverse population and the push for multiculturalism, making identification with Canadian symbols difficult. As such, multiculturalism is a challenge to Canadian identity because it promotes a paradoxical identification with symbols and identities outside of Canada while simultaneously constituting Canadian-ness (Leman, 1999; Kymlicka, 2004; Howard-Hassmann, 2006; MacPherson, 2018). This phenomenon and multicultural identity are perhaps most evident in the way Canada is described as a “cultural mosaic” as opposed to the American “melting pot” (Kim, 1993; Kymlicka, 2004; MacPherson, 2018). In turn, the adoption of multiculturalism into the Canadian national identity has been criticized for discarding Canadian culture and symbols in an effort to accommodate others and creating ethno-racial silos (Anderson, 2011; Leman, 1999; Kymlicka, 2004). As identified earlier, the multicultural identity helps to ignore the historical and ongoing exclusion of Indigenous peoples. Backhouse (1999, as cited in St. Denis, 2011) explains that “many Canadians take enormous pride in the constructed identity of their nation as one that is innocent of any wrongdoing” (p. 310). Canada has spent much time and money promoting this identity to foreign audiences (Kymlicka, 2004). With a weak Canadian Imagined Community and national identity, students are unlikely to care about Indigenous culture and history, and current problems Indigenous peoples are facing.

Proposal

In order to address the aforementioned issues through the commonality of symbols, I propose a series of learning activities that align with Ontario’s junior division (Grades 4 to 6) Social Studies, History, and Geography curriculum, citizenship education, and Indigenous treaty education. The junior division was chosen because of its compatibility with curriculum expectations and complexity level that is suitable for modification to teachers’ own class context and grade level. The following activities are based on an assignment I completed for my Master’s degree at the University of Toronto, which involved researching a current gap in the Social Studies curriculum and then implementing it in a public school classroom as a student teacher.

Ontario

The Ontario's curriculum was chosen because of my own positionality and the multicultural diversity concentrated in the province of Ontario (Leman, 1999; Ghosh, 2008; Statistics Canada, 2022a). The trend of diversity is projected to continue, with immigration being the main source of Canadian population growth (Statistics Canada, 2022b). Data from the Ontario Ministry of Finance shows that in 2019, "153,413 immigrants settled in Ontario, accounting for 45 percent of all immigrants to Canada" (Government of Ontario, 2020, p. 10). Immigrants and newcomer students are in particularly unique situations as often they are new citizens who would benefit greatly from citizenship education. Newcomers are less likely to feel a strong sense of belongingness to Canada, have a Canadian identity, or be aware of the country's history with Indigenous peoples compared to their native-born counterparts. Such feelings can partly be attributed to Canada's multicultural policies, and due to the nature of previously belonging to a place other than Canada. Interestingly, results from the General Social Survey show that immigrants were more likely than non-immigrants to believe that symbols were very important to the national identity (Sinha, 2014). This finding supports the general idea that symbols are connected to national identities and that Canada is symbolically poor.

Ontario also has the most Indigenous peoples in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2017). Meanwhile, the Government of Ontario (2023a) states that "Ontario would not exist as it is today without treaties" and that "...treaty commitments are just as valid today as they were then." Despite this, unlike other provinces (i.e., Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Nova Scotia), treaty education has not been mandated or officially implemented into the provincial education curriculum. Finally, this division was chosen because of its compatibility with curriculum expectations and complexity level that is suitable for modification to teachers' own class context and grade level.

The following sections will provide an overview of the learning activities, the theoretical connection, and, conclude with professional recommendations.

Learning Activities Design

Introduction Activity

The teacher will begin with read-alouds of Canadian Alphabet books (see Appendix A for examples). This will introduce the students to concepts and symbols, as deemed by different authors, that embody Canadian identity. The class will have a discussion on what constitutes (national) identity and form a working definition. These discussions will flag students' understandings, misconceptions, and areas of learning that the teacher can address with preparation lessons noted later in this proposal. Then, students will learn about the concepts of ethnicity and Imagined Communities (see Appendix B for optional activity). Students will work in groups to brainstorm beliefs, concepts, and items that represent Canadians or Canadian identity and how they feel about these things on chart paper. Student groups' ideas will be consolidated on one class list of items that represent Canadian identity on a piece of chart paper. The class will discuss the created class list, and students will explain their reasoning for including each item.

Symbol & Historiography Lessons

The teacher will provide several symbol and historiography lessons to help students consider the meanings of symbols and understandings of history from different points of view. Lessons on official and unofficial symbols should be given, such as the beaver and the fur trade, the canoe, the maple leaf, and the Wampum Belt, as these symbols have long been recognized as symbols of Canada and are closely tied to its history (see Appendix C).

Students will critically analyze different perspectives while learning about the history and meanings of symbols.

Contemporary Symbol & Symbol Change Lessons

Students will build on their understanding of symbols and their history, as well as their ability to critically analyze different perspectives by examining the rationale behind contemporary symbols and changes meant to modernize old symbols (see Appendix D for possible topics). In general, the process of new symbol creation and changes to existing symbols represent teaching approaches rooted in citizenship and treaty education stances.

Culminating Activity

The culminating activity will begin with a lesson on the Canadian national flag and its history. This lesson will explore how, for nearly a century after Canada was formed in 1867, it did not have its own flag to fly, and attempts to gain a distinct flag failed until the “Great Flag Debate of 1964” when Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson prioritized the issue (Government of Canada, 2023b). Through these attempts, thousands of flag designs were submitted with the goal of creating a flag that would “say proudly to the world and to the future: ‘I stand for Canada’” (Lester B. Pearson, as cited McIntosh, 2019). Students will explore and analyze the different design alternatives, their symbolic meanings, and the perspectives of different parties’ on said designs. For example, Prime Minister Pearson preferred a design with three red maple leaves between two blue borders due to it representing “Canada from sea to sea” or “A Mari usque ad Mare (in Latin):” Canada’s national motto (McIntosh, 2019).

Finally, students will complete the “Decolonizing a Flag for a New Generation” lesson by Heather Jeffkins, 2019 recipient of the Governor General’s History Award for Excellence in Teaching (see Appendix G for alternative lesson and activity). This lesson has students examine provincial and territorial flags of Canada and their descriptions in the “Flying with Pride” article in the Symbols issue of *Kayak: Canada’s History Magazine for Kids*. Students will then design a new provincial/territorial flag that is more representative of the post-colonial era and explain their design choices based on the concepts of continuity and change while acknowledging different perspectives, a core tenet of the Ontario Social Studies curriculum. Students can additionally learn about current proposals for changes to provincial/territorial flags (Appendix E).

