

Understanding Teachers' Experience with a Revised History Curriculum in Québec

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ABSTRACT

Understanding Teachers' Experience with a Revised History Curriculum

Tabitha McKell

Quebec's mandated high school history course has received much public attention since the reimagining of the curriculum in 2006. In this thesis, I examine the historical contexts and debates surrounding Québec's mandated history courses published in 1982, 2006 and 2016. I investigate the problems with the 2006 curriculum and conduct a policy analysis of the circumstances for replacing the 2006 curriculum only 10 years after its publication. The 2016 curriculum is based on the recommendations of a public consultation by Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid (2014). A policy analysis of these recommendations reveal that Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid tightly controlled text and discourse in favour of a national historical narrative. Consequently, the Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid report (2014) limits Quebec's minority and marginalized communities from connecting to or being validated by history. The 2016 version of the curriculum has come under scrutiny for overemphasising the historical contributions of one nation through a unique Québec lens (Bradley & Allison, 2021). The phenomenological portion of my thesis shows that teachers of English-speaking students in Québec are aware that the 2016 curriculum does not validate minority and marginalized communities and accommodate the curriculum by delivering the material in ways that undermine the nationalistic and civic aspects of the curriculum and encourage students to reflect on their place and that of others in Québec's social culture.

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I. Introduction

Quebec introduced a provincial curriculum for a secondary IV high school history course of Québec and Canada in 1982. The curriculum was changed in 2006 and again in 2016. My thesis investigates the lived experiences of a group of teachers who engage this history course with students who are eligible for English education in Québec. Access to English language education in Québec is restricted due to Bill 101, which mandates French as the primary language of instruction. Because of this, English education is not easily accessible since only students whose parents are Canadian citizens and who received an English education in Canada are eligible for English instruction. In 2019-2020, 99,142 students were enrolled in the English public and private sector compared to 981,905 students in the French public and private sector (Ciamarra et al., 2021). The teachers involved in the study identify some of their students as having Irish, Scottish, Greek, Italian, Jewish, Black and Indigenous ancestry. The most recent version of the history course is said to have a nationalistic focus and “inculcate” students with a particular identity (English Montreal School Board, 2018). My study displays the exceptional perspectives of this outlier group of high school history teachers as they navigate a curriculum that provides little cultural and social recognition of their student communities’ historical contributions.

I investigate the history curriculum from three different angles. First, historically with a literature review. The literature review details the public consultations that precede curriculum changes in the province and the public debates that follow the curriculum changes. The review also reminds us that there are historical tensions between two language groups – English speakers and French Speakers. While English speakers are a minority in Québec, they represent a majority in Canada; Alternatively, while French speakers are a majority in Québec, they represent a minority in Canada. This creates tension and anxiety for both English and French speakers as is detailed in the Bouchard-Taylor commission (2008). From a historical perspective, it is understandable that many Quebecers objected to the 2006 history curriculum as it presents a multicultural interpretation of history. The 2016 curriculum emerges with a sharp national historical narrative that emphasises the history of Québec’s majority population.

I follow the literature review with a policy analysis of the Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid report (2014). This report was presented to the Ministry of Education following Beauchemin and Fahmy-

Eid's consultation of 23 individuals and 75 briefs from individuals or associations. The report counsels the government to build a new curriculum with a national framework. The policy analysis reveals discrepancies in how Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid represent data from their consultation and questions whether Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid are pushing their own agenda. The effects of this policy are twofold: The 2016 curriculum espouses a national historical narrative and research shows that the curriculum does not acknowledge the history of minority and marginalized communities (Bradley & Allison, 2021; English Montreal School Board, 2018).

The final chapter of my thesis presents a phenomenological study of teachers' experiences with the history curriculum. In this section I provide a little of my own background and experiences in order to be more transparent about how I am likely to interpret my data. My study gives a voice to teachers who are largely left out of the theoretical debates surrounding the curriculum. I interview 8 history teachers of English-speaking students and conclude that these individual's demonstrate erudition and acumen in accommodating their teaching and the curriculum in the best interest of their students. The 2016 curriculum presents several frustrations for some of the participant teachers but these professionals resist by delivering the material in a way that undermines the nationalistic and civic goals of the history program and encourages their students to reflect on their place and that of others in Quebec social culture.

Throughout this thesis I draw attention to the difficult historical memories of Canada's French-speaking minority who have endured various forms of colonial oppression. As such, I maintain that it is important that French-speakers have a history program that validates and promotes their own social culture. When I reflect on the three main chapters of this thesis, I pose some difficult questions: What is the right way for one social culture to self-promote their history and under what circumstances should other social cultures be forced to adopt another's history? How can this be done in a just and fair way? I suggest that the 2016 history curriculum does not justly validate the historical experiences of all Quebec citizens. While minority communities are not validated by the 2016 Québec history curriculum, teachers of English-speaking students develop different ways of accommodating the curriculum. Teachers adapt the curriculum by adding historically relevant events, pausing the curriculum to connect the learning to citizenship, encouraging critical reflection on why the curriculum favours one group of people, or by deemphasising the curriculum's importance to focus on more important goals such as graduation. Some teachers even find ways to develop local history programs that emphasise their students' cultural contributions.

The literature review and policy analysis help elucidate some of the unconventional anxieties teachers of English-speaking students face in the classroom. While teachers are aware of the historical tensions between English and French speakers, they struggle to represent the curriculum and at the same time give their own students a sense of meaning. This thesis is significant because it highlights the forgotten voices of Québec history but also because it shows how teachers act and make a difficult curriculum more accessible to their students.

II. Literature Review

Québec's history is political and full of controversial and conflicting historical memories. The province has had a difficult time gaining public consensus on its mandatory high school history curriculum. This situation has resulted in many Québec residents calling for curricular reforms and multiple rewrites of the Québec high school history curriculum, the most recent being released in 2016. The rewrites have spawned many public debates in large Québec newspapers and scholarly journals. This section reviews the historical development of the history curriculum in Québec. Here, I focus on the time period for which the history curriculum was provincially mandated. Prior to 1982, school boards were able to use and develop their own history curricula. My analysis of contextual and historical influences on the Québec history program reveals that Québec's high school history program is strongly connected to tensions over different interpretations of Québec's past, the national question and Québec history educators' interpretations on the teaching of history.

The Parent Report

In the early 1960s, the newly appointed Lesage government sought to address problems with the education system in Québec. It was clear that the system was not universally effective and at times inaccessible especially to those in rural locations; moreover, the curriculum and learning goals varied between the French Catholic, English Catholic and English Protestant sectors (Task Force on the Teaching of History [TFTH], 1996). The new government authorised a Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in Québec, chaired by Msgr. Alphonse-Marie Parent from 1961 to 1966. The commission produced a 5-volume report and many of the recommendations, such as the creation of school boards and a ministry of education, were applied. The Parent Report (1966) is credited with inaugurating a quiet revolution in Québec education because education became more accessible, universal and efficacious: Ultimately the general level of education of people within the province of Québec increased (Gouvernement du Québec, 1988).

The Parent Report (1966) dedicates chapter XX to teaching of history in Québec. While the authors of the report clearly value the discipline, they find many problems with how history is

taught in Québec's educational system. Zanzanian(2008) explains that before 1960 different historical memories influenced the historical content taught by the English and French linguistic groups in Québec. While the French speaking tradition focused on the survival of cultural heritage and Catholicism, the English speaking tradition focused on the merits of the British empire (Zanzanian, 2008); (Trudel & Laloux-Jain, 1970). Thus, it's understandable that the Parent Report(1966) observed that the teaching of history in Québec was, at that time, inconsistent from school to school. The Parent Report(1966) highlighted discordance between how the French and English sectors chose to emphasise historical events and suggested all children be taught the same history as this extended excerpt demonstrates:

The teaching of history in the province of Québec has been the subject of many criticisms. One of the first problems it raises is that of the separation that has hitherto existed between the Protestant element, which is mostly Anglophone, and the Catholic element, which is predominantly French-speaking. If history is an objective science, it is unclear why it is taught from two very different perspectives, as it is now. At the level of the programs of general history, such a profound differentiation is hardly justified: the history of Antiquity, the Middle Ages, Europe and the world, America as a whole, the United States of America should be the same for French-speaking and English-speaking children in Québec. For Canadian history, it is understandable that Francophones dwell on the French regime and that Anglophones are more interested in the post-1760 regime; but it is to everyone's advantage to know the whole story of Canada well, and the broad outlines of the program could be the same for all. Similarly, it is natural that Catholics or Protestants, in world history or national history, should emphasize the role of the Catholic Church or the role of the Reformation, or that of Mgr. Laval or that of Bishop Mountain; but the facts and the basic historical texts could be the same, and the sincere desire to understand the mentality and intentions of the various historical figures should always inspire the course of history. (Author's translation, Parent, 1966, pp. 181–182, volume 3.)¹

¹ Original: L'enseignement de l'histoire, dans la province de Québec, a fait l'objet de critiques nombreuses. L'un des premiers problèmes qu'il pose est celui du cloisonnement qui a existé jusqu'ici entre l'élément protestant, en majorité anglophone et l'élément catholique, en majorité francophone. Si l'histoire est une science visant à l'objectivité, on ne comprend pas très bien qu'elle soit enseignée selon deux perspectives extrêmement différentes, comme c'est actuellement le cas. Au niveau des programmes d'histoire générale, une différenciation

At this time, primary and secondary education was under the direction of the church and for the most part, Catholic schools were French-speaking and Protestant schools were English speaking. The Parent Report(1966) notes the respective denominations focus on their own immediate history and suggests that it is more advantageous for each group to know the history of Canada as a whole, thereby advocating for a universal history curriculum for the province. The report suggests further in paragraph 847 that history classes should avoid civic, patriotic and religious education in favor of focusing on the “objective and honest study of the past”(1966). In addition, the report also criticizes the “patriotic preaching” of textbooks and the qualifications of teaching personnel. The report concludes chapter XX with recommendations 272-275 where the commission advises: that English and French schools follow the same history; that history programs encourage objectivity; that manuals and materials be prepared by a committee of specialists within the discipline; and, that an appointed history specialist at the MEQ aid in the development of quality programs and recruitment of qualified personnel.

Lemieux(2019), a historian who specializes in the history of education in Québec, highlights a potential problem with chapter XX of the Parent report. In an interview he conducted in 2016 with Guy Rocher, a respected sociologist and former member of the Parent Commission, Lemieux finds that chapter XX was solo-authored by only one member of the committee, Jeanne Lapointe. Rocher states:

It was really her who made consultations, it was not us [the other commissioners] It was really her! She mainly consulted the historians of Québec: Marcel Trudel, Fernand Grenier and Claude Galarneau. In my opinion, it was the three historians from Québec that she consulted. She also lived in Québec, Jeanne Lapointe, so we have - in this chapter - the

aussi profonde ne se justifie guère : l'histoire de l'Antiquité, du Moyen Âge, de l'Europe et du monde, de l'Amérique dans son ensemble, des États-Unis devrait être la même pour les enfants francophones et les enfants anglophones du Québec. Pour l'histoire du Canada, on peut comprendre que les francophones s'attardent sur le régime français et que les anglophones s'intéressent davantage au régime d'après 1760 ; mais les uns et les autres ont tout avantage à bien connaître l'ensemble de l'histoire du Canada, et les grandes lignes du programme pourraient être les mêmes pour tous. De même il est naturel que les catholiques ou les protestants, dans l'histoire mondiale ou l'histoire nationale, mettent l'accent sur le rôle de l'Église catholique ou sur le rôle de la Réforme, sur celui de Mgr de Laval ou sur celui de l'évêque Mountain ; mais les faits et les textes historiques fondamentaux pourraient être les mêmes et le désir sincère de comprendre la mentalité et les intentions des divers personnages historiques devrait toujours inspirer le cours d'histoire.

reflection of the Québec School of Time against the School of Montreal, because she did not consult Maurice Séguin - in my opinion - neither Michel Brunet. Finally, I do not think so, because if she had consulted them, the chapter would not have taken the shape it finally took. [Author's translation, Rocher as cited in Lemieux, 2019, Pg 156.) ²

This is a reference to a debate in Québec historiography. Rocher highlights an imbalance in the interpretations presented in chapter XX because the author has only consulted the historians of one school of thought, the Laval school. In brief, historians of the Laval School held that the essential primary cause of the surrender of French Canadians in 1760 was linked to the clergy and Catholicism, while historians of the Montreal school blamed the surrender on the effects of the British conquest of New France. This belief would affect and direct how a historian would interpret Québec history. Camps were so divided that even certain academic publishers subscribed to each school. Today, more than 50 years after the publication of the Parent Report, there is no way of verifying the claims made by Rocher and no historical evidence that points to the committee being divided over the opinion expressed in chapter XX. Furthermore, as Lemieux claims, there is no evidence of this historic debate in the memoirs submitted to the Parent committee (2019, pg.153). However, this remark is significant because it shows that there is tension surrounding different interpretations of Québec's past that date back to some of the earliest curricular reforms.

While history programs were modified following the publication of the Parent Report (1966) the newly created school boards did not immediately have to follow a universal provincial history curriculum. In the 1970s, the Québec government sought to clarify the reforms of the Parent Report especially in terms of curricular content (TFTH, 1996). Education was a frequent topic of debate in the National Assembly. The history programs were singled out by a motion tabled by M. Claude Charron on the 20th of November, 1974. The amended version of this motion-Amended to include "l'histoire du Canada"- was accepted unanimously: "Que cette Assemblée recommande au ministre de l'Éducation de prendre immédiatement les mesures nécessaires pour que tous les

² Original: Ce n'est pas nous [les autres commissaires] qui avons consulté, c'est vraiment elle ! Elle a principalement consulté les historiens de Québec : Marcel Trudel, Fernand Grenier et Claude Galarneau. À mon avis, ce sont les trois historiens de Québec qu'elle a consultés. Elle habitait d'ailleurs Québec, Jeanne Lapointe, ce qui fait qu'on a - dans ce chapitre - le reflet de l'École de Québec du temps contre l'École de Montréal, parce qu'elle n'a pas consulté Maurice Séguin - à mon avis - ni Michel Brunet. Enfin, je ne pense pas, parce que si elle les avait consultés, le chapitre n'aurait pas pris l'allure qu'il a prise finalement.