Discussion

These learning activities attempt to bridge issues of youth civic participation through symbol-based lessons that align with citizenship and Indigenous treaty education. The aim is to expand on the “possibilities of treaty education for reconciliation with Aboriginal people, as corrective to the foundational myth of Canada and as a means of fostering ethically engaged citizenship” (Tupper, 2012, p. 146). Though not entirely congruent, there are several intersections among history, social studies, and national identity.

The symbolic poverty of Canadian symbols is a civic concern in and of itself (Anderson, 2011; Breton, 1984; 1986). Treaty education reveals the social and economic privileges afforded to settlers by treaties on account of Indigenous peoples which “underwrite the way many Canadians are able to think about their country and themselves as citizens” (Tupper, 2011, p. 39). Exposing students to current issues and having them critically address these issues in a safe, respectful, and constructive way to real or similar civic problems (McAvoy & Hess, 2013). Additionally, these activities aim to counter Indigenous erasure by having students consider the diversity of Indigenous peoples’ perspectives instead of merely looking at the “facts” of events. This also combats the effects of colonial frontier histories, which have had negative impacts on the identities of Indigenous peoples, including incorrect and stereotypical depictions that are reinforced through education (Tupper, 2011; Francis, 2012; King, 2012). In fact, some of this colonial education centered on Indigenous symbols and painted Indigenous people as a monolithic group, such as depicting totem poles as a pan-Indigenous tradition when, in fact, the tradition is specific to the West Coast regions that had the geography and vegetation for western red cedar trees to grow. Thus, through critically analyzing symbols and their histories, students can engage in citizenship education while developing their national identity.

Introduction Activity

Countries have specific and central symbols which identify their literature (Barrett, 2013; Chambers, 1999). The initial use of Canadian alphabet books and student-group discussions in the learning activities will examine students' conceptions of the Canadian Imagined Community, its symbols, and their own connection to them. Bishop (1990) explains how books are windows or mirrors, offering views of different worlds that may be real, imagined, familiar or strange, while at other times, they reflect our own lives and experiences. When books are mirrors, reading becomes a means of self-affirmation. Children from dominant social groups have always found their mirrors in books (Bishop, 1990; Mitchell & Parker, 2008). The need for books to represent different peoples parallels and exemplifies the need for different historical perspectives, particularly Indigenous perspectives in Canada. Students will begin to consider their national identities and how well different communities are represented.

Symbol & Historiography and Contemporary Symbol & Symbol Change Lessons

The Critical Symbol & Historiography and Contemporary Symbol & Symbol Change Lessons allow teachers to directly address colonial frontier histories by providing "counter-story" based on Indigenous perspectives (Tupper, 2011; Madden, 2019). Learning about contemporary Indigenous symbols and changes to past symbols to include Indigenous elements provides non-Indigenous students with a window and Indigenous students with an often-missing mirror (Bishop, 1990). Such changes challenge colonial frontier history, necessary to engage in reconciliation with First Nations, which involves civic duties of upholding treaty rights (Tupper, 2011). Learning about Indigenous symbols and symbolism is part of treaty education (Office of the Treaty Commissioner, 2008; Tupper, 2011; 2012). Some symbols directly express treaties and their legal, political, and relationship traditions. For example, Wampum Belts were made by Indigenous people in the East Coast to have different patterns that symbolized events, alliances or kinship, oral histories, and relationships between different peoples, such as treaties between settlers and Indigenous peoples (Sabzalian, 2019; Gadacz, 2020).

Culminating Activity

A national flag is the most poignant part of a country's IC; it offers an effective way of identifying a country, and its symbolism should be expansive, representing perspectives from across the country while also offering a picture of unity (Mcintosh, 2019). Through the culminating activity (Appendix G), students engage critically in defining what symbols should represent their province/territory and, therefore, define what constitutes their Canadian identities. This process causes students to strengthen their own sense of citizenship. Students develop greater self-knowledge and national identification through critical analyses of Canadian and Indigenous symbols (Mitchel & Parker, 2008; Tupper, 2011). Through more accurate and critical views of cultural symbols, we can build a stronger Canadian identity.

Challenges and Professional Recommendations

The diversity, inclusivity, equity, and multicultural policies of Canada and its educational bodies have resulted in very few outwardly discriminatory teachers in public settings in contemporary times (Dei, 1993; Gaffield & Millette, 2015). However, Canada is founded on settler-colonial histories, which have also formed colonial Canadian identities that are reproduced in schools. Challenging these histories and identities means that schools will be sites of power struggles that naturally seek to maintain the hegemonic structure (Sant, 2019). Indigenous content, especially historical and political issues, is likely to be considered controversial. This is due to the colonial narratives and frontier histories that directly oppose Indigenous histories and have formed the basis of Canadian education. There is a gap in the literature on practicing Canadian teachers' reactions when teaching Indigenous histories. However, de France (2013) and Gorecki and Doyle-Jones (2021) found that pre-service or student teachers have a wide range of reactions, from negative to positive, when engaging with the challenging nature of Indigenous courses; some experience emotions and feelings that hinder their learning process, while others embrace the opportunity to be challenged in their prior knowledge and belief system. This is part and parcel of the problem and why issues related to Indigenous people in Canada are not being addressed or even acknowledged. Not surprisingly, even in Saskatchewan, there is a widespread lack of understanding and misconception surrounding the ongoing importance of the numbered treaties (Tupper, 2011). Furthermore, the General Social Survey revealed that, in terms of shared

values, “respect for Aboriginal culture” was the lowest rated amongst Canadians (Sinha, 2014). Even more concerning, Ghosh (2008) warns us that “simply changing curricula and policy is insufficient because the problem is embedded in the social consciousness” (p. 27). Thus, the impetus for this work and the importance of teachers doing this work must be aware and prepared to deal with the following challenges. To this end, several scholars (Gorecki and Doyle-Jones, 2021; Madden, 2015; 2019; McInnes, 2017) recommend Indigenous education in teacher education programs.

Superficial Indigenous Content in Citizenship Education

Reflecting on my own education, I can recall superficial activities like making dream catchers out of popsicle sticks and colourful yarn with no insight into the significance of a dream catcher to Indigenous groups. With activities like these, detractors may be quick to point out that such activities or that the Ontario Ministry of Education Social Studies curriculum does include Indigenous content. Although Indigenous content, and particularly symbols, have appeared, these depictions have been critiqued as a form of appropriation and an act of colonialism (Canadian Encyclopedia, 2020; Schaepli et al., 2018). “Historically, the need for respectful and meaningful inclusion of Aboriginal education in public schools has long been identified” (St. Denis, 2011, p. 312). Superficial inclusion has led to incorrect myths and harmful stereotypes about Indigenous peoples, such as the misconceptions that Indigenous people do not pay any taxes or that residential schools are ancient history. Indigenous content has involved a tokenized form of learning: a “teepees and costumes” approach (St. Denis, 2011; Donald, 2009). To Indigenous people, “inclusion” has often meant a form of erasure (Schaepli et al., 2018; Sabzalian, 2019). Interviews with Indigenous teachers in Canada found that Indigenous teachers emphasize teaching about Indigenous culture and history in a way that goes beyond cultural artifacts: “We need the perspective, not just beads and feathers” (St. Denis, 2011, p. 314). The “beads and feathers” approach that St. Denis and other Indigenous researchers (de France, 2013) refer to is the traditional colonial and stereotypical depictions of Indigenous people. As Cherokee author Thomas King (2012) explains in his book, *The Inconvenient Indian*, Early European depictions of North American Indigenous peoples coupled with the Wild West genre of books, shows, and Hollywood films created a stereotypical image of all Indigenous peoples dressed in leather garments decorated with fringes and beads, and wearing headdresses with feathers. These images were taken from elements of Indigenous nations in the Great Plains of the American West and were used to depict all Indigenous peoples. Francis (2012) describes this phenomenon as the creation of the “imaginary Indian.” The inclusion of Indigenous education of this nature is not only incorrect but harmful. Schaepli et al.’s. (2018) forensic analysis demonstrates that the 2003–2015 Ontario curricula and texts reinforce a colonial epistemology of ignorance, and omission of Indigenous content, critical perspectives, and philosophies. Therefore, educational activities can still include the making of a dream catcher if it is done respectfully and involves learning about its history and cultural significance rather than it being construed as a pretty trinket.

Teachers should seek approval from an Indigenous community when appropriate. At the same time, teachers should be wary not to overburden Indigenous communities with requests to approve approaches to Indigenous education. They must also recognize the diversity of Indigenous peoples and that one Indigenous person or community cannot speak for all Indigenous peoples. There is no step-by-step solution for teachers to navigate this complex situation. Guiding principles inherent to Indigenous education are reconciliation and respectful relationships with Indigenous peoples (Gorecki and Doyle-Jones, 2021; Madden, 2015; 2019). Reconciliation and building relationships with Indigenous peoples involve holding spaces that allow for authentic voices in learning (Ontario Ministry of Education’s Approach to Indigenous Education, 2020). Speaking to Indigenous and anti-racist education in Canadian schools, St. Denis (2007) says, “We [Indigenous peoples] need to join with our white and non-Aboriginal allies and work together” (p. 1088). Teachers should leverage the existing Indigenous community networks and relationships in their own context. Madden (2015) encourages educators to “connect pathways” which is to take “into account their unique place, positioning, talents, students, and priorities” (p.13) and learn from those who have undertaken this task.

Deflections using Multiculturalism

A related challenge to complaints about Indigenous content already being present in the curriculum is that there is too much focus on such content, and other races, ethnicities, and cultures should be highlighted

instead. In part because of NMCE, people may react with negative sentiments like, “Aboriginal people are not the only people here” (Tupper, 2012). The inclusion of Indigenous education should not be in competition with education about other marginalized groups; quite the opposite, in fact, solidarity amongst groups and support against injustices is a joint stand against the dominant colonial frameworks (Madden, 2015; 2019; St. Denis, 2007), a favourable outcome of being an active citizen (Dei, 1993). Like other marginalized groups, Indigenous content has been historically and purposefully erased and excluded. However, as discussed previously, issues faced by minorities and Indigenous peoples are falsely equated. Though there are similarities, and solidarity amongst groups is the goal, the detractors who use this argument do so in a way to justify the exclusion or limited inclusion of Indigenous content. As mentioned, the issues Indigenous people face in Canada face are uniquely tied to their sovereignty and treaty rights. Addressing these issues is a civic and ethical responsibility for Canadians.

A particular, tricky variant of this challenge is when it comes from other marginalized groups. In my experience, this comes from groups either conflating the injustices they faced or removing themselves from responsibility as they do not have a direct connection to the colonial system. In some cases, immigrants and newcomers may struggle to meaningfully learn about Indigenous communities and their histories as part of Canada’s formal education system as it contrasts from the innocent image most people have of Canada, and the image that Canada has intentionally promoted (Kymlicka, 2004; 2007). The issue of conflation is often due to a misunderstanding of history and how Indigenous people are still affected and facing injustices combined with a misunderstanding of Canadians’ civic responsibility, agreed upon through treaties. Removal of responsibility is also due to a misunderstanding about Treaties, despite their foundational importance to the Canadian nation and the resulting benefits that citizens currently enjoy (Tupper, 2011). Such challenges are only further rationale for more inclusive citizenship and treaty education. Enabling immigrants and newcomers to meaningfully learn about Indigenous peoples starts by including Indigenous and treaty education. Chatterjee (2018) found that such learning required close relationships with her students and “problematizing each other’s histories in sometimes quite discomfoting ways” (Chatterjee, 2018, p. 150). If students’ understandings are founded on colonial frontier histories, then there will be inherent tensions in Indigenous histories, which must be critically challenged (Chatterjee, 2018; McInnes, 2017; St. Denis, 2011). While Indigenous and minority community issues shouldn’t be conflated (Calderón, 2009), there are similarities of oppression and discrimination within Canada (Chatterjee, 2018) and globally that can be used as a starting point and way to connect with students.

Limited Time to Teach

A final challenge regarding citizenship and treaty education is curricular time constraints. This may be due to the aforementioned challenges and a teacher’s conception of priority or lack of recognition of the importance of the work. On the other hand, teachers who earnestly want to engage in this work may recognize the difficulty of including new material in their already packed schedules. This is the reason the activities are designed to align with the Ontario Ministry of Education Social Studies, History, and Geography curriculum. Furthermore, for Ontario teachers to meet the required time allotments for each subject, they are suggested to combine subject periods and do co-curricular lessons. Following this suggestion, the proposed learning activities may be used to suffice for other subjects beyond the Social Studies, History, and Geography curriculum. For example, when students are learning about different histories, they are also meeting the following Grade 5 reading expectations: *Demonstrating Understanding* 1.4 “demonstrate understanding of a variety of texts by summarizing important ideas and citing supporting details” and *Extending Understanding* 1.6 “extend understanding of texts by connecting the ideas in them to their own knowledge, experience, and insights, to other familiar texts, and to the world around them” (OME, 2006, p. 97). Further, the Arts expectations can be assessed in the culminating activity. Students can be asked to visually create the changed symbol, which would align with the following expectations: D1.1 “create two- and three-dimensional artworks that express feelings and ideas inspired by their own and others’ points of view” and D2.1 “interpret a variety of artworks and identify the feelings, issues, themes, and social concerns that they convey” (OME, 2009, p. 118).