étudiants québécois du secondaire soient tenus de s'inscrire, dans le cadre de la révision entreprise des programmes d'étude, à un cours d'histoire dont le contenu portera sur l'histoire du Canada et en particulier sur l'histoire du Québec.”(Motion de M. Claude Charron sur l'enseignement de l'histoire, 1974) The history curriculum was not the only concern with the Québec education system at this time: Education was often debated in the National Assembly. In the mid to late 70s the province conducted extensive public hearings into the state of education in Québec which resulted in the publication of a document entitled *L'École Québécoise: Énoncé de Politique et Plan d'Action* (Gouvernement du Québec, 1979). This document set the standards and principles for a major reform of the provincial education system in the early 80s, and made recommendations that the specific subject of history be assigned a certain number of hours per week within students' timetables from elementary through secondary school.

The First Provincial History Curriculum: 1982

Not all of the history courses recommended by the report in 1979 were adopted in the curricular reform. At the high school level, two courses became compulsory: a general history course in secondary II and a national history course in secondary IV. A secondary V history course on 20th century history was also included but it was optional. This study concerns the history course taught in secondary IV. The curriculum for this course, *The History of Québec and Canada*, was first published in 1982 and made compulsory in 1984. This course required students to pass a ministerial examination in order to obtain a high school diploma. The main objectives of the course were to provide students with an overview of Québec and Canada's history by providing a chronological summary of the critical historical moments in Québec's past. It began with French exploration in North America and ended with the present day. While the government amended the course several times they used the 1982 curriculum until the next major curricular reform in 2006.

Academics and politicians began to express polarized opinions on the curriculum in the mid 1980s (Lemieux, 2019; Martineau, 2006). Martineau (2006) points out that beginning in the late 1980s studies show that citizens from various backgrounds were not happy with the teaching of history in Québec. Youth were not succeeding in the subject, reporters were awarding grades of zero to the program and surveys revealed that both French and English Canadians had doubts

about their own knowledge of Canadian history (Lemieux, 2019, p. 248). By the mid the 90s, some nationalists were blaming the failed referendum of '95 on the public education system's failure to deliver a program that connected citizens with their history and culture (Micone, 1995), while federalists were accusing the Québec school system of using nationalistic textbooks as propaganda in high schools (Block, 1996; Jerome-Forget, 1995; Johnson, 1995). In 1995 Québec began an *Estates-General on Education*. The Québec public education system faced dramatic regional differences in student graduation rates thus prompting the government to reform the entire provincial curriculum (Ministère de l'Éducation, 1997). This reform was largely inspired by Paul Inchauspé (1992) and embraced a competency based evaluation system. Because political parties expressed concerns about the history program during the *Estates-General*, the minister of education, Jean Garon, established a *Task Force on the Teaching of History in Québec*. In 1996 the final report of the *Estates-General* put forward a major project to reform the education system of Québec and therein delegated the reform of the history program to follow the suggestions made by the *Task Force*.

The *Task Force* states their objective was to “return national and world history to its rightful place as a fundamental discipline in the education of young people in Québec” (1996) . In this capacity, the *Task Force* had 4 objectives: 1. To review how history is taught in other countries; 2. To summarize the aims and subject matters of the current programs in all levels of Québec education; 3. To propose which programs should be required learning; and, 4. To suggest essential proficiencies for history teachers. The *Task Force* comprised of 13 members and was chaired by historian Jacques Lacoursière. The *Task Force* produced a report that is colloquially known as the Lacoursière report.

The *Task Force* proposed many changes to the way history is taught in Québec. They criticized how little time is allotted to study of history; the discontinuity between history courses; the problematic format of the final exam in secondary IV; and, the lack of attention to Indigenous groups and Québec's pluralistic society. In the end, the *Task Force* made a total of 33 recommendations. 10 of these recommendations applied to the secondary level and 5 others to both elementary and secondary. (For more details see appendix A pg. 75) These recommendations included the following: That the course on the history of Québec and Canada be split into two years beginning in secondary III and ending in secondary IV; that native histories and the pluralistic nature of society be covered in the program; that 20% of teaching time be allotted to

local needs and concerns; and that the nature of the final examination be move beyond rote learning, to encourage students to express thoughts in writing and evaluate the objectives set forward by the course. Further comments addressed the level of education of teachers and recommendations on the university requirements for new and current teachers.

The report was submitted in May 1996 and in July *le Devoir* published an article by Josée Legault entitled “L’Histoire d’exister” where she suggested the Lacoursière report was mired in multiculturalism and political correctness, and ultimately did not highlight Québec’s national history: “En fait, l’expression «histoire nationale» n’est reprise dans ce rapport que lorsqu’il est question des États-Unis ou... du Canada! Le Québec ne serait-il pas une nation?”(1996) . The article goes on to lament the absence of national history and argues that the new program would not help form good Québec citizens. This sparked a debate in editorial section of *Le Devoir*. The reactions were diverse. Some criticized her views, for example, Jacques Dagenneau (1996) stated that Legault’s ideas were naive and that history is not solely meant as a tool to give students a national identity. Other respondents supported Legault’s position, such as Béatrice Richard (1996), who argued that history education is political and not social as the Lacoursière report suggests. Louis Cornellier (1996) evoked the historic Durham report and suggested the Lacoursière report was another means to assimilate Québec. Meanwhile, a popular English newspaper in Québec, *The Montreal Gazette* made no reference to the debate but did report on the anticipated results of the *Estates General in Education* and warned that a nationalist coalition had advocated for more Québec centered content in the new history curriculum (Block, 1996). This debate then moved into academic journals³ and books (Bothwell, 1998; Létourneau, 2004; Martineau, 1999)

The debate that emerged following the publication of the Lacoursière report was connected to competing interpretations of Québec’s past. As a result, the history curriculum is invariably connected to tensions in different communities, and especially to tensions surrounding the national question in Québec. Létourneau (2004) points out that the *Task Force* touched on the national question first by backtracking on the Parent Report’s attempt to remove patriotic preaching from history education and second by proposing that the history of minority communities be considered. These early tensions around the announcement of the reform of Québec’s history program were amplified when the new curriculum was unveiled in 2006.

³ See *Bulletin d’histoire politique* volumes 5 through 6 where Jossée Legault’s article was republished and the debate remained topical trough several issues.

The Disputes Surrounding the 2006 Curriculum and the Teaching of History in the Classroom

On the 27th of April 2006 a headline on the front page of *le Devoir* read, “Cours d’histoire épurés au secondaire: Québec songe à un enseignement «moins politique», non national et plus «pluriel»”(Robitaille, 2006a). Reporter Antoine Robitaille had obtained an early version of the curriculum set to be released in 2007 and found that it made little mention of key events or concepts in Québec’s history. Robitaille emphasized the lack of references to New France, the Patriotes, the act of Union of 1840, the conscription crisis of 1917 and the “unilateral” repatriation of the constitution in 1982. Education minister, Jean-Marc Fournier, responded quickly and claimed that the program would not minimise the important conflicts of Québec’s past; however, Robitaille (2006b) pointed out that Fournier also admitted that he had not yet read the program even though it was 98% complete. Meanwhile the president of la Société des professeurs d'histoire du Québec, Laurent Lamontagne, and historian Felix Bouvier (2006) published a text denouncing the new history program stating it obscured content of Québec’s past. Québec’s English language newspaper ran a story by Josée Legault (2006) who questioned the new program’s multicultural lenses and claimed that, “Nothing is more political than trying to depoliticize history”. Meanwhile, newspapers outside Québec expressed surprise with the federalist angle of the curriculum and then focused on how Québec was opposed to these proposed changes (Hamilton, 2006; Montpetit, 2006). The *Ministère de l’Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport* amended the curriculum in June 2006.

On the 28th of September 2006 *le Devoir* published an open letter to the minister of education that was signed by 23 intellectuals including historians, sociologists, teachers and even Jacques Lacoursière (Angers et al., 2006). They argued that even though compromising dates and events had been amended in the newer version of the curriculum there were still many problems:

1. History teaching can help to form better citizens, but it should not be used as a vehicle for any political ideology;
2. The program does not refer to the “Québec Nation” because curriculum writers wanted to move away from teaching a self-focused history, and as a result, they ultimately reject of the national dimension of Québec’s history;
3. Discussing the concepts of nation help establish civic identities and a sense of belonging; and finally,
4. National history does not imply an agreement on a great collective narrative, but it nevertheless supposes a narrative space in which

the data and themes around which conflicting historical relationships are organized. The letter closes by stating that the history of Québec and Canada are structured by the national question and claims that the Québécois people are not secondary but primary actors in their national history.

As the curriculum made its way into classrooms, historians developed the debate further. As happened in 1996, *The Bulletin d'Histoire Politique* dedicated an entire issue to the topic⁴. Herein, Bouvier (2007) argued that events would be concealed in the new program and that an authentic version of history promotes good citizenship. On the other hand, Cardin (2007), a history educator who was involved in creation of the curriculum, argued that the consumption of a single narrative limits the development of critical thought and competent citizens. Many other stakeholders represented their views and the open letter to the Minister of Education was also reproduced. The debate was also reflected in other publications. For instance, other history educators who were involved in the creation of the program reflected Cardin's arguments (Dagenais & Laville, 2007). Other historians elaborated on the values of citizenship education and critical thought in history education and especially the historical thought taught by the new program (Éthier & Lefrançois, 2012; Lefrançois & Éthier, 2007). To paraphrase Lemieux(2019), in the years that followed the release of the 2006 curriculum, much ink was spilled on the topic of teaching history in Québec.⁵

In November 2013 the government published a consultation document formally declaring that they were conducting an inquiry into the history program. In this document, the Québec Government released an official consultation to the public and asked the question: "Why should history be taught?" (Beauchemin & Fahmy-Eid, 2013). The consultation document highlighted many problems with the 2006 program, in particular, the student and teacher confusion over the historical timeline. The 2006 program was taught over two years, where the first year presents the entire history chronologically and the second year revisits the program of the previous year four times using four themes as a lens: 1. Economy and Development; 2. Population and settlement; 3. Culture and currents of thought; and 4. Official power and countervailing powers. According to

⁴ See *Bulletin d'Histoire Politique* volume 15 issue 2 entitled: "Débat sur le programme d'enseignement de l'histoire au Québec". Various historians and stakeholders present their opinions.

⁵ Historian Olivier Lemieux (2019) analyses the debate surrounding the 2006 program in his doctoral thesis. He interviews important actors and produces a typology for the debate. He argues that the controversies surrounding Quebec's high school history programs are caused by a discrepancy between the standards required by stakeholders in this field and the standards underlying official documents.

the consultation document, the thematic vision of second year of the 2006 program was not only confusing but failed to create a shared sense of community because it lacked a historical narrative. As a potential solution, the consultation document proposed: “Would reconciliation not require a more continuous narrative structured around clearer themes, all within the context of Québec’s national framework?”.

The consultation committee composed of two scholars: Jacques Beauchemin⁶, a sociologist and Nadia Fahmy-Eid, a retired history professor. The public provided feedback on the consultation document and then in May 2014, the committee published a summary of the results and suggested that the government rewrite the curriculum (Beauchemin & Fahmy-Eid, 2014). This document set the standards for the new curriculum that was released in 2016 and 2017. In August 2015, the recently elected liberal government announced that a new secondary III and IV history curriculum would be piloted in classrooms starting in 2015 and mandatory for secondary III in 2016 and secondary IV in 2017.

The Move Towards a Single Historical Narrative in the 2016 Curriculum

In early 2016, *The Canadian Press* obtained a copy of a draft version of the curriculum that was set to be taught in classrooms in the fall of that year and stated that the writers of the new curriculum felt that the 2006 curriculum was at fault in teaching students to value multiculturalism and so, diminished the role of immigrant communities in the 2016 curriculum while presenting the Québécois people as a unified group in conflict with the rest of Canada (Valiante, 2016). Several small Québec papers ran the CP article and the *Métro (Montréal)* (2016) cited the CP source in an article titled, “Des anglophones s'inquiètent”, and reported that anglophone groups felt the new history program ignored the contributions of minority groups. Meanwhile, the larger Québec newspapers remained relatively silent on the issue. In May, the education minister announced that the 2016 curriculum would be amended and *Le Devoir* reported on May 13 that the long-awaited program would be delayed because it needed to be adjusted to appease anglophones (Dutrisac & Champagne, 2016). On the 18th of May, the opinion section of several newspapers debated the issue. All nine English speaking-school boards were initially reticent to implement the new

⁶ It is important to note that Jacques Beauchemin is a well-known conservative nationalist. He was an advisor to Pauline Marois and Mathieu Bock-Coté’s thesis advisor.

curriculum but voted to implement the program in early June after the education minister tabled bill 105 which maintained elected school boards (Scott, 2016). The program was amended and became mandatory in all classrooms in Québec in the fall of 2016.

The 2016 curriculum received much less public debate- this lack of debate was linked to lack of minority representation from critics linked to the English-speaking communities. A few scholars in favor of citizenship education did advance the debate from an ideological standpoint (Lefrançois et al., 2017). Meanwhile, the English Montreal School Board commissioned an independent history committee to review the new program and associated textbooks (English Montreal School Board, 2018). The report gives a scathing review of the program's poor representation of Québec's history and points out that the 2016 program focuses narrowly on the historical experience of one cultural group – French-speaking Quebecers. The independent review committee summarizes approximately 60 points of contention with the program and associated textbooks and recommends that the EMSB should commission historians to write their own textbooks.