Difficulties of Symbol Changing

In a similar vein to the teaching of Indigenous content, there may be opposition to the idea of changing symbols. Connections to social movements post Black Lives Matter and the controversies around the renaming and removal of monuments will likely be drawn. However, just as students will learn from the lessons and activities, deliberation and changing symbols is not something new; in fact, it is par for the course. Regardless, changes to something as important to the Canadian Imagined Community and identity as a provincial flag may draw contention, as exemplified by the historical struggle that came with creating a national flag. McAvoy and Hess (2013) argue that teachers should resist the temptation to avoid engaging students in discussions of controversial issues to create a “politically safe place” (p. 16). Teachers should, instead, use the pedagogical practice of deliberation so that their students can navigate controversial issues. For this, Cree scholar Donald (2009) presents the concept of Indigenous Métissage, a critical pedagogy which involves the purposeful juxtaposition of historical perspectives (often framed as common-sense) with Indigenous historical perspectives. Indigenous Métissage promotes ethical deliberation as a curricular and pedagogical standpoint that “help[s] with rereading, reframing, and reimagining the relationships connecting Aboriginal peoples and Canadians” (Donald, 2009, p. 5). Indeed, McAvoy and Hess’ (2013) longitudinal study of high school classes between 2005 and 2009, found that teachers can foster successful deliberation by teaching authentic matters, such as those related to Indigenous people, and framing them within the larger historical context, thereby preventing simple and uncritical conclusions and leading to high-quality discussions. Deliberation involves competing views, so a teacher must create an open and respectful class culture. Teachers must embrace ideological diversity when engaging in deliberation (McAvoy & Hess, 2013).

For some teachers, especially at the beginning of their careers, engaging in such deliberation can be overwhelming (Bickmore, 2005). In studies of policy and practice in several Canadian provinces, Bickmore (2005) found that schools and teachers generally avoid difficult issues with a high potential for conflict, including those involving ethnicity and identity. I suggest teachers invite an Indigenous speaker to support the learning when appropriate. All school boards in Ontario must have formal structures such as Indigenous Education Councils to support Indigenous education, such as the Toronto District School Board and the Urban Indigenous Education Centre of Excellence, though not all teachers are aware of this. Further, Indigenous speakers should not be used as a replacement or excuse for teachers to avoid this work themselves. Too often the burden of Indigenous education is laid solely on Indigenous people (FNUniv, 2022; OPPI, 2019). A wealth of resources exists to support teaching about the diversity and vibrancy of Indigenous peoples and issues today (Sabzalian, 2019). Indigenous speakers can provide insightful perspectives, act as dialogical actors to students, and support teachers. Addressing this content and subject matter in and of itself may feel uncomfortable to teachers who are likely to have not grown up learning these histories and perspectives themselves (Donald, 2009). This challenge implies that this is an area of concern for students, and teachers must work alongside our students to reveal and unpack settler colonial identities and histories (Tupper, 2011). An open stance to a teacher’s ongoing learning is a pillar of the teaching profession and models the importance of this education to students.

Conclusion

This article is built on the premise that, once students know more about Canadian symbols – Indigenous peoples, cultures, perspectives, histories – and related civic issues in Canada, they might develop a greater sense of Canadian Identity and citizenship. Theoretically, there are innate tensions with the proposed activities and their actual implementation. Further, the impact of these activities on students has not been empirically documented. This article and activities act as a practical and adaptable guide for the implementation of citizenship and treaty education in junior division classes in Ontario. Despite changes to the education system, youth civic involvement is declining, and social issues, especially regarding Indigenous peoples, have not improved. This article comes at an opportune time, as negative reactions to the recent news that school boards across Ontario are following those across Canada in replacing Grade 11 English courses on literary classics with contemporary First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Voices reveal that tensions with regard to including Indigenous education in mainstream education and misunderstandings of history and treaties are still prevalent.

There is no doubt that this work might be uncomfortable for students and especially teachers. However, to be active citizens, we must teach our students about the harsh realities that plague current Indigenous

citizens and students. At the same time, we must be mindful not to (re)traumatize their students. Despite these challenges, classrooms remain one of the most promising sites for teaching students the skills and values necessary for active citizenship. Previous research has shown that students are more likely to encounter a wider range of experiences at school than in their homes and that by interacting with others who may see the world quite differently than they do, they are likely to become more politically tolerant, more informed, and more interested in politics (McAvoy & Hess, 2013). Peck et al. (2010) temper expectations by reminding us that knowledge of differences is not enough. We prefer active citizens in Canada to not only understand the differences of their fellow Canadians but also have the willingness to adapt, accommodate, and advocate for accommodation. This article offers one step in this direction.

Glossary

The following definitions are taken from the Government of Canada article, “Words first: an evolving terminology relating to Aboriginal peoples in Canada” (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2002). Throughout this article, the term Indigenous will be used.

Aboriginal people: is a collective name for the original peoples of North America and their descendants. The Canadian Constitution (the Constitution Act, 1982) recognizes three groups of Aboriginal peoples – Indians, Métis, and Inuit.

Indian: The term “Indian” collectively describes all the indigenous people in Canada who are not Inuit or Métis. There are three categories of Indians in Canada: Status Indians, Non-Status Indians, and Treaty Indians.

- i)* Status Indians – People who are entitled to have their names included on the Indian Register, an official list with certain criteria maintained by the federal government. Status Indians are entitled to certain rights and benefits under the law.
- ii)* Non-Status Indians – People who consider themselves Indians or members of a First Nation but whom the Government of Canada does not recognize as Indians under the Indian Act, either because they are unable to prove their status or have lost their status rights.
- iii)* Treaty Indian – A Status Indian who belongs to a First Nation that signed a treaty with the Crown.

First Nations: a term that came into common usage in the 1970s to replace the word “Indian,” which some people found offensive. Although the term First Nation is widely used, no legal definition of it exists.

Inuit: the Aboriginal people of Arctic Canada. Métis – the word “Métis” is French for “mixed blood.” Historically, the term applied to the children of French fur traders and Cree women in the Prairies and of English and Scottish traders and Dene women in the North. Today, the term is used broadly to describe people with mixed First Nations and European ancestry who identify themselves as Métis, distinct from Indian people, Inuit, or non-Aboriginal.

Native: similar in meaning to “Aboriginal.” “Native” is a collective term to describe the descendants of the original peoples of North America. This term can also be problematic in certain contexts, as some non-Aboriginal peoples born in a settler state may argue that they, too, are “native.”

Indigenous: a term used to encompass a variety of Aboriginal groups. Indigenous means “native to the area.”

Treaty Education: Education that refers to the development and implementation of a greater understanding of the inherent Indigenous rights and the shared treaties as both historical and living agreements that articulate ongoing rights and responsibilities and have ongoing implications.

Colonial Frontier Logics: Epistemological assumptions and presuppositions, derived from the colonial project of dividing the world according to racial and cultural categorizations, which serve to naturalize assumed divides and thus contribute to their social and institutional perpetuation (Donald, 2009, p. 20).

Indigenous Education: Education that refers to First Nations, Inuit, and Métis, also known collectively as Indigenous peoples in Canada, per Section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982 the "Aboriginal peoples of Canada", or occasionally as F.N.M.I. students (First Nations, Métis, and Inuit). Not to be confused with traditional Indigenous education which is the method and teaching style amongst Indigenous peoples.

Citizenship education: The process of enlightening and sensitizing people and their status as citizens, their right and duties, as well as the need for them to work together with other citizens to develop their community.

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Appendix A

Canadian Alphabet Books

Canadian alphabet books teach children about Canada's items, symbols, peoples, places, and events that the author feels are essential to Canada, or a part of Canada. Often in the form of clever rhymes, photos/illustrations, and accompanying informative text, symbols, history, people, geographical features, landmarks, and culture from parts of or the whole nation, depending on the book, are presented in the books. Examples of the books are shown in Figures A1, A2, and A3.

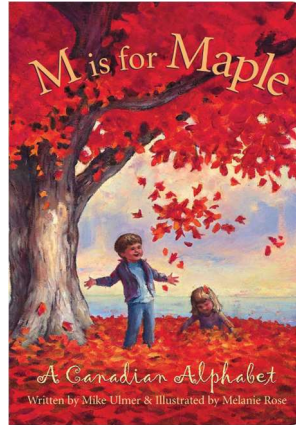


Figure A1. M is for Maple A Canadian Alphabet [Book published by Sleeping Bear Press]
Ulmer, M. (2007).

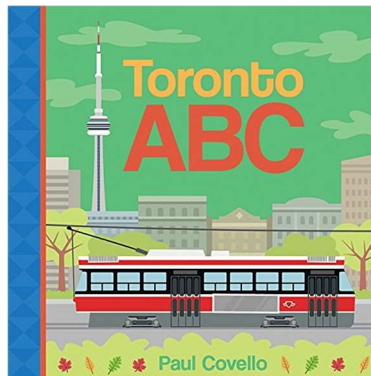


Figure A2. Toronto ABC [Book published by Harper Collins Publishers]
Covello, P. (2014).

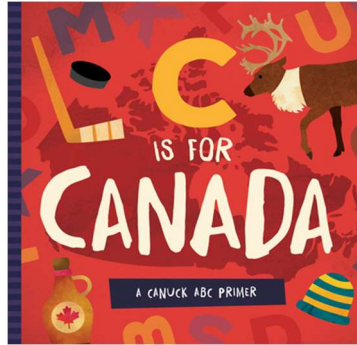


Figure A3. C is for Canada a Canuck ABC Primer [Book published by Familius]
Madson, T. (2017).

Appendix B

Optional Activity to Support Student Conception of a Canadian-Imagined Community

Anderson's (1983) theory of ICs was concerned with how media was the result and reinforcing element of the nation-state. His research occurred during the start of the Industrial Revolution and the expansion of printing press capitalism. With the advancement of technology, mass media has taken to digital platforms. The commercial advertisements presented in Figures B1 and B2 represent modern forms of mass media that also explicitly address the idea of a Canadian IC. Seiler (2002) analyzed Molson Brewery's patriotic advertisement "I AM CANADIAN" (Fig B2) and its success, finding that the company was able to convey the message that drinking Molson beer was part of the Canadian IC just as watching hockey or the maple leaf. The advertisement did this by drawing on the symbolic resources of history (Seiler, 2002).



Figure B1. Tim Horton's Commercial [YouTube Video
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0BwH5Fkkig&ab_channel=AshleyWilliamson]
Williamson, A. (2010).



Figure B2. I AM CANADIAN – Best Commercial Ever! [YouTube Video
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pASE_TgeVg8]
CanadaWebDeveloper. (2014).

Appendix C

The exact number of critical symbol and historiography lessons will be up to the teacher's discretion and their students' needs. The class list created from the *Introduction Activity* should provide ample symbol topics (Figure C2 also provides various symbol topics). These lessons should ensure that students learn information about the symbols and their associated histories, and, importantly and include an inquiry component, allowing students to come to their own conclusions and develop their critical consciousness (see the Challenges and Professional Recommendations section).

Beaver and the Fur Trade

The lesson can begin with a prompt asking students where they see the beaver symbolized. Facts about the beaver's usage in Canadian symbology can be given. For example, one of the first uses of the beaver in connection with Canada was in 1851 when the "Three-pence beaver" was the illustration for Canada's first postage stamp, and this illustration has remained on the nickel since 1937. In 1975 a royal assent gave the beaver official status as a symbol of the sovereignty of Canada (Heritage, 2017) and is present in other Canadian symbols, such as on Montréal's flag and coat of arms. Next, the teacher can explain that the beaver has acted as a cultural symbol for Canada long before its official status as an economy centred around beaver fur was integral to the establishment of Canada, which required partnerships between European settlers and Indigenous peoples. In terms of critical inquiry and historiography, the lesson will shift to exploring the impacts and perspectives of settlers and Indigenous people during the fur trade. The OME (2018) provides the following sample question for teachers to ask students: "What were some of the short- and long-term consequences of the fur trade for both First Nations and Europeans?" (p. 112). Students can explore the pros and cons of different groups involved in the fur trade and how they changed over time. For example, at the start of the trade in the 1600s, early European settlers and Indigenous peoples maintained good relationships, and the exchange of metal and cloth goods for furs and fresh meats was mutually beneficial. Whereas in the late 1600s and early 1700s, increasing fashion for fur hats made out of beaver pelts in Europe led to competitive trade and the financing of further exploration, expansion, evangelism, and settlement, which increasingly exploited Indigenous peoples. Students can explore how from the perspective of a settler, the immense potential for monetary success created a romantic image of the fur trade, which further spurred settler expansion (Oman, 2009). Treaty education provides a "counter-story" for students to understand history from an Indigenous person's perspective (Madden, 2019; Tupper, 2011). This subject can directly lead to lessons about the Hudson Bay Company and the signing of treaties.

Canoe

The way canoeing is represented in Canada; often through the privileged activity of recreational canoeing and discovering the wonder of nature, represent settler colonial histories have dictated the current narrative. Lessons on the canoe can reveal its historical significance to Canada and the differing perspectives. One can view the canoe as one of the seven wonders of Canada, a tool that helped settlers survive on the land and explore Canada when bulky European boats couldn't manoeuvre the lakes and rivers. Another view held by Indigenous peoples, particularly Métis Voyagers, see the canoe as a symbol of community, family, and connection. Indigenous people may also see the canoe as the tool that caused Indigenous people to lose control of their homeland. The canoe symbolically represents these perspectives and recently has been increasingly reclaimed by Indigenous peoples as an integral to strengthening their connection with ancestral waterways, and ways of being. Teachers may want to take their students on a field trip to the Canadian Canoe Museum in Peterborough, Ontario.