While the criticisms of the history program in 2006 initially targeted the federalist agenda and its omission of important dates and events linked to Québec's national history, the issue of teaching citizenship eventually became the pedagogical and ideological focus of the 2006 debate (Bouvier, 2007; Dagenais & Laville, 2007; Lefrançois & Éthier, 2007). As Dickenson and Young (2008) point out, the teaching of citizenship demanded clarification of Québec's position on multiculturalism. Interestingly, around this time the Bouchard-Taylor Commission (2008) puts forward a notion of Québec "Interculturalism" as the version of Québec's pluralist society. The Bouchard-Taylor Commission famously distinguishes Québec culture from Canadian multiculturalism, and in so doing weighs in on accommodation issues in regards to immigration and secularism. The report reminds readers: "A cultural minority in the Americas, Québec as a French-speaking society needs a strong identity to allay its anxieties and behave like a self-assured majority" (p.188) This is significant because the commission identifies the majority of Québec's population's desire to maintain a cultural singularity.

While the 2006 curriculum attempted to give all Québec students more room to develop their own history and connections to Québec's past, the 2016 curriculum sets out a single narrative. As a result, while the 2016 curriculum reflects the historical experiences of the province's majority population, it does not validate the historical experiences of the provinces minority populations.

This also means that the majority population does not learn about the experiences of its minority populations, which is interesting, given the popularity of current ideological movements that authenticate minority experiences and eliminate prejudices such as: Black Lives Matter, Idle No More and Pride. The following chapter focuses in greater detail on the ideas behind the Québec government's policy decision to rewrite the 2006 curriculum as a single historical narrative.

III. Policy Decisions Surrounding the 2016 History Curriculum

Following the detailed historical timeline of developments in the fraught discourses around the teaching of history in Québec, in this chapter, I delve more deeply into specifics by examining the policy of the 2016 curriculum. In order to uncover links between the curriculum and the historical contexts, I explore the discourse surrounding the implementation of the new curriculum. To reiterate Stephen J. Ball's (1993) point in his renowned paper, "What is Policy?", two frameworks for policy analysis are better than one. While Ball (1993) was referring to the use of both discourse and textual analysis, my examination is conducted by combining two policy analysis frameworks, Ball's 1993 and Carole Bacchi's 2009 theories. This process will enable me to have a more balanced assessment of the effects of the discourse constructed by the Beauchemin Fahmy-Eid report (2015), and the 2016 Québec History curriculum.

The province of Québec is not unique in their attempt to implement a national history curriculum. As described above, memories of the past, or differing versions of these memories, can cause astonishing degrees of disagreement on matters of the historical record. These kinds of debates have been categorized by scholars, as "history wars" and rise out of tensions between the concerns of historians and the demands of patriotism by variously politically motivating governmental bodies for history curricula. Debates that touch on this notion of "history wars" have been described in Australia (Parkes, 2007), the United States (Noboa, 2011), England (Woolley, 2019), Sweden (Samuelson, 2017), not to mention Canada (Clark, 2009). As I discussed in the literature review on pages 13-15 the 2006 Québec history curriculum was not only heavily debated in news publications but also debated amongst scholars. Scholars argued the 2006 curriculum lacked national content – specific to Quebecers – and championed a multicultural view of citizenship. As Taylor and Guyvnor (2012) explain in the introduction of *History Wars and the Classroom: Global Perspectives*, history wars are often characterized by tensions between political intent and educational practice. The subsequent section explores how the production of policy is seen to play to this assumption.

Feminist policy theorist Carol Bacchi (2012) points out that people hold the assumption that the term policy, referring to a program or course of action, is a good thing because it aims to fix something. Nevertheless, simply stating that something needs to be fixed, implies that there is

a problem in the first place. Exploring the discourses around how these problems are constructed allows for *implicit* ideas to be made *explicit*. This frame of exploration of a policy provides opportunities to consider and interpret the rationale, deep-seated presuppositions, silences and effects of the policy and thus provide a critical analysis.

Policy Interpretation Framework

Policy sociologist Stephen Ball (1993) suggests analysing policy first as text and then as discourse. Below I provide a summary of Ball's approach:

Policy as Text

Ball maintains that policy frames and solves one or more problems in a given context. Policy text constructs the context and then judiciously presents the options available for change. Investigating how textual issues are constructed reveals how a policy is going to alter a practice. Texts do not change power relationships, they restructure them. While textual analysis is useful for analyzing how a policy enters power relationships it cannot predict the effects of a policy.

Policy as Discourse

Foucault (as cited in Ball, 1993 p. 14) identifies discourses as "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak ... Discourses are not about objects; they do not identify objects, they constitute them and in the practice of doing so conceal their own invention". Discourse analysis investigates how policies produce 'truth' and 'knowledge'. While policy authors restructure power relationships they make decisions about whose story is heard or how a story is presented. So, discourses may or may not emphasise certain voices, and at the same time background others. Discourse analysis is tautological and assumes that power constructions within a policy are discursive and have the potential to change our ability to envision alternate interpretations and thus limit our response to change.

My analytical framework is grounded on six guiding questions that I have generated from Ball's(1993) framework:

Text:

- *How does the text frame the problem?*
- *How does the text solve the problem?*
- *How have power relationships been restructured?*

Discourse:

- *What is positioned as truth/knowledge within the discourse?*
- *How might the text or construction of truth/knowledge obscure or reveal the discursive limitations of the adjustments or changes brought forward by the text?
(What is left out for consideration)*
- *How are certain voices emphasized or deemphasized?*

Before moving forward with the analysis, I will elaborate some theoretical points important in Ball's framework. First, when discursive ideas are described, it is not uncommon for policy analysts to have discussions about the effects of these ideas (Walker, as cited in Ball 1993). Ball (1993, p.15) warns that effects can vary whether a study investigates one or several policies together. If a researcher is investigating one policy, they can only relate "specific effects" if they investigate a group of policies they can then discuss more "general effects." Ball warns that when studies have a singular focus, there is the possibility of conflating the general and specific effects. To avoid this, Ball suggests employing a more detailed analysis that traces policy "formulation, struggle and response" (p.16). As an attempt to clarify the discourse around the 2016 curriculum this chapter will analyse the warrants put forward to change the 2006 curriculum by the Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid report (2015). The hope here, then, is to give the analysis greater depth and trajectory, and to avoid over-generalization, but to see if these effects do or do not manifest in the actual 2016 curriculum – I will address this point in my final conclusion.

Bacchi maintains that there is tension between policy as text and policy as discourse in Ball's (1993) framework and suggests we explore the tension to help "theorize the space for challenge" within policy. Bacchi(2009, 2012b) develops a method for how to "theorize the space

for challenge” in later works, notably her “What’s the Problem Represented to be?”[WPR] approach. Bacchi (2012a) presents her WPR approach as an “open ended mode of critical engagement, rather than a formula”. This approach analyses policy not from a problem-solving perspective but from a problem questioning perspective.

There are three important propositions behind the WPR approach. First, the proposition that we are governed by problematizations. Bacchi (2012b) explains that the concept of ‘problematization’ was put forward by Paulo Freire with his famous pedagogical practice which is aimed at disrupting or revealing the ‘truths’ or ‘myths’ set in place by oppressors (as cited in Bacchi, 2012b). Bacchi emphasises that identifying problematizations is not simply meant to be a way to diagnose psychological manipulation. She develops the concept further with support from Foucault who explores the notion of “accepted truth” as a mode of thinking where “problematizations are to be treated, not as illusions that can be unveiled by “clever philosophical investigation”, but as the thinking that comes to constitute our condition” (Bacchi, 2012b, p. 1) . Truths and myths are best disrupted by framing them as a problem which brings us to the second proposition, that we need to study problematizations by investigating the problem representations. Bacchi’s (2012b), term “problem representations,” refers to an “*implicit* representation of what is considered to be the problem” (2012a, p. 21). The WPR approach critically scrutinizes problem representations while at the same time “includes one’s thinking as part of the ‘material’ to be analysed” (2012a, p. 22). Reflexivity becomes a crucial part of the analysis and engages the researcher to reflect on their own production of discourse and how the analysis might relate to their own self-interest. The WPR approach, then, elucidates issues relating to governmentality. Bacchi (2009) uses Foucault’s definition of governmentality which refers to the different rationalities or mentalities of governments to understand how rule takes place and how we are governed. Bacchi maintains that the public is not governed through policy but through how the problems are represented. Exploring a problematization involves studying problematized objects and the historical process of their production and ultimately exploring the conditions under which problematizations occur bringing us to the final proposition that we need to “interrogate existing problematizations through scrutinizing the premises and effects of the problem representations that they contain” (Bacchi, 2009, p. 39). Bacchi suggests testing how problem representations manifest in “real struggles” by examining:

1. Discursive effects: the limits imposed on what can be said or thought;

2. Subjectification effects: how subjects are constituted within problem representations and;
3. Lived effects: the material impact of a problem representation on bodies and lives.

After I analyse the text and discourse in the warrants of the Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid (2014) report, I use Bacchi's framework in an attempt to "theorize the space for challenge" (2000, p. 55), and to explore how the problematizations are represented in the Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid (2014) report. Moreover, this framework will also contribute to a more in-depth analysis of policy formulation, struggle and response, and provide an ample framework to theorize about policy effects.

The six questions employed in Bacchi's (2012a, p. 21) WPR approach are:

- 1 . What's the 'problem' represented to be in a specific policy?*
- 2. What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the problem'?*
- 3. How has this representation of the 'problem' come about?*
- 4. What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the problem be thought about differently?*
- 5. What effects are produced by this representation of the 'problem'?*
- 6. How/ where has this representation of the 'problem' been produced disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted and replaced?*

Policy Text and Discourse

In the "Final Report Following the Consultation on the Teaching of History" Beauchemin and Fahmey-Eid (2014) put forward three warrants to change to the 2006 curriculum. Below, I provide a summary of these three warrants and their backing arguments. Then, I comment on the construction of text and discourse for each warrant, using Ball's (1993) framework for policy

analysis to elucidate the meaning of the text and discourse within the policy. Finally, for each warrant, I provide a more detailed analysis in this section's concluding statements. My analysis is deepened in the following section by employing Bacchi's (2000) framework for a more reflective engagement of controversial subjects in policy analysis.

Warrant 1: Citizenship Education and Civic preaching

The first warrant for change to the 2006 curriculum is that the citizenship competency encourages civic preaching. Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid (2014) remind readers of the perspective taken by the 2013 consultation document that the 2006 curriculum "encourages a directive form of history designed to instill moral values through selective but debatable interpretations of the past" (2014, p. 16). Then, they point out that the majority of the respondents to their consultation document in 2013⁷ presented various grievances that agree with this warrant. Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid (2014) summarise the different grievances as follows: 1. The approach to citizenship is "directive" and "biased"; 2. The goals of citizenship education are forced; 3. Citizenship education gives a 'truncated' version of society and raises ethical and political problems; 4. The program misrepresents "Democracy and the Québec experience" because it minimises the historical role of conflicts; 5. The program minimises the collective understanding of social problems because it encourages an individualistic or legalistic view of citizenship; 6. The citizenship competency is difficult to evaluate. Overall, Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid's (2014) text indicates that removing the citizenship competency from the curriculum would also remove the civic preaching aspect of the curriculum. This is discussed further below.

The first grievance is clearly linked to the warrant because it highlights how citizenship education can be a form of civic preaching. The other grievances, however, do not have a strong connection to the warrant because they focus less on civic preaching and more on citizenship. Moreover, the other grievances add a different dimension to the controversy surrounding the citizenship competency because they hint at the complicated debate in regards to the teaching of

⁷ Note that Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid released a consultation document in 2013 encouraging people to submit their ideas for change. The 2014 document is a summary of people's responses to this document. See : (Beauchemin & Fahmy-Eid, 2013)

citizenship in a classroom: More specifically they underscore the many different ways teachers might interpret citizenship. Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid (2014) do not provide any further explanation for the grievances or any further support for to how the 2006 curriculum can be understood as a form of civic preaching. Research into the 2006 curriculum competency shows that the citizenship aspect of the program does not indoctrinate (Ethier & Lefrançois 2012; Warren 2014). In fact, the citizenship aspect of the 2006 curriculum encourages students to be metacognitive and self-reflective as they move through the program content: “learning about the contribution of past social phenomena to democratic life today, will lead them to ask questions, which, in turn, will contribute to new interpretations of both contemporary and past social phenomena” (Québec, 2007a p. 23). This act of self-reflection could give students the opportunity to make critical and reasoned decisions about program content and, in theory, the ability to question if they are being indoctrinated or not. Given the research on the competency, and the diversity of responses, it is not clear why Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid (2014) want to remove a statement that clearly supports students’ opportunity to learn how to make reasoned and critical decisions about their history. Curiously, they are attempting to remove the one explicit aspect of the program that endeavors to make the historical narrative balanced and not biased by claiming that it is, in fact, biased. Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid do not explain how respondents felt the program was biased or truncated. Identifying the type of bias is relevant because respondents could be arguing that the truncated version of history represents a nationalistic viewpoint that favors either Québec, Canada or even European objectives. Beauchemin and Fahmey-Eid are asking for the removal of a competency without providing transparent proofs for why it is problematic. In so doing, they are constructing a problem with the citizenship competency that has questionable links to the opinions they are ostensibly taking into consideration.