Maple Leaf

Trees have played a meaningful role in the historical development of Canada and continue to be of commercial, environmental and aesthetic importance. Maples contribute valuable wood products and sustain the maple sugar industry. The maple leaf connects to various other Canadian symbols (Dawson et al., 2018). Interestingly, the maple tree is recognized by the government of Canada as an official symbol, while the maple leaf is only an unofficial symbol despite it being present on a variety of official Canadian symbols,

least to say, the Canadian National Flag (Dawson et al., 2018; Government of Canada, 2023c). Even the tree was only recognized as Canada's arboreal emblem in 1996 (Government of Canada, 2023c). Despite not being official, the maple leaf began to serve as a Canadian symbol as early as the 18th century, and by the 19th century onwards, the leaf appeared increasingly frequently as part of Canadian symbols (Dawson et al., 2018). The maple trees and their leaves provide an opportunity to learn about Canada's ecosystem as there are 150 known species of maple (genus *Acer*), 13 of which are native to North America, and 10 of which grow in Canada: the sugar, black, silver, bigleaf, red, mountain, striped, Douglas, vine and Manitoba maples. At least one of the 10 species grows naturally in every province (Government of Canada, 2023c). Regardless of type, the maple tree, with its vibrant autumn colours, has always been a prominent feature of the landscape in eastern Canada. Long before the arrival of European settlers, Indigenous peoples had already discovered the food properties of maple sap – which they gathered every spring.

Wampum Belt

Wampum Belts were made by Indigenous people in the East Coast to have different patterns that symbolized events, alliances or kinship, oral histories, and relationships between different peoples, such as treaties between settlers and Indigenous peoples (Sabzalian, 2019; Gadacz, 2020; Glover, 2020). The Government of Ontario's (2023b) Treaty teaching and learning resources guide provides a list of resources, including children's books made by Indigenous that teachers can use for treaty education. Books such as "Alex shares his Wampum Belt" (Fig C1 by Kelly Crawford of M'Chigeeng First Nation, Ontario, and in consultation with the Anishinabek Nation to help explain treaties. In this book, a child named Alex shares his experience of recreating the 1764 Treaty of Niagara Belt with Lego. Crawford explains there is an accompanying Lego kit and related lesson plans (See Challenges and Professional Recommendations - *Limited Time*). Furthermore, the Anishinabek Nation adds that this book complements the **We are all Treaty People** teachers kit that is already used in schools in Ontario.

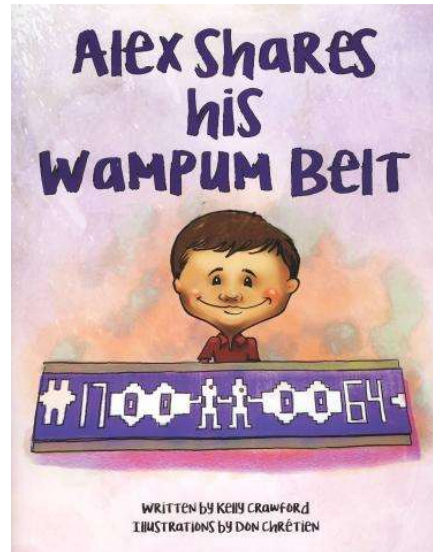


Figure C1. Alex Shares his Wampum Belt [Book published by Union of Ontario Indians] Crawford, K. (2017).

Alex Shares his Wampum Belt – The wampum belt Alex made symbolizes the Treaty of Niagara agreement. Real wampum beads are made from white and purple shells. The colours also have meaning and the designs are used to tell the history of the belt’s creation. The promises mean that First Nations agreed to share the land and they have rights as Nations. The treaty is a living promise that means all people are Treaty People.

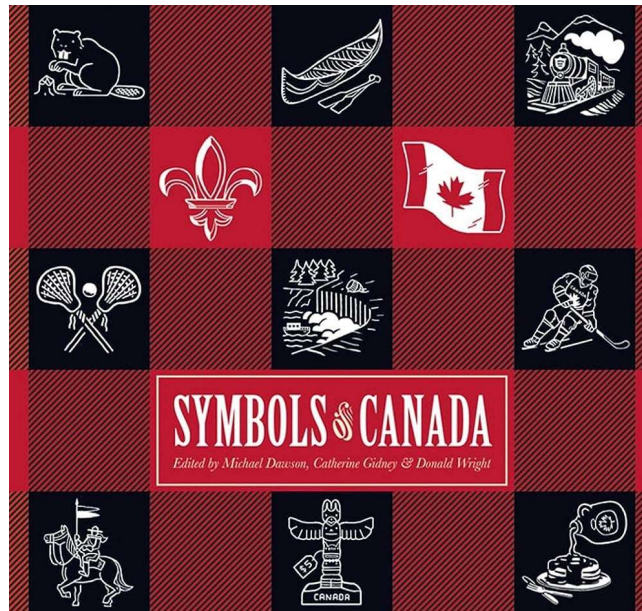


Figure C2. Symbols of Canada [Book published by Between the Lines]
Dawson, M., Gidney, C., & Wright, D. (2018).

Appendix D

Contemporary Symbols and Symbol Changes Lessons

The following are potential lesson topics on contemporary symbols and the proposed and actual changes to symbols. These lessons will help students learn how to critically analyze history and symbols by reviewing change proposals or the design process of contemporary symbols based on critical considerations of history and inclusion.

Georgian College

Georgian College's recent redesign of its coat of arms acknowledges that the college is situated on the Treaty Land and traditional territory of Indigenous people, the Anishnaabeg (see Figure D1). The re-design was made in the spirit of truth and reconciliation, incorporating several Indigenous elements while maintaining the overall look of the original coat of arms.