Warrant 2: Concepts and Competencies in Program Content

Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid’s second warrant addresses the 2006 curriculum’s “general concepts” and revisits the argument to remove some competencies. First, they remind readers that the original consultation document states that the general concepts of the 2006 curriculum, such as “industrialization” and “welfare state”, are not linked to socio-historical situations, thereby

limiting students' understanding of the past and the national question. They point out that, "few of the consultation participants objected to this view and a handful were enthusiastic in their support of it. Most however, felt it was not a priority, and some defended the relevance of analytical concepts" (p.17). Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid do not withdraw the original claim of the consultation document, as you might expect in an instance where people feel it is not a priority. Rather, they conclude that the concepts ought to be kept and remain linked to Québec's unique experience. They follow with the statement that, "the wording of the program should be changed to remove any suggestions that the concept of the welfare state can be studied without reference to the role of nationalism in Québec's initial refusal and subsequent development of a welfare state between 1945 and 1970" (p.17).

For the second warrant, Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid present their evidence in a confounding manner. First, they state that the majority of respondents felt that there was little issue with the "general concepts" section of the curriculum. They even point out that some respondents defended the relevance of these concepts. In this instance, one might expect them to advocate that the "general concepts" remain the same because the respondents had no issue with them. Conversely, they then point out that the "general concepts" would be bolstered further if they were linked to certain historical events and the national question. They do not state that the bolstering of these concepts is an idea supported by respondents, which gives the misleading impression that respondents are in favor of linking the general concepts to the national question. The construction of the discourse in this instance is again framing the respondents' claims in a way that makes them appear to connect to the national narrative without providing any overt testimony.

After this discussion, Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid shift the topic back to the subject of the competencies and request the removal of two of the three core competencies: The citizenship competency (competency 1), which they already discussed in warrant 1, and the competency that asks students to study the past based on the present (competency 3). They back up the argument by stating that the poor definitions of these competencies have adverse effects, but they do not describe what these effects are. They acknowledge that they have already argued against the citizenship competency earlier in their discussion on civic preaching and elaborate that the third competency gives the citizenship competency more relevance and should therefore also be removed. Beyond this statement, there is very little discussion on why the third competency should

be removed. Perhaps, it is an oversight that they discuss the competencies in this section, or perhaps they are trying to bury the statement.

In sum, this warrant is not backed up with evidence from respondents. Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid do not discuss respondents' claims nor do they state that they have the agreement of the respondents to corroborate their argument for change. They only discuss respondents' claims in regards to the citizenship competency. Regardless, the argument for changing the parameters of the "general concepts" and for the removal of the competencies is used to provide further backing for the argument that the new history program should be narrative history.

Warrant 3: Absence of narrative threads

In the third and final warrant, Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid advocate for the new program to have a national historical narrative. They remind readers that the initial consultation document did not side for or against a narrative approach. Because they felt like the initial document's presentation was convoluted, they make their own interpretation about how the 2006 curriculum does not do justice to the narrative framework: "It denationalizes the 20th century to some degree, relegates social history to a marginal role in the 19th century, and does not succeed in connecting the social and political aspects of history within the ongoing context that continuous and integrated national framework would provide" (p.19) They state that the respondents agreed with them that the structure of the program needs to be altered. For instance, they all take issue with how the 2006 curriculum revisits the timeline four times under four different themes. The thematic approach to studying history means that teachers rush, do not visit concepts in depth and have difficulty helping at-risk students. Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid conclude by highlighting how several of the academics who responded point out that the current program does not reflect the nationalist framework.

In this section, their suggestion to remove the thematic approach is justified by the respondents but their suggestion to replace it with a national narrative is problematic. Just because the respondents want to be rid of themes does not automatically mean that they want a nationalist framework. Again, the link between the warrant and a need for a nationalist narrative is encouraged by Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid but not necessarily by all the respondents. Their discourse is tightly constructed to keep the focus on the need for a national narrative.

Ball (1993 p. 13) points out that, “Policies typically posit a restructuring, redistribution and disruption of power relations, so that different people can and cannot do different things”. In this case, the restructuring of the program is meant to close possibilities of teaching a version of history that does not address a very specific and unique Québec narrative. This move is interesting because as Zanazanian (2008) has pointed out, Québec teachers adopt a different narrative depending upon whether or not they are teaching English or French students. So, in limiting the narrative and giving it a nationalistic focus, the power is being removed from different linguistic groups who previously had the ability to connect the history to their own or their students’ experience. So, certain linguistic or minority groups are certain to be disempowered by the new history program.

Beachemin and Fahmey-Eid (2014) continuously try to link respondents claims to a desire to have a nationalistic narrative. In so doing, they are framing the problem in such a way that readers invariably conclude that there is support and need for a nationalist narrative in the new program. Ball (1993 p. 15) calls this strategy one that has the, “effect of redistributing 'voice'”. What happens in this circumstance is that it does not matter what some people say or think, because only certain voices are presented as meaningful or authoritative. Beachemin and Fahmey-Eid (2014) redistribute “voice” in two ways: first they often give credence, and asymmetrical weight to the few respondents who claim that the program lacks a nationalistic narrative. Second, they do not fully describe respondents claims in such a way that it leaves their arguments open to interpretation. This gives Beachemin and Fahmey-Eid the space to maneuver for presenting the voices of the respondents as warrants for their proposal for change when it may in fact not support it.

Therefore, Beachemin and Fahmey-Eid, by restructuring power and redistributing voice, discursively work to construct a problem within the policy documents outlining the 2006 curriculum - The lack of a nationalistic narrative. In their conclusion, they propose a solution to the problem they have constructed: “taken together, these reflections have generated some concrete proposals for the teaching of the National history in secondary schools” (p.42). They then continue to provide an example of the format of the new program they propose.

The Space for Challenge

In “Policy as Discourse” Bacchi (2000) points out that policy analysts often use discourse in a manner that represents their own self-interest. While she sees this as a useful tool for policy analysts she also emphasizes that it is extremely important for policy analysts to consider if their claims about policy and discourse too simply represents the policy as a situation where someone has power over another without considering alternate viewpoints. The result of this method of analysis is to have a very heavy-handed argument as noted in my analysis above. As such, I am going to use Bacchi’s framework below in an attempt to “theorize the space for challenge” (p.55)

Ethier and Lefrançois (2012) liken Québec’s debate over the history program to the *memory wars* described by Blanchard and Veyrat-Masson (2008) - In recent years “memory” has become a major phenomenon in history and is even being used for political purposes. It is incumbent upon me to mention that the Québec government has reason to want to create a collective memory of their provincial past. First, it is no secret that the French-Canadian population in Canada has endured several forms of cultural oppression throughout history (Bouvier, 2007). Since the British conquest of the French in 1760, the French population of Québec has endured multiple attempts by the British to change their culture, religion and language. Furthermore, French Canadians have suffered lower wages and lower status as workers up until the 1960s (Zanazanian, 2017). These are but a few examples that nonetheless demonstrate why French-Canadians have a unique take on colonisation and oppression, especially when compared to other Canadians. Under these extreme historical circumstances, French Canadians have fought to keep their identity and won many unique political rights that guarantee the preservation of their culture and language. As such, it is not surprising that Beauchemin and Fahmey-Eid (2014 p. 21) request a history program that will deliver a “shared sense of memory” and “reconciliation”. Using this lens, a narrative that demonstrates French Canadians’ struggle is an important step to emancipate themselves from oppression.

The memory of these instances of oppression create what Ethier, et al. (2008) describe as tensions between policy for teaching history and policy for recognition. When the policy encourages a British narrative, it does not readily acknowledge the historical struggle of French Canadians. David Austin (2010) points out that in the 1960s, Québec often compared the struggle of Africans and African-Americans to the struggle of French-Canadians. While it is clear that French-Canadians have struggled as a minority community in Canada, Austin points out that they still adopt a historical narrative that largely omits the struggles of Indigenous and non-white

communities. Still, this situation creates a difficult conflictual situation between peoples vying for representation in Québec. As Zanazanian (2017) points out, “The real underlying challenge however is to make room for minority group experiences without instigating close-mindedness that reified understandings of the past can inadvertently reproduce when used as claimed counter-histories” (p.108).

Even though Quebecers have experienced multiple forms of colonial oppression at the hands of the British and/or English it is worth questioning how, in turn, the new historical narrative will represent the minorities of Québec. If we are to theorize the effects based on the policy document, it would seem that the voices of certain minority populations and marginalized groups have been left completely out of the discussion. This new history program has already come under public scrutiny for not addressing the culturally diverse population of Québec (Shingler, 2016).

Conclusion

This chapter covers only what is addressed in the policy and does not look at the actual curriculum that has been produced as a result of this document. Future research should investigate whether the new national history narrative marginalises minority groups and the potential consequences of teaching nationalistic history.

In the end, the policy does not discuss minority representation and argues rather strongly that a national narrative should be the primary form of the new Québec history program. Even though Beauchemin and Fahmey-Eid (2014) state that they received numerous responses from Anglophone groups, they do not acknowledge receipt of documents from any other minorities. As such, we need to consider that perhaps other marginalised minorities (Indigenous, LGBTQ+, etc.) were not consulted.

As for the responses they do include, Beauchemin and Fahmey-Eid have added their own agenda to the construction of the discourse surrounding them. They have limited the voices of the respondents and removed minority groups ability to connect and relate to the course material. Respondents ideas are not represented in a just and fair manner, and still, they have used these bowdlerised comments to construct and support their warrants for change. Even though there is reason for Québec to represent how they have been oppressed through history, I would draw attention to the severe manipulation of discourse in the Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid report (2014)

and caution against oppressing other minorities in the same manner that Québécois were oppressed in the past.

IV. The Lived Experience of English-Speaking High-School History Teachers

My study examines the lived experiences of a group of linguistically distinct educators as they experience a major change in their provincial curriculum. Phenomenological hermeneutical theory (Vagle, 2018; van Manen, 2016b) underlies the study of lived experience and thus informs the methodological foundations of this study. I employ the phenomenological hermeneutic methodology of Max van Manen (1984, 2016a, 2016b), but prior to discussing van Manen, I will outline the ideas of three philosophers important to the foundations of the phenomenological research methods employed by this research: Husserl, Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty. Below, I discuss the theoretical underpinnings of phenomenological hermeneutic theory in order to orient the approach to data analysis.

Methodology: Exploring the nature of lived experience

Edmund Husserl began his career as a mathematician before moving into philosophy. Husserl is widely regarded as the founder of phenomenology, a methodology, he posited, that analyzes one's direct conscious experience with the world. Husserl (1910/2002) was intrigued by the philosophical search for certainty and reflected on scientific validity in philosophy:

The unconditional assertion that every scientific philosophy is a chimera, with the justification that the alleged attempts over the millennia make probable the intrinsic impossibility of such philosophy, is absurd not only because an inference from a few millennia of higher culture to a boundless future would not be a good induction, but is absurd as an absolute countersense, like $2 \times 2 = 5$. And this for the reason indicated: If philosophical critique finds something it can refute with objective validity, then there is also a field in which something can be justified with objective validity. (p.327)

Husserl points out that if we are able to refute philosophical theories, we can also use the same method to justify it. Furthermore, the researcher is not arriving at or investigating 'essences'. How

can researchers investigate essences? As Merleau-Ponty (2004) elucidates, Husserl argues that science itself is not objective and valid because while “science is built upon the world as directly experienced” (p.xi) researchers rarely do, but should, engage their assumptions about how their consciousness perceives a phenomena. In order to do this, Husserl explores methodologically “bracketing out” assumptions to explore a phenomena of essences and to analyze our direct conscious experiences with the world. For van Manen (2016a, 2016b), Husserl is important because his investigations encourage researchers to confront their assumptions in their research and because he encourages researchers to reflect on the types of questions they are asking. Consciousness is how human beings access the world and Husserl’s work shows that through phenomenological reflection we can access aspects of lived experience.

Heidegger⁸ a student of Husserl, adopts a different theoretical stance towards phenomenology than his teacher. Vagle (2018) points out that while Husserl argues that we live phenomena, Heidegger argues “that phenomena show themselves in the world” (p.8). Heidegger thus diverges from Husserl’s emphasis on consciousness to add that phenomenology can also be applied to our existence and being.

Heidegger is notoriously difficult to read and van Manen (2016a, p. 28) points out that Heidegger’s definition of phenomenology is often quoted and interpreted in different ways. However, van Manen suggests Heidegger’s definition is not entirely puzzling because in *Being and Time*, Heidegger’s definition of phenomenology is the conclusion of a careful etymological breakdown of the word: In Greek the word *Logos* means “to let something be seen” and *Phenomena* means “that which shows itself in itself”. Heidegger’s application of the Greek definitions of these words are clearly employed in his definition:

Hence phenomenology means: to let what shows itself be seen from itself, just as it shows itself from itself. That is the formal meaning of the type of research that calls itself “phenomenology”. But this expresses nothing other than the maximum formulated above: “To the things themselves!” as cited in van Manen (2016, p.27-8)

Van Manen goes on to point out that this definition is important because it suggests that phenomena is concealed and thus it is the task of the phenomenologist is to unmask meaning. Heidegger’s exploration of what it means to be human is important to phenomenology because the act of doing

⁸ Heidegger has a well document affiliation with the Nazi party. It must be noted that after World War II he controversially remained silent on many of the contentious aspects of the Nazi party.

phenomenological research must be a conscious act of not only separating ourselves from our assumptions but carefully revealing meaning that is hidden.

In the preface to his most famous work, *Phenomenology of Perception*, Merleau-Ponty (2004) succinctly outlines his phenomenological method, in favour of Husserl, and defines phenomenology as “the study of essences” (p.vii). Merleau-Ponty highlights that in order to do phenomenology, one must start with lived experience and systematically set aside scientific and conscious explanations. In so doing, the phenomenologist reflects on essences, but is invariably not able to give a full explanation because, the very nature of good phenomenology is that the interpretation remains open and thus it cannot be ontologically complete:

The unfinished nature of phenomenology and the inchoative atmosphere which has surrounded it are not to be taken as a sign of failure, they were inevitable because phenomenology’s task was to reveal the mystery of the world and of reason. (pp xxiii-xxiv)

Merleau-Ponty goes on to express that phenomenology is more akin to the artist’s task because phenomenologists must complete radical self-reflection on emerging conceptions of the world. Van Manen (2016a) points out that Merleau-Ponty’s phenomenology involves active description of lived experience and that Merleau-Ponty shows that phenomenological understandings are greater when people are engaged in conversations. While Merleau-Ponty highlights the word essences this must not be taken literally, as he intends it to mean the description of a phenomenon (van Manen, 1984, p. 43).

It must be pointed out that there are a wealth of philosophers who give varying perspectives on how to do phenomenology. Below I summarize the salient points from Husserl, Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty because these points not only inform the methodology of van Manen, but because my analysis will refer back to these three ideas when adopting perspectives and reflecting on lived experience.

1. Husserl shows us that perceptions and consciousness guides experience. We can analyze how our consciousness perceives or thinks about phenomena by considering our assumptions and systematically “bracketing” these assumptions out of our research.

2. Heidegger shows us that phenomena are hidden and must be uncovered through positionality and thoughtful exploration of language, ideas and one's entire being- not just consciousness.
3. Merleau-Ponty reminds us that investigation of the lived experience of others cannot always form complete explanations. The discovery of essences is a poetic exercise that involves thoughtful conversations and reflective writing practices about existence and essences.

Husserl, Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty offer different interpretations of phenomenology. Their differences offer different avenues to reflect on meaning and lived experience. Van Manen (2016a) offers a wealth of reflections on the varying interpretations of different philosophers since Husserl. In *Phenomenology of Practice* Max van Manen (2016a) offers this definition of phenomenology: "hermeneutic phenomenology is a method of abstemious reflection on the basic structures of the lived experience of human existence" (p. 26). He unpacks the definition by explaining that hermeneutic means that analysis is sensitive, thoughtful and addresses discursive language; Abstemious means that polemical, theoretical, suppositional and emotional influences are withheld from reflections; and, lived experience means that "phenomenology reflects on the prereflective or prepredicative life of human existence as living through it" (p. 29). This definition of phenomenology informs the theoretical framework of this thesis and as such, the methods for conducting the research herein are guided by van Manen's (1984) methodological outline for conducting phenomenological research.

How does phenomenology guide this research? The third research question at the true heart of this thesis, is:

How do English-speaking teachers characterize their experience, historically and presently, in relation to the projected changes in the history program?

Phenomenology, the act of reflecting on lived experience, is the best method to investigate teachers' experience. As van Manen (2016b, p. 12) points out, phenomenology researches what it means to be human in everyday existence. It does not do statistical analyses or explicate meanings as they relate to cultures, social groups or history. "Phenomenology is not concerned primarily

with the nomological or invariant aspects of some state of affairs; rather, it always asks, what is the nature of the phenomenon as meaningfully experienced?" (van Manen, 1984, p. 43) As Heidegger (1962) states, phenomenology is "a methodological conception" (p.50) used in the careful act of uncovering experience, or as van Manen (2016) states, "discovery oriented" (p.29). The goal is to uncover how and individual experiences phenomena. This research question aims to explore and uncover the lived experience of history teachers at a particular moment when they are experiencing a change in their career, a shift in curriculum.

Methods: Investigating Lived Experience

Orienting to the Phenomenon

Van Manen (2016b) states that "In drawing up personal description of a lived experience, the phenomenologist knows that one's own experiences are also the possible experiences of others." (p.54) Below I share a recollection that I have of when I realised that I was an English speaker because this orients the phenomena under investigation which is the investigation for meaning in history teaching:

I grew up in Ormstown, a small farming community in the Montérégie region of Québec. In elementary school I was placed in a pilot 'bilingual' class where I actually learned how to speak French better than anyone in my family. Even though my family was eager to encourage my learning French, my family celebrated Canada Day rather than the Fête St. Jean Baptiste. Some members of my family, my grandmother in particular, had a lot of disdain for French speaking people. She demanded that telephone operators speak English and openly objected to every French stop sign. I wasn't sure why she was so angry, and when I was around her, I was almost embarrassed about how well I spoke French. During the early 1990s, I began to realize that this conflict did not just come from my grandmother. As the referendum of '95 was underway, my town was visibly divided. I noticed a heightened tension between the English and French speaking people. People expressed their vote with bumper stickers, signs and flags. I would hear about shouting matches or fights between English and French speakers. It was a strange time for me because I became profoundly aware that I was an English speaker.

On election night I stayed up late to see the results. I vividly remember Parizeau's speech after the votes were tallied. After Parizeau unceremoniously blamed the 'ethnic votes' for the loss my Mother suddenly exclaimed: "He's drunk! He can't say that!" The next day, one of my high school history teachers carefully explained to my class why there was so much political disagreement between the English and French and I remember the salient points: The English, had taken land from the French; The English tried to assimilate the French by prohibiting their religion and culture; The French are still fighting today to maintain and regain their culture. I remember thinking that I would make my grandmother angry if I told her these facts. I decided to let her be angry at every French stop sign. Not only did I feel like an isolated English speaker in my community, I also felt somewhat isolated in my family.

I have taken these experiences with me through University and slowly unpacked them. My past and experience is largely responsible for my interest in the Québec history program. I am now a history teacher in a high school in one of Québec's English school boards. Throughout my studies, I have often reflected upon the government's choice to emphasise the voices of certain Québec citizens over others. So, as a way of orienting to the phenomenon, I must point out that my interest in this topic is quite self-driven. It is a form of understanding my own past.

Formulating the Phenomenological Question

Chapter 1 situates the Québec History curriculum in the context of Québec's modern day history and elucidates the public debates that emerge when the provincial government decides to change the high school history curriculum. This chapter is important because it shows us that the national history course has a polemic effect on people's lives and in particular those who are stakeholders in the education system. The public gets upset and political debates emerge over the inclusion or exclusion of differing historical events, voices or ideological standpoints. Moreover, Québec historians rarely agree on how to represent the past.

Herein, I present the results of a qualitative investigation of teachers' phenomenological experience of this debate in their classroom. I held conversations with teachers to understand their lived experiences of this political context. I want to investigate how teachers address these issues in their classroom and whether or not these experiences are even important to them.

In the second chapter I analysed the policy discourse in a document that set-in motion the present change to the history program. That policy analysis helps formulate phenomenological understandings because policy analysis is a form of discourse analysis which makes plain the hidden meanings within the text. My policy analysis shows that the new Québec history curriculum intentionally champions one version of Québec's past. This next phase of the study thus seeks to investigate if and how this affects teachers' experience. Do teachers see it as a problem or not? What experiences are more important to them? This phenomenological investigation explores what it is like to be an English-speaking history teacher and/ or a teacher of English-speaking students at this time in Québec.

Assumptions and preunderstandings

Van Manen (1984) states, "The problem of phenomenological inquiry is not always that we know too little about the phenomenon we wish to investigate but that we know too much." (p.46) He clarifies by stating that a researcher's preunderstanding or assumptions about a topic of inquiry can influence their interpretation of the phenomenon even before it has been investigated. This is why, as Husserl (1999) points out, it is important for the researcher to bracket out their assumptions, as best they can, prior to conducting research. In the following section, and to the extent possible, I am going to first "bracket" my understandings, biases and assumptions and then "bracket" my assumptions about current research in the field. I do this with the understanding that, as van Manen (2016b) stresses, researchers do not "bracket" so that they can effectively forget their own biases - A virtual impossibility - but rather, "We try to come to terms with our assumptions...to hold them deliberately at bay and even to turn this knowledge against itself, as it were, thereby exposing its shallow or concealing character" (p.47).

Bracketing out assumptions in the interview process. As stated earlier, I have a direct connection to this research. Not only did I grow up in Québec, a member of what some would call the English-speaking minority, I teach the very history program I am investigating in an English-speaking high school. This means that my analysis has the potential to be sympathetic the English-speaking Quebecers. I also hold strong beliefs that educational curricula should not oppress or

force a civic identity onto students; My personal teaching philosophy is influenced by Freire (2000). There are several potential problems that this personal context could pose to my analysis.

First, I take a side on the debate over civic education and citizenship education, and believe that civic education runs the risk of imposing civic identities upon students, while citizenship education encourages students to construct their own ideas and opinions about history. I do not believe that history education should have a civic agenda and I believe that a curriculum with a strong national focus does. As such, I find the 2016 curriculum suspect because I think the curriculum emphasises only one national narrative and does not allow for a critical construction of identity. I did not express my bias to my participants and gave them simple facts about the study while avoiding expressing my opinion. If they asked me during the interview, I redirected the question and explained that I did not want to influence their presentation of events, that I wanted to hear their own experiences and opinions.

Second, I did not assume that participant teachers were aware that there is virtually no emphasis on Indigenous voices in the curricula or that there are historical debates over the inclusion of different voices in the curriculum. To avoid looking for justification of my own ideas in others' experiences, I endeavored to eliminate reference to the debates in my questionnaire. I did not assume other history teachers held the same beliefs and opinions as I do (See appendix E pages 95-96). Moreover, I believe in citizenship education and was dismayed at its never being taught in the 2006 program. I have direct connection to this topic, and as stated earlier, have formulated much of my academic career and interests around investigating the different interpretations of Québec's past.

Thirdly, the third chapter of this thesis is a policy analysis. While the research herein attempts to balance perspectives, the goal of policy analysis is to present concise conclusions rooted in discourse – What is the problem represented to be? Phenomenology does not focus on problems: it focuses on meaning. Van Manen (2016b) states that phenomenology does at times depart from lived experience or empirical but it does not show, for example, that one reading method is better than the other. In a sense, the second chapter is a conflict of interest with the rest of this study because it makes concrete conclusions about the history curriculum. On the other hand, this research could also be taken as a means of demonstrating one's bias, because I do after all have training in policy analysis. All this to say, my reflections on the participants discourse will be less analytic and more hermeneutically focused on meaning and experience.

Bracketing out assumptions from other research. Chapter 1 shows that the high school history curriculum is a cause for much debate among researchers. Presently, there are no phenomenological studies of teachers' experiences with curriculum change in Québec. However, there are several studies, of differing methods and methodologies, on history teachers and the Québec history program. In the following section, I am going to highlight these important studies to show and discuss how they contribute to the present one.

A notable epistemological study by Sabrina Moisan (2011) investigates the social representations of Québec history teachers. Moisan's research was conducted when the 2006 curriculum was first being implemented. She investigates how history teachers in Québec's secondary schools see the relationship between teaching history and citizenship education and how teachers epistemologically view history and citizenship education as a discipline and as a form of teaching and learning. Her conclusions highlight educational convictions of teachers but also a need for proper education on the epistemological foundations of citizenship education.

Another epistemological study by Lanoix (2017) investigates history teachers' social representations on the purposes of history teaching and the place of the idea of nation in that teaching. Lanoix concludes that the social representations of participant history teachers are rooted in heritage and civic purposes, and that almost all the history teachers believe that history teaching, in their case, aims to give students a Québec identity.

The present study differs from the research of Moisan (2011) and Lanoix (2017) because it does not investigate how teachers evaluate or construct knowledge in regards to the history program. This study investigates what it means to be a teacher of the Québec history program. I want to know how teachers have experienced a major change in their career and if and how the new curriculum affects them.

Zanazanian (2008, 2012, 2015) researches historical consciousness, teacher agency and the structuring of group boundaries between Anglophone, Francophone and Allophone history teachers in Québec. Zanazanian's studies investigate how history teachers construct boundaries in how they choose to approach a given topic. Zanazanian (2012) is open about how his research assumes that "socio-historical actors make moral decisions when negotiating their ethno-cultural identity and rapport with the significant Other" (p. 218). Furthermore, his work is based on the premise that actors choose to know the past in order to orient their identity. So, research is

concerned with how teachers negotiate their engagement of the Other in how they choose to represent certain narratives. A curious aspect of Zanzania's work is that his research involves participants and encourages them to reflect on the ways in which they engage the Other.

While some of the data gathered in my study could inform on historical consciousness, the methods and questioning for identifying historical consciousness are very different from identifying lived experience. For example, Zanazanian (2012) asked his participants to envision how much emphasis they would allot to Francophone, Anglophone and Allophone history were they to be the imaginers of a new curriculum. This form of questioning is aimed at addressing participants beliefs on specific topics and not aimed at obtaining experience. There is a phenomenological quality in that Zanazanian investigates how a particular group perceives things. This study, however, is not about how teachers construct identity through history. Rather, it seeks to understand why teaching history is meaningful and what teachers struggle with to accomplish their task. As van Manen (2016b, p. 23) points out, phenomenology does not problem solve, but rather poses questions that look for meaning and significance. Phenomenological questions are open and aimed at allowing for participant teachers in the study to elucidate to the researcher and what is and what is not important epistemological knowledge in regards to the Québec history program. So, I am not looking for an idea and subsequent confirmation of a thesis, I am looking for what ideas are important to my participants.

Exploring the Phenomenon: Generating "data"

Obtaining experiential descriptions from participants. I interviewed high school history teachers for the field portion of this study. I initially planned to recruit teachers through school boards, but a school board member (personal communication, September 2018) advised me that obtaining approval from the school board could take over a year. Because of time constraints, I decided to recruit within my personal network and through teacher's associations rather than through school boards. This decision diminishes the reliability of my study, because a general recruitment call to all history teachers is less biased. I recruited participants through various electronic means: email, Facebook and English-speaking teaching associations in Québec. See appendix F page 97.