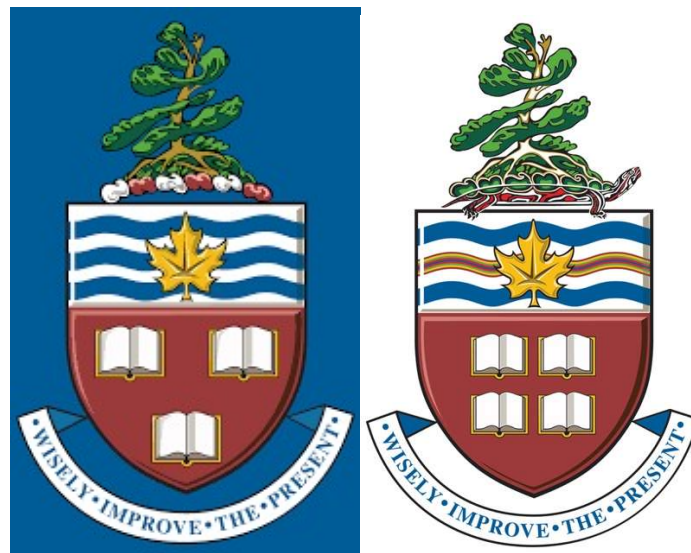


Figure D1. Georgian College's old logo [Left] and current logo [Right]
Georgian College. (2022).

National Indigenous History Month Symbol

The House of Commons designated June as National Aboriginal History Month in 2009. The name was changed to National Indigenous History Month in 2017. Its current symbol represents the First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples with the eagle, narwhal, and violin, respectively. The symbol incorporates various visual elements illustrating Indigenous cultures, the sun represents the summer solstice, the four elements of nature (earth, water, fire and air) are represented within the images, the multicoloured smoke represents Indigenous spirituality and the different ways all three Indigenous groups use smoke (smoking fish and meat, burning sage and tobacco, or sacred ceremonies and celebrations) and the colours represent inclusion and the diversity of Indigenous peoples (Government of Canada, 2023a).

O Canada (National Anthem)

This history of the choosing a national anthem represents a history of representation. Before the creation of *O Canada*, *God Save the King* and *The Maple Leaf For Ever*, popular patriotic songs for the times, were the de facto national anthems in English Canada (Mcintosh, 2018). French Canadians desired a song that better represented them. Songs such as “Sol canadien, terre chérie,” by Isidore Bédard with music by Theodore Molt in 1829 and “Ô Canada! mon pays! mes amours!” by Sir George-Étienne Cartier with music by J.-B. Labelle in 1834 were popular amongst French Canadians. However, these songs were not favoured by the English Canadians, the majority. A song that was adored by both groups was created in 1880 when the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec commissioned Théodore Robitaille to write a song (O Canada) to mark the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day celebrations in the City of Québec and honour the National Congress of French Canadians (Mcintosh, 2018). As the song became increasingly popular various English adaptations of its original French lyrics were created and sung across Canada. The most popular version was written in 1908 by Robert Stanley Weir, and was published in an official form for the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation in 1927. 100 years after its creation, using Weir’s lyrics with minor modifications, *O Canada* became Canada’s national anthem with the passing of the *National Anthem Act*, in 1980. Recently, changes have been proposed to ensure the song is representative of Canada. In January 2018, legislation was enacted to change the English lyrics to ensure gender parity. The verse “True patriot love in all thy sons command” was changed to “True patriot love in all of us command” (no change was required to the French version). In February 2023, while performing the Canadian national anthem during the NBA all-star game, singer Jully Black replaced “our home and native land” with “our home on native land.” The change was meant to recognize the Indigenous people who lived on the land before European settlers. Black was later invited to the Assembly of First Nations Special Chiefs Assembly and honoured with a white, black and gold star blanket for her rendition. The rendition sparked the Mississauga City Council, the seventh largest city, to vote on a motion to request the Canadian government to make the change official.

Appendix E

Contemporary Flag Changes

Similar to the Contemporary Symbols and Symbol Changes Lessons topics, the goal is to help students learn how to critically analyze history and symbols by reviewing change proposals or the design process of contemporary flags. Specifically, evaluating flags has the added benefit of preparing students for their *Culminating Activity*. A hypothetical redesign of the British Columbian flag (Figure E1) created by Lou-ann Neel, a British Columbian citizen and a Kwakwaka'wakw First Nations member, presents students with an opportunity to critically consider the usage and implementation of Indigenous elements in Canadian symbols. In 2021, the 150th anniversary of B.C.'s entry into the confederation, Lou-ann Neel created a new design incorporating Indigenous Kwaigulth artistic elements. Her goal was to raise awareness and provide an exercise in cultural appropriation (see Figure F1). Similarly, Curtis Wilson, a fellow Kwakwaka'wakw artist, designed a Canadian flag that represents and brings a better understanding of the First Nations in Canada (see Figure E2). The history of Montréal's flag represents actual changes made to represent its population. The original design (Figure E1) was based on the city's original coat of arms, both created by the first mayor of Montréal, Jacques Viger, in 1833. In 1939, the flag was revised to display a symmetric cross instead of a saltire and a blue fleur-de-lys instead of a beaver (Figure E4). The cross is emblematic of the Christian motives and principles that governed the foundation and development of the city, while the floral designs represent the ethnic origins of the population of Montréal in the 19th century: Fleur-de-lys (French), Thistle (Scottish), Shamrock (Irish), and Rose of Lancaster (English) (Governor General of Canada, 2023). In 2017, Montreal Mayor Denis Coderre announced a modification to the flag of Montreal, part of an effort to move toward reconciliation with Indigenous people, to include a First Nations symbol, a white pine tree at its centre (Figure E5). The decision was made in 2017 during the city's 375th anniversary of the founding of the city and the 10th anniversary of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The white pine tree represents peace, harmony, and concord, and symbolizes the Tree of Peace (Governor General of Canada, 2023). The white pine was chosen by an advisory committee appointed by the Assembly of First Nations Quebec-Labrador (AFNQL), made up of members from various First Nations (Mohawk, Anishinaabe, Innu) as well as a representative from the Centre d'histoire de Montréal and assisted by the Canadian Heraldic Authority.



Figure E1. The British Columbian provincial flag reimagined by artist Lou-ann Neels Neel, L. (2021).



Figure E2. “Standing Together,” the Canadian flag reimagined Kwakwaka’wakw Indigenous artist Curtis Wilson
Wilson, C. (2005).

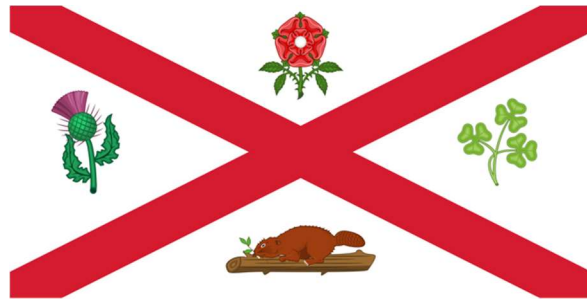


Figure E3. Flag of Montréal 1935-1939.