In total, I interviewed 8 participants. The length of the interviews ranged from ½ an hour to 3 hours in length. Aside from being able to tell their stories and share experiences about the history program, there was little benefit to the teachers involved in the study. As such I accommodated participants as much as possible for the location of meetings: Four interviews took place in the education building on Concordia's campus; one interview was done by phone; one interview took place in a participant's home; one interview took place in a participant's school; and, one interview took place in a restaurant. Participants received a 25\$ gift certificate as an incentive to participate in the study.

I emailed participants the consent form prior to conducting the interview. All participants signed the consent form prior to starting the interview. Participants were given their own copy of the questionnaire. In some cases, I led the questioning, in other cases the participants chose the questions themselves to answer. The interviews were recorded on a Zoom H5 Digital Multitrack Recorder. I later transcribed the interviews using HyperTRANSCRIBE researchware. A family member helped me complete transcriptions. Transcriptions were saved in word documents and participants were sent copies of their transcripts and asked to remove, edit or add information, as they saw fit. Participants were given the option to withdraw their consent to participate in the study up until the moment they approved the transcript.

Ethical considerations. I used several ethical strategies to maintain trust and transparency with research participants. First, I obtained certification of ethical acceptability for research involving human subjects from Concordia University(See appendices B and C pages 76-90). I sent participants a copy of the consent form by email and let them know that I would ask for a signature when we met in person. For the phone interview, I asked the participant to email me an electronic copy of the signed form prior to our phone interview. I gave participants time to read the consent form before I asked them to sign it. I obtained consent prior to starting the interview and was prepared for the participant to withdraw consent at any moment (See appendix D pages 91-93).

I always explained that the study posed no risks and was not intended to benefit participants in anyway. The study was meant to protect the identities of participants so that they would feel comfortable expressing opinions and ideas. The consent form outlines that participation in the study is anonymous except in the case that a participant uses hate speech or something that would

require the involvement of the law. This action was not required. In one instance, William told me a story that has the potential to reveal his identity. I advised him that this could be the case and he (personal communication, 13 February 2019) gave me permission to use the data as is. In the event that participants encountered difficulties dealing with our interview, I always had a list of mental health resources and union offices available for reference. While all participants were told about this list, none of interviews had to be ended prematurely to require the use of this list.

I also informed participants that I was conducting a phenomenological study and as such my questioning was not going to be excessively interrogative. I did not want to influence how they told me a story, correct them or make them feel insignificant in any way.

For the presentation of the results all participants were given a pseudonym. Pseudonyms were assigned from the list of 100 most popular baby names in Québec in 2018 from *Retraité Québec* (Gouvernement du Québec, n.d.). See the appendix G, page 98, for a full list of participants and their assigned names.

Results and Phenomenological Reflections

Participant demographics. All participants teach history in an English-speaking Québec high school. 1/4 of the participants teach in the private sector; 1/4 of the participants teach in the public sector; and, 1/2 of the participants teach in the public alternative stream. Only one participant expressed that their mother-tongue is French. The other 7 participants speak mostly English and at least three of them expressed that they were comfortably bilingual. Only two of the participants teach the history program in French. 3 participants attended universities outside Québec but all participants had at least one degree from a Québec university. Only 2 participants had a degree from a French speaking university. 1/2 of the participants had at least two undergraduate degrees. 6 participants either have a master's degree or were in the process of obtaining one.

Isolating thematic statements. Isolating thematic statement is the first step towards phenomenological descriptions. Max van Manen (1984) calls phenomenological themes “structures of experience” (p.59). Uncovering structures of experience begins by isolating thematic statements made by the participants. A thematic statement is not just a main idea expressed by a

participant- It goes further than the dictionary definition of the word ‘theme’. Another way van Manen (1984, p. 59) describes phenomenological themes is, “knots in the webs of our experiences, around which certain lived experiences are spun and thus experienced as meaningful wholes”. These experiences are the ontological project of phenomenological inquiry. Van Manen encourages researchers to develop themes with participants. Because of time constraints, I held one meeting with each participant, which limits the study, because it does not give participants further opportunity to elaborate or contribute to the refinement of thematic descriptions. Still, most participants had a clear interpretation of their work and their curriculum and provided clear details on teaching experiences. To isolate themes, I carefully reviewed the personal story of each participant. I read each transcript several times and highlighted sections that coherently represented essential and revealing statements. Then, I contemplated essential themes for each statement and finally grouped the statements according to similar themes so I could reflect on the ideas together. I looked for differences and similarities. The phenomenological reflections below have been carefully rewritten many times to refine and punctuate the phenomenological themes and lived experiences evident in the research.

Determining essential themes. Researchers determine essential themes by uncovering thematic aspects in phenomenon described by participants (van Manen, 1984). I had to do considerable reflection on identifying lived experience for history teachers. It was difficult to isolate thematic statements because not all the stories that I heard from the history teachers were experience based. Many of their explanations for their experiences were clarified by relating to me certain historical characters or events, knowing that I, who is also a history teacher, would understand. For example, several teachers refer to Maurice Duplessis, a controversial politician, as a justification for why they always encourage critical thinking. Maurice Duplessis is well-known by historians as a controversial figure, and to put it simply, some people argue he made good contributions to Québec’s past while others argue that he was the worst politician to hold office in Québec (Paulin, 2005). So, as it happens, history teachers, use history to clarify, explain or substantiate phenomenon and lived experiences. This has not been something that van Manen has discussed. So as a forewarning, the phenomenological experiences outlined below differ somewhat from van Manen’s which focus on the experience of parenting, or child birth, for

example. The combination of history teachers using history itself to punctuate a phenomenological experience is an interesting aspect of this study that requires further research.

I identified lived experiences as moments when the participant would get emotionally connected to what they were saying. The indicators of emotional connection differed from one participant to the next. I noticed that if participants were saying something they felt was important they would either pause or increase the volume in their speech. Other times, they would repeat or return to certain ideas that we had already discussed. Sometimes, they would justify their frustrations by making a reference to a frustrating historical event. In one instance, one of the study's participants, Noah, demonstrated a paternal responsibility to tell me important historical stories that were not always in the curriculum. He argued these stories helped students connect to the curriculum. In the most obvious cases, participants would tell me that an event or something that had happened to them was a strong important memory. Some participants opened up more easily than others during the conversation. For example, I felt like Thomas was extremely careful and controlled about everything he said to me. I only highlighted one lived experience for Thomas. The one participant who preferred to be interviewed over the phone, Alice, had very little to say about the history programs, and the interview felt rushed. Lea was very open but she did not have much emotional connection to the history program itself. Rather, Lea clearly cared deeply for her students and her students' priorities came before discussions about the curriculum. After identifying individual experiences, I grouped them into similar themes. I have chosen to elaborate on only one of these themes because many of the participants' experience weave in and out of this topic in interesting ways. These subtly different lived experiences are discussed below.

Main Theme: Accommodation. One theme and several sub-themes emerged from my discussions with high school educators about their engagement with the Québec history curriculum: Accommodation. The Oxford English Dictionary states that the verb accommodate originates from the classical past participle stem of the Latin verb *accomodāre*, which is *accomodāt*; *Accomodāre* means to fit or fasten on, and as a reflexive verb it means to adjust or adapt (Oxford English Dictionary, n.d.). My father, George McKell, is a good example of the word *accomodāre*. He was a vocational education teacher who taught automobile mechanics. He took his vocation very seriously and refused to buy a new car. He owned four Volvo station wagons made between the years of 1980 and 1989 and he took pride in using the four cars to keep at least

one vehicle on the road. He was a bit of a local sensation in our small town. Everyone knew that the old Volvo was driven by George McKell.

My father only had one of the vehicles registered to drive on the road and he would switch the license plate from one car to the next, depending upon which one was in top working condition. “If the police pull me over, I just tell them I painted it and they don’t check the serial numbers.” He told me one time. My father would not only make unusual accommodations with his Volvo repairs, he would also make unusual accommodations when it came to respecting the law.

When I was older, and not long after my father had passed away, I was getting my own car repaired and the mechanic at the garage asked me if I was related to George McKell. Upon finding out that I was his daughter the mechanic told me that he was one of my father’s former students. The mechanic jokingly remembered that my father would never buy a new car part. “If he needed a cap for a pipe in his car,” the mechanic told me, “Mr. McKell would take a cap off another car and adjust that cap to fit by trimming it or gluing it in place rather than spending a few dollars on a new cap that fit properly.” The mechanic also remarked that he couldn’t make these sort of accommodations at his garage because everything had to be professional, new and fit properly. So, even though they used different means, both my Dad and this mechanic were able to keep cars on the road. After the interaction I found myself wondering if the mechanic felt that my father’s teaching style was too off the mark from what the mechanic needed to learn in order to work at a professional garage. Or was he trying to tell me how unique my father was? I’m not sure. I do know that my father would have argued that anyone could easily order a replacement part and that he was teaching what was necessary to make future mechanics more versatile and better able to repair any car they are presented with in any kind of a situation.

How is the concept of accommodation important to this study? People change and adapt to circumstance in different ways and for different reasons. Ogbu (1995a, 1995b, 2008) is a famous and controversial anthropologist who is known for pioneering and promoting multicultural education. He developed a model for interpreting minorities’ willingness to accommodate cultural change. Ogbu investigates two minority communities in Oakland California of Chinese and African origin and creates a typology for these communities based on immigrants who moved to America voluntarily (Chinese) and involuntarily (African). Ogbu (2008) has received much criticism for his models and ideas throughout his career but nonetheless, his idea of an involuntary minority is interesting to consider as we negotiate different teachers’ anecdotes about how they

relate to the curriculum and community. Ogbu (1995a, p. 203) states that involuntary minorities “develop oppositional cultural frame of reference after their forced incorporation”. On the other hand, Ogbu points out that voluntary minorities generally have more success in the education system than involuntary migrants because of their willingness to accommodate and negotiate keeping certain aspects of their cultural identity intact. Olmedo (2003) adds that Ogbu’s accommodation to cultural change brings forward the idea of resistance. Olmeda explains that the notions of accommodation and resistance “are not dichotomies but, rather, interwoven strategies for exercising agency.”(p. 375). Olmedo shows that accommodation and resistance to cultural change can in fact be a way of creating a space for one’s own culture community or a way for communities to coexist. From a phenomenological perspective, people’s experiences and why they choose to change, adapt or not has the potential to reveal interesting aspects of a person’s lived experience and show how their experience guides them through the system they are working within. As van Manen (1984) outlines, “The point of phenomenological research is to “borrow” other people’s experiences and their reflections on their experiences in order to better be able to come to an understanding of the deeper meaning or significance of an aspect of human experience, in the context of the whole of human experience.”(p. 55) What is important about Ogbu and Olmeda’s ideas in this phenomenological context is that an individual’s perceptions about whether or not they are an involuntary minority could help us understand their agency, why they perceive the world in a certain way, and reveal more about what it means to be a teacher experiencing a change in curriculum. I engaged teachers in a discussion about the new history curriculum the following anecdotes reveal incredibly diverse and different ways that teachers have choose to accommodate themselves to the new Québec history curriculum.

Accommodation is not a question. Emma teaches in an alternative school that caters to students with learning disabilities and behavioral difficulties. At the outset of the interview Emma expressed that her teaching experiences were characterized by tension between accommodating her students academically and being able to cover all the material:

It can be pretty hard to cover all of this material thoroughly. Especially since at our school there is no homework and our students are very weak readers. Basically, all the learning happens in class and so that makes for a lot of content but I hope to work on finding ways

to make the kids more autonomous and teach them to discover on their own, but that takes such a long time to set up and I don't know if I even have that time.

While Emma struggles to deliver a content heavy program to her students, she still expressed that she sees many places where content should be added in order to give a full and accurate version of historical events. It was tremendously important for Emma to give her students an accurate telling of historical events. Emma expressed that she uses her PowerPoints to supplement history that is missing from the curriculum. Teaching is a daily struggle for Emma because she desperately wants to teach students what they need to know to pass the final exam but then at the same time, she has a deep sense of what is important for students to know and so she will enrich the curriculum even further. Why does Emma do this? Why does she go to such an extreme because it clearly exhausts her?

So, it's hard to know if I've done a good job teaching them, but I guess, what it really comes down to is can they talk about some of the ideas that we've talked about. Do they have something to say about them? Do they understand citizenship a bit better? Do they understand that Indigenous people aren't just tax cheats? Do they understand that our society is complex and compassionate and inclusive?

Emma's dedication to civic responsibility and duty as a teacher guide her decisions to accommodate the curriculum. She doesn't want to break or bend the rules by leaving information out but Emma also believes in the value of citizenship and struggles to bring this into her classroom, even though it is no longer a component of the 2016 program. It was devastating to interview Emma because she puts so much energy and thought into delivering the content and she gets so little back in return from her students. Emma expressed that many of her students are academically weak, truant or have issues with drug consumption. She tries desperately to reach these students and to show them that history is important. During this interview I was overcome with sadness for her difficult situation. She clearly has high expectations of herself and her students. I was curious why she extends the aims of the curriculum when clearly her students struggle with extra material? Why was she undertaking so much extra work? This next anecdote highlights a moment where Emma felt like she had made a breakthrough in her teaching:

I remember I taught this kid a few years ago. He was such a character. Anyway, I talked to the class about systemic racism and I think this kid's dad is black and his mom is white. And when he understood that there are systems in place that can keep racialized people from getting ahead, his eyes opened up. It wasn't his fault anymore. It wasn't his parents' fault. Seeing that made him bolder and stronger. There was a name for this problem that he encountered all the time. Of people following him when he went shopping. So, that look of learning and feeling more powerful and more empowered, that's a good indicator of success and that I've taught the right things.