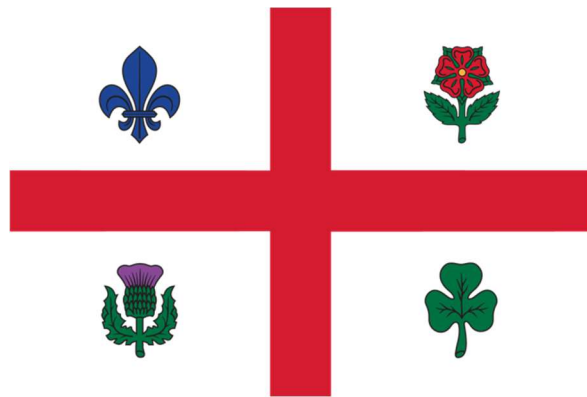


Figure E4. Flag of Montréal 1939-2017.

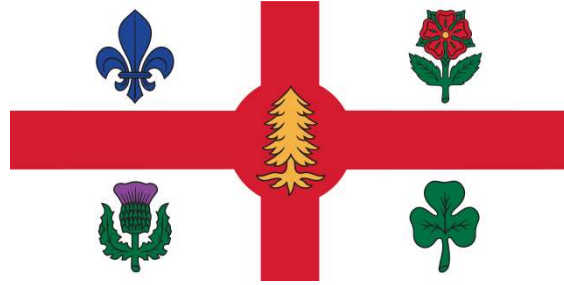


Figure E5. Flag of Montréal 2017-Present.
Governor General of Canada. (2023).

Appendix F

Alternate Culminating Activity

“Bank notes provide a wonderful opportunity to explore the concepts of historical significance and continuity and change, two of the historical thinking concepts incorporated into many provincial and territorial curricula” (Bank of Canada, 2022, n. p.).

The idea of changing a flag may be too controversial or not of interest to a teacher. Alternatively, Canadian legal tender, another prominent symbol that involves elements of Canada and its people, can be used as the primary subject for the Culminating Activity. In Canada’s early history, various currencies were used, including Indigenous wampum belts, British pounds, American dollars, Spanish pesos, and even unique colonial currencies made by local banks and governments (McGillivray et al., 2017; The Canada Guide, 2023). In 1867, the new Canadian government gained exclusive constitutional power over currency, and in 1870 it used this power to pass the Dominion Notes Act, which made the Canadian Dollar the official currency of Canada. With its own currency, the country produced its own legal tender (bank notes and coins).

Coins produced by the Royal Canadian Mint and bank notes produced by the Bank of Canada provide unique opportunities to represent Canada (Bank of Canada, 2018). For example, the 2019 special edition Canadian Thirty Dollar Fancy Dance coin (Figure F3) features, a fancy dancer wearing regalia to celebrate powwows; a cherished cultural custom among various Indigenous nations on one side, while the other side features the effigy of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (Royal Canadian Mint, 2023). Similar to the national flag creation process, in 2018 the Bank of Canada invited Canadians to nominate the portrait subject of the new \$10 bank note. Viola Desmond was chosen, becoming the first woman other than royalty to be featured on a regularly circulating Canadian bank note and the first time that the portrait subject on the front of a Canadian bank note has directly inspired the theme on the back (Bank of Canada, 2023). In 2020, the Bank of Canada once again invited Canadians to nominate a portrait subject for the new \$5 bank note. The new bill is in the third of a five-step nomination process; a short list of 8 candidates has been submitted to the Canadian Minister of Finance. As with the \$10 bill and what will happen with the \$5 bill, a theme will be developed for the note to reflect the nominated person and what they represent to Canadians (Bank of Canada, 2018; 2022; 2023). Furthermore, with the appointment of His Majesty King Charles III, the Government of Canada has announced that all new Canadian coins will feature a portrait of His Majesty. As a result, the Royal Canadian Mint is inviting engravers and artists of all backgrounds and parts of Canada, “to participate in a design process that is both inclusive and geographically representative of our country’s diverse talent” (Royal Canadian Mint, 2023).

Thus, as an alternative *Culminating Activity*, I suggest using elements from *The Changing Face Of Our Money* and *Designing A Bank Note That Reflects Canada*, multi-grade level Social Studies and History activities by the Bank of Canada Museum. This activity starts with students examining the nine symbols and themes (1. a map of Halifax’s historic North End, 2. the Canadian Museum for Human Rights, 3. an eagle feather, 4. an excerpt from the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, 5. the laurel leaf, 6. the Library of Parliament’s dome ceiling, 7. the Canadian flag, 8. the Canada Coat of Arms, and 9. maple leaves). Next, students will pick a bank note, discuss the symbols and images found on their chosen bank notes, and conduct research to complete the accompanying Handout 1 (Figure F1). Then students will assess their bank notes based on the Bank of Canada’s Principles of Bank Note Design and fill out Handout 2 (Figure F2). Students will share some of the symbols and images they found, why they believe they are or are not significant, and whether this significance has changed over time. Students can also repeat this process and evaluate other Canadian bank notes or Mint coins. Finally, students can create and present a new \$5 bank note based on the short list of candidates or a completely new bank note based on a theme and corresponding Canadian symbols. Their bank note should include between 7 and 10 symbols, including a portrait of an inspirational Canadian. Students are encouraged to think of symbols reflecting different Canadian cultures and parts of the country.

HANDOUT 1

1. Choose one bank note. Look closely at it and find the following:

Denomination (amount)	
Year of issue	
Portrait subject	
Symbols	
Colours	
Themes	

2. Choose one portrait subject to research. Think about their historical significance.

Portrait subject	
<p>Eligibility The person: • is a Canadian (by birth or naturalization), • has demonstrated outstanding leadership, achievement or distinction in any field, benefiting the people of Canada or in the service of Canada, • has been deceased for at least 25 years, • is not a fictional character.</p>	
<p>Significance The person: • has broken or overcome barriers, • is inspirational, • has made a significant change, and • has left a lasting legacy.</p>	

BANK OF CANADA MUSEUM CA/LEARN @BOCMUSEUM

Figure F1. Designing a Bank Note that Reflects Canada Lesson Handout 1. Bank of Canada Museum. (2022)

HANDOUT 2

Symbol	<p>Significance The symbols or images: • promote Canada and Canadians - our values, culture, history, traditions, achievements and/or natural heritage; • are clearly identifiable as Canadian through the use of symbols, words or images; • are meaningful to Canadians today and for years to come, and • evoke pride and confidence in Canada.</p>	<p>How has the significance of this symbol changed or stayed the same since the bank note's release?</p>

BANK OF CANADA MUSEUM CA/LEARN @BOCMUSEUM

Figure F2. Designing a Bank Note that Reflects Canada Lesson Handout 2. Bank of Canada Museum. (2022).



Figure F3. The Royal Canadian Mint 2019 \$30 Fancy Dance pure silver coin designed by Kahniakehaka artist Garrison Garrow
Garrow, G. (2019).