Emma expressed that she wants history to be meaningful and empowering for her. How can she do this? She tries to help them become more aware of society and human struggles through history. Emma believes her students can use history as a tool to understand their own struggles in life. History shapes people's lives and she wants her students to be able to critically engage with these structures.

Lea's story is an interesting contrast to Emma because Lea also teaches in an alternative school. Lea teaches vulnerable students who are often absent for many different reasons- I will not go into too much detail on the nature of Lea's job in order to keep her identity anonymous. In contrast to Emma, Lea does not add to the curriculum:

I need to look at that curriculum, and say, what are they going to be tested on? And then I try to cut to the chase and go with that. Some of the extra stuff, that from my experience I have seen does not usually show up on tests, I will sometimes leave it aside especially if it becomes time sensitive.

Interestingly, Lea tries to give her students the least amount of information from the curriculum possible in order to maximize her student's success on the final exam, to the point where she admits to leaving out some aspects of the curriculum, which is technically not her prerogative from the government. In our discussion Lea did acknowledge that as a historian she saw that the program was lacking important historical information and that many of her colleagues were mad because

minorities were poorly represented. Why doesn't Lea supplement if she sees that it is missing information? Lea explained that her teaching experience was very different from a regular classroom setting:

We are working with vulnerable teens and when they come to our school we basically work individually with each student because every student is sort of on a different track. We might have a student that is missing math and they'll just do math or we might have different levels of students and some students that are even doing adult ed through distance ed, and we tutor them. So it's quite a unique situation and we have to get to know each student.

Lea clearly cared deeply for her student's success, graduation and about the mission behind her education program but in another way, she was able to distance herself from her student's stress:

I try to be very organized and we have like check lists and stuff and sometimes while they're working I'm wondering, "Oh my God, how are we going to get this done?" And so they do experience some stress, but I try to minimize it. There is a lot to do and I work at a school where there is a lot of absenteeism in students so it's quite hard to keep up. It really is.

Lea is in a difficult position because she doesn't have a lot of time to get through the material. How did Lea feel about leaving parts of the curriculum out? She expressed a little regret for leaving information out but was firm that her situation is different from what a teacher sees in the regular classroom. On one hand I felt that Lea did not get emotionally invested in the curriculum and maybe even with her students because they are absent so often. On the other hand, it was clear that Lea and her students were not emotionally connected to the program. All that matters to both parties, was acquiring as much information as possible to pass the final exam.

Accommodation and resistance. Noah, whose school has an entrance exam, provides an example of how he adapts his curriculum in a different way. As a forewarning to readers, some of Noah's comments are controversial:

So, not having the bottom 20% of kids in the class I have the luxury of being able to teach more. I do a big unit on World War 1 every year and then at the end of the year I will go back thematically and say, "Okay, let's look at the Native Americans(sic) from the Oka crisis all the way back to pre-contact and let's see what happened to them as a race. Why are they alcoholics? Why are the Innu in Northern Québec sniffing gas?" I mean just think about that, that's not even a pleasant high! It's a horrible high! So if a horrible high is better than your life there's something wrong. So we would look at that.

Noah did not express feelings of guilt or worry about his student's ability to grasp the extra material. Noah remarked that the new program content was minimal and boring for his students:

So I would say if you were following the government protocol to the letter you're going to bore those kids out of their freaking minds because there's just not enough stuff there. So you're going to be going ad nauseam over minutiae and kids don't need that. Especially nowadays they just google it.

I am curious how he chooses to supplement the curriculum? While some teachers had remarked that the history curriculum was incomplete. Noah took it to another level:

They [the Québec Government] don't like to teach the War of 1812 because the French, the English, and the Native Americans, wow, came together as a unit and defeated the Americans. I'm downplaying the British, right, which I shouldn't, but in effect that's what happened. Battle of Chateauguay, from Ormstown down to Allan's Corners- You can go there on your bike! That's how close to Montreal the Americans were. That was the last line of defense: Charles de Salaberry, British regulars and the Native Americans from Kahnawake. They don't like to teach that because it shows we can work together. They don't like to teach the October Crisis, because wait a sec, the separatists became terrorists?

They did! So I had never had any problems picking and choosing what I was going to accentuate because the government certainly does it with their program, you know?

What is it like to be a teacher in Noah's position? Merleau-Ponty (2004) proposes that our body acts in the world as a heart does within a body; our body and the world form a system that can be perceived. Moreover, this system can infer an individual's perceptions: "We shall need to reawaken our experience of the world as it appears to us in so far as we are in the world through our body and in so far as we perceive the world with our body." (p. 239) Noah's perception of the world and his role as an educator is revealed in the next anecdote about some of his students questioning him if they would be punished for attending the No-Vote rally prior to the '95 Québec referendum:

Some of the senior boys said to me, "Sir, what are you going to do if we skip school and go to the rally?" I go, "Well, you know if you skip school you're making up the time. So if you skip a day going to the rally then you're coming in on Saturday to make up the time." So I could see them thinking and I go, "I know what I would do." They said, "Well, what would you do?" I said, "Well. If I thought it was that important, then I would go screw it, I'm going." And I said, "On top of that if 300 boys go, I'm not going to come in and have 300 boys in detention." So, I was trying to tell them, make sure you guys go.

How does this story espouse Noah's relationship with the world? Noah envelops himself in politics and he does not hesitate to bring this into his interactions with students or peers. His heart is for a united Canada and this influences his teaching practices and interactions with students. This next anecdote adds more:

The vast majority of the teachers I have met in the francophone system are ardent separatists, you know, nationalists. And I don't have a problem with that, but it shouldn't be a state education. But, that being said, I had a lot of friends when I was studying who were from Newfoundland. And their Newfoundland history has little mention of Canada. Now fair enough they were a dominion of England, but still it's like they're teaching Newfoundland pride and Newfoundland culture. So it is done elsewhere. I guess if I was

a francophone teacher I might see things differently. So that would be my long-winded answer of saying I think the genesis of the new curriculum came from the Department of Education where they saw this as a tool to indoctrinate students.

Noah articulated a strong need to convey very certain version of history to his students. He expressed several times that the new program has a nationalistic focus and provides many examples about how he balances the program by adding stories of English speakers' history or showing Québec Nationalism from an English speakers' perspective. Noah rushes the main content, so that he can spend larger chunks of time on the history that he deems important. Noah's choices for what to supplement are strongly connected to his own life experiences and personal beliefs. For example, he indicated that he has family members who fought in the World Wars, he lived through the October crisis and he took a strong stance on the 'No' side during the last referendum. Noah embodies strong Canadian nationalist views.

William approaches interactions with his students in a different way:

I know just by looking at the kids' faces whether they got something out of it. Whether they enjoyed their moment and space and time. You know, I kept things light, told a few jokes. Made sure that they felt good and easy on their way out. I guess that would be it, I mean, always looking in kids' faces. That's why teaching is so fatiguing because you're often looking for the clouds in kids' faces and people don't recognize that as a part of the profession because when you walk out you're gassed because you've had emotional commitments with kids that most people don't have in a day.

Granted, this is how William recognises his role as an educator, it is not surprising that he wants his student's history to be reflected in the history they are obligated to study. William's concern, however, goes beyond his own classroom. He wants changes to be made at the community or even government level.

I've always argued, why can't we do what the Franco Ontarians do? Why don't we just say, look, we've got three universities, we've got education faculties in all three, we've got

enough brainwork here to create our own pedagogy. Even if it was optional in sec V, you know? Something where it said English speaking Quebeckers exist. We were contributors, we're builders, we've done some really interesting compelling things in Québec. We've made this a better place to live in many ways. Why can't we teach our kids that?

What is the extent of William's opposition to the new history program?

I think that if people would have taken a really hard look and said, look, this program is wanting for the message that it extends to our kids that they are not a vital, vibrant, part of this community, this space, which is Québec. And I want my students to feel that way. I don't want them to feel alienated from here. Because my friends that I grew up with are gone. You know? I feel very strongly that they should say this is my place and my space. This history program is wanting to do better.

Liam adds a little to this perspective:

I definitely see part of, one of my biggest roles as a teacher teaching Québec history to anglophone kids is to help them understand the perspectives of the francophone majority. And I feel like there's absolutely no effort put in the other direction to help members of the francophone majority understand the realities of minority communities.

William and Liam feel their students should have a community connection to the program. In some sense they perceive an opposition to or lack of inclusion of their own communities in the Québec History program. How does this opposition characterise William's experience? William expressed that he was integral in the creation of a local history program for students in the alternative education network of his school board. Also, he was involved pedagogically in the vetting of the new program, which gave him access to early versions of the new curriculum. His concern over the new program's limitations extends beyond his own classroom as seen in this next anecdote:

I leaked the first draft. I leaked it in March of 2017, and I wrote an op-ed in *The Gazette* criticizing what the program meant. I talked to everybody I could, and the people who had

the least interest, which is still to this day, were anglophone school boards. They were the first ones to approve the new program, in a pilot that hadn't even finished piloting. I knew that there would be consequences for throwing that document into the public. But I thought that the public had the right to see it, even if it was a first draft. Because I knew the direction it was going. It was going in a very conservative nationalist push. That at least to me, releasing it got it mitigated to some extent. Maurice Duplessis is no longer a hero. The Catholic Church is not seen as a bulwark. Leonard Cohen is no longer seen as the reason for his career was the Québec Ministry of Cultural affairs... So, some anecdotal things got rearranged.

William is in mourning, and we can feel his anguish and frustration in his anecdotes. William has lost friends in his community and also support from the officials in the education system. William's only avenue to accommodate his community in the curriculum was to defy his superiors and use extreme measures.

Hitherto we have read anecdotes from teachers who largely oppose the new curriculum. Thomas' response to the program stands out:

The students we have now don't know about the 2006 program, so they don't care, but if they had done both I'm sure they would say it's a better now than it used to be. And certainly teachers, especially Sec 4 teachers, like it better as well.

Thomas teaches the secondary 3 version of the program and maintains that the program is not lacking minority representation:

There's more emphasis on our First Nation's history in the program. I remember when I did the course back in 1986, I guess I was in Sec 4 at the time, I don't recollect that there was a lot of emphasis on First Nations at all. But now in Sec 3, we have four chapters to cover and the first one is entirely devoted to First Nation's history which I think is great considering the Truth and Reconciliation Commission going on. I think it's very important to educate our students, these future taxpayers and citizens, about where we come from

and what happened before the European powers came to North America. How they lived and what we took from them as time went by... And so, I think the new program's emphasis on First Nation's history is important. It's certainly welcomed by our teachers and our students.

Thomas' interview was interesting because he actually gave me very little anecdotal information. The interview was surprisingly minimal in detail and experience. Because of his silence and his avoidance of topics on his allegiance in Québec referendums I was under the impression that he was doing the interview out of obligation and did not fully trust me with his actual perceptions. On one hand, I was grateful to interview Thomas, because he did show support for the current curriculum and this shows that teachers have polarizing views on whether to accommodate the program to add Indigenous content or not.⁹

Olivia's experience adds to this debate:

I moved to the Arctic for five years which really shaped my teaching because I was working with Inuit students... I really had to shape the curriculum of Québec history to suit the needs of Inuit students which are not mentioned or barely mentioned in either the previous or current programs. And so that really influenced my teaching.

Olivia presently teaches in southern Québec. She added this comment about the new program:

You know how they mentioned that when they created the new program that the marginalized groups would be added? Well, they're in the margins still. It's a little blurb at the corner of the page. Like, the whole residential school system. Also, no Black history.

⁹ Note that Thomas teaches the secondary III version of the curriculum which describes the Indigenous populations of Quebec before the arrival of Europeans. The secondary III course does not have a standardized exam. All other participants teach the Secondary IV portion of the curriculum, which starts in the year 1840. The secondary IV course has a standardized exam and students must pass this exam to receive a high school diploma. The Indigenous populations in Quebec are extant.

This anecdote shows tension for Olivia because she empathizes with communities who want to preserve their culture and sees it as a priority for both Indigenous and French cultures:

Growing up, I had this idea that separatism was this horrible thing and how could anyone want to do it? Having come up through the education system and having worked with kids who really don't like French, don't want to learn French and have had bad experiences- A lot of kids from Kahnawake don't have my kind of background in French- So they have their back up for French. When you do talk about Québec or French-Canadian Nationalism and those kinds of things they get angry. But I see it as another kind of perspective of trying to protect the culture now. Which is something I didn't see growing up, right. Now it's more, I understand where they are all coming from. They are trying to protect their culture. Who wouldn't want to protect their culture?

When the Québec government mandates a curriculum and test's students' knowledge in the form of a standardized provincial exam, I would think that the government assumes that the teachers and students who follow the same curricula are all accessing the same material. As seen in some of the anecdotes above, teachers make accommodations as they teach to meet the needs of their students, professional acumen, or to represent historical communities. In his notorious and controversial book, *Who killed Canadian History?* Granatstein (2007) argues that a universal version of Canadian History should be taught in all schools across Canada. Granatstein points out that the history curricula across the country are vastly different and most have regional or provincial emphases (which is expected considering education is a provincial jurisdiction). Even so, Granatstein argues that the history that is taught in the classroom doesn't have a professional focus. "The history taught is that of the grievors among us, the present-day crusaders against public policy or discrimination. The history omitted is that of the Canadian nation and people." (2007, p. xii) Granatstein points out several times, that teachers prefer to teach lessons about racism, multiculturalism and sexism. Still, a universal Canadian history curriculum, as Granatstein suggests, would not necessarily work for Québec.

As discussed, French-speaking Canadians have historically resisted colonization. How could a universal curriculum represent this in a way that pleased all the provinces? Politics aside, I think it is interesting that Granatstein identifies that teachers can adapt the curriculum and teach

what they think is important. While Granatstein would prefer teachers did not access this kind of agency, My interest is peaked by different questions: Why are teachers making these accommodations to history curricula? What is it like to be a teacher who wants to change the focus of their curriculum? This chapter shows that teachers are making thoughtful accommodations and for the most part, teachers do this because they feel that their students need things to happen in a different way.

V. Discussion

My research investigates the Québec History Curriculum from three different angles by means of three different research questions. While each research question forms a chapter of this thesis, in the following section I will discuss how these questions and chapters interrelate. Then, I will address the limitations of this study before moving into the general conclusion.

First Research Question: What are the key contextual and historical influences on the Québec history program?

This research question frames the literature review and sets the historical context for the second research question. The literature review reveals that some versions of the Québec History curricula have received more public scrutiny than others. The 1982 curriculum is considered more well received by the public than the 2006 curriculum. Lemieux (2019, p. 294) suggests that the absence of controversy over the 1982 curriculum indicates that the 1982 program was more in line with the demands of the actors interested in the program and the demands of the officials who create it; on the other hand, with the 2006 program, there is a larger discrepancy between the demands of these two parties. Lemieux's thesis, however, represents the perspectives of only three groups of people, who he refers to as actors: 1. Officials in charge of MÉLS or the MEQ; 2. Officials involved in the creation of the program; and, 3. Former presidents of the Société des professeurs d'histoire de Québec. While his research provides an excellent historical record of these officials he doesn't include teachers' perspectives as a part of his research. Very few researchers have made efforts to gauge teachers' reactions to these curricula.

Paul Inchauspé (1992, 1998), the father of the 2006 reform, argued that in the face of a world being changed by globalization, educators needed to follow suit after counties like Holland, and prepare students to work and be competent in the new global framework. This idea is present

in the two goals outlined at the outset of the 2006 history program: “to enable students to develop their understanding of the present in the light of the past and to prepare them to participate as informed citizens in the social life of a democratic, pluralistic society that is receptive to a complex world” (p. 295). Although the 2006 curriculum presents an inclusive vision of historical citizenship, teaching and evaluating citizenship was logistically very difficult for teachers to carry out in the classroom. On the one hand the curriculum’s thematic approach encouraged repetition of course material, and the other there was not enough time to cover all the historical events. The curriculum was heavily debated by academics and teachers found it frustrating and difficult to deliver to their students. Still, the academic debate over the 2006 curriculum largely focused on the absence of a historical narrative and presence of citizenship education.

The 2016 curriculum mitigates these elements of controversy by eliminating the philosophy of the 2006 program and teaching one civic history: A historical narrative of Québec. As a result, the 2016 history curriculum leaves little in the way for the representation of citizenship and minority or marginalized groups. A possible avenue for future history curricula is to draw from the interculturalist ideals set by the Bouchard-Taylor Commission (2008). The Bouchard-Taylor Commission emphasises integration towards a common societal culture while carefully acknowledging the existence other cultures within Quebec. The Bouchard-Taylor Commission suggests that Québec history is one of hope and resistance in the face of adversity; moreover, Bouchard-Taylor suggest that Québec immigrants have experienced similar feelings of uprootedness as they move from one country to another and suggest these feelings of resistance in adversity, recovery and pride should become the common ground for how immigrants can connect and join Québec society. So, a national narrative could possibly be a means for immigrants to connect and relate to French-speakers’ historical struggles. Further avenues of research on this question could investigate the 2006 and 2016 curriculum’s connections to the ideas of multiculturalism and interculturalism.

The 2016 curriculum has not had the same amount of political impact as the 2006 curriculum. To go back to Lemieux (2019), who said that the 1982 program was for the most part accepted by all parties connected to the program, I would also tentatively suggest that this also applies to the 2016 program but this hypothesis could be explored and substantiated further by other historians in this field. Lemieux has not consulted teachers and as such, my second and third research questions give some interesting feedback on this idea which I will discuss below.

According to Bradley and Allison (2021), the 2016 curriculum did have a large impact in the Media. I would point out that the reporting was done mostly in Québec's English media. It is worth noting too that the 2016 program was slightly amended in 2017 in an attempt to better represent minority and marginalized communities. Regardless, the manner in which minority and marginalized communities are represented is should be investigated with more research.

Finally, chapter IV elaborates on the contexts set by chapter II. Most of the participants in my study, while not representing a qualitative sample size of the teaching population, take issue with the national history taught by the 2016 curriculum. Quite a few participants openly expressed that minority histories were left out and some, especially William, lamented the loss of the coupling of citizenship and history. William and Liam also pointed out that the 2006 history curriculum was never fully taught from the outset because teachers were not required to grade the citizenship competency. They argued that teachers and stakeholders were upset with a program that was never fully practiced in the classroom. William and Liam both argued that the citizenship competency could have allowed teachers to explore national identity. This is interesting because the focus of the debates in 2006 was largely over the lack of a national narrative. In the end, the debates are largely disconnected from the difficulties teachers had with the curriculum which was that the program was content heavy and that the thematic approach encouraged repetition.

Another interesting avenue for future research is to investigate how English and French speaking teachers represent minority and marginalized communities as they teach the 2016 curriculum. Noah, for example, shows that it is possible to teach the history that he feels his students should learn. Not all teachers have students who are academically capable of learning more course material. In this instance, as William points out, many valuable contributions of English-speaking minorities are not given credence simply because they give the majority population cultural anxiety. English-speaking minorities aside, perhaps the most glaring problem with the 2016 curriculum, that remains unresolved by this thesis, is that of the lack of representation of Québec's Indigenous populations in the Québec historical narrative. This is problematic because, Québec's Indigenous populations have status as a nation and not simply a minority group. It has already been publicly acknowledged in the *Truth and Reconciliation Report*, for example, that Canada has commit cultural genocide against its Indigenous populations (Canada, 2015). In this case, more research needs to be done to investigate if this national history curriculum encourages cultural genocide.

Second Research Question: Do these historical contexts of the Québec history program impact the curriculum changes implemented in 2016?

Since the history curriculum was provincially mandated, the province of Québec has seen three different history curricula taught at the secondary level. Lemieux (2019) points out the 2006 curriculum shows a discrepancy between the authors of the curriculum and those who had stakes in the program. Even though there was an outcry over the 2006 curriculum, this research shows that not necessarily all of those actors saw the solution to the 2006 curriculum as a national narrative. Yet, it is not surprising that the government discourse pushes for the 2016 curriculum to take a stance that represents the historical exploits of the province's majority population, which is presently and historically French-speaking.

This research question is developed further by the added framework of a policy analysis. The policy analysis reveals that the discourse within the Québec government's official document that calls to change the 2006 history curriculum- The Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid report (2014)- was tightly constructed to push for a curriculum that teaches one historical narrative with a nationalistic focus. Moreover, it is clear that the discourse shows that they sometimes misrepresent their respondents' claims or state that they have the support of their respondents when in fact they do not always provide evidence that they have this support. The authors held consultations with 23 'intervenants' and received 75 "memoires et contributions écrites" (Beauchemin & Fahmy-Eid, 2014, pp. 47-49). It is disconcerting that we do not know if these written contributions and verbal consultations were accurately represented.

Bacchi (2012b) states that we study problematizations to understand taken for granted truths and their effects. The Beauchemin and Fahmy -Eid report (2014) problematizes the 2006 history curriculum and argues that a Québec historical narrative will solve these woes. The Beauchemin-Fahmy-Eid report (2014) does briefly acknowledge that the new history program should represent the diversity of Québec's population: "L'étude de la population et des groupes sociaux devrait aussi révéler la contribution, la diversité et l'évolution des différentes communautés ethniques et culturelles." (Beauchemin & Fahmy-Eid, 2014, p. 36). This one statement is not realized in the new program and is overshadowed by the demand for a nationalist

narrative. What are the effects of the policy that Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid put in place? To answer this question we can look at how the curriculum is represented in the government approved textbooks. The English Montreal School Board released a report in 2018 known as the History Experts Committee report (2018) where three historians review the text books for the 2016 curriculum. The historians find that the books have nationalistic focus, “inculcate students with a particular view and identity”, have a poor coverage and no insights into Indigenous populations experience in Québec. See appendix H page 99 for a summary of the committee’s findings. The Expert’s Committee recommends that the School Board hires historians to write their own textbooks.

It is difficult to predict the effects of policy. Above I suggest that the Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid report (2014) emerges in the wake of Québec solidifying its cultural identity with the notion of Interculturalism. Since the release of the Bouchard-Taylor Commission (2008), several Québec Governments have tried to enhance the secularism of Québec through various laws, notably: Bill 60, known as the charter of Québec Values, which was not passed; Bill 61 which was passed and prevents people who wear clothing over their face from receiving or giving public services; and, Bill 21, which was passed and limits all public sector employees from wearing religious symbols. After a terrorist attack on a mosque in Québec city, Charles Taylor (2017) published an op-ed in *La Presse* where he famously states that he no longer agrees with the commission’s recommendation to remove religious symbols from instruments of state authority. Taylor argues that the commission recommended to remove religious symbols from judges and police officers, not all public servants, notably teachers and daycare workers. In light of recent attacks on Québec’s Muslim population, Taylor highlights a need for reconciliation and compromise. More research needs to be done on the interactions between interculturalism and nationalism in Québec’s and to see if or how these ideas manifest in the history curriculum¹⁰. Perhaps there is a need for citizenship education and the teaching of critical thinking so people can engage their stereotypes. Québec’s Ministry of Education has recently revealed that it will be replacing the provinces Ethics and Religious Studies course with a Culture and Citizenship course.

¹⁰ It is important to note that my thesis does not intend to investigate interculturalism in great detail. Rather, I juxtapose policy vs. lived experience. Future research could explore how interculturalism could inform the teaching of a national narrative.

The extent that this course promotes critical thinking and or again *inculcates* students with a certain culture, remains to be seen.

Third Research Question: How do English speaking teachers characterize their experience, historically and presently, in relation to the projected changes in the history program?

The third research question aims to give teachers a space to represent their experiences with the mandated history curricula. Much of the debate I have highlighted in chapters II and III, takes place outside the teachers' classroom. This is to say, that teachers, for the most part, are not dealing with politics and the theoretical aspects of curriculum writing. Many of the reports make various recommendations to enhance, change or bolster teacher's education and yet few studies take teachers' perspectives and/or teaching methods into account. This study reveals that history teachers are in fact very competent in their field and make deep and thoughtful reflections of student success and engagement with the Québec history curriculum.

This study is a phenomenological analysis that engages teachers on their experience with this curriculum. It reveals that teachers go to lengths to make the curriculum meaningful by adjusting and tweaking the curriculum to meet the needs of their students. Some teachers pare back the curriculum so the students have the best chance to graduate while other's rush the main curriculum and embellish the material in areas they feel adds more depth. Several participants expressed that they teach the curriculum to their English-speaking students from the perspective of studying the Other and use it to educate why the French-speaking Québec majority struggles as a minority for identity and recognition within the rest of Canada. Teachers expressed that they apologise to their Indigenous and minority students because the curriculum does not reflect their history within Québec. Future research could explore if French-speaking teachers also apologise to their students for lack of Indigenous and minority representation and/or if these teachers embellish the program to entertain or add stories and events that they feel are forgotten. Another question to explore is whether this course allows minorities and Indigenous communities to feel more connected to Québec culture. What are the consequences of English-speaking students and not French-speaking students being taught to critically reflect on their history? Will French-

speaking students consider Indigenous and minority populations to be a part of their cultural society?

This study shows that teachers go to tremendous lengths to become experts on the curriculum so that they can bend it and use it in the best way possible to help their students. Every teacher I interviewed was primarily concerned with the well-being of their students and figuring out a way to make the curriculum accessible to them. My participant teachers gave me the impression that they could easily spot problems with the curriculum and exercise their pedagogical rights to deliver a curriculum in a more suitable way. Many of the participant teachers pointed out problems with the curriculum that were later highlighted by the History Experts Committee (2018). Participant teachers were aware that they could not change the nationalistic and indoctrinating focus of the course, because the course has a standardized exam, but they did express that they are sometimes able to pause the learning and help students reflect critically on what they are learning. Teachers use these pauses to accommodate their students and to create a space for them by talking about systemic racism or teaching more exciting and culturally relevant versions of the historical narrative. Teachers ability to adapt and accommodate the curriculum and to teach critical thought at the same time suggests that history teacher education is exceptional.

VI. Limitations

The literature review could be bolstered by highlighting the political allegiances of various reporters and academics involved in the debates. This would give the actors and debate more depth and historical relevance.

The literature review could benefit from a discussion on the growth of nationalism and its influence on Québec politics and history in greater depth. This would allow for more complexity and understanding why there was such a push for a nationalist narrative in the Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid Report (2014). It would also give the analysis a more balanced interpretation of Québec history.

The scope of the policy analysis is somewhat narrow as it only focuses on the Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid report (2014) and not on the curriculum itself. In the end, the narrow focus of the policy analysis allows for a deep exploration of a complicated government procedure that set about to openly consult scholars and thinkers connected to the curriculum. My analysis raises many valid questions on the transparency and agenda of this normally uncomplicated procedure.

I refer to a document written by the History Experts Committee (2018). It must be noted that even though the History Experts Committee claims to provide an independent review, the committee was commissioned by an English-Speaking school board. As such, the review is potentially biased in favor of English-speakers' version of history.

Traditionally, in phenomenological research, participants are given time to reflect on their anecdotes and to provide feedback. This gives the research more validity in that it is not just the researchers interpretation. I did not have enough time to re-interview the participants and to get them to help me tease out themes. This is problematic from a phenomenological perspective because the participants were not part of the final phase of investigation. It is therefore possible

that some participants might object to how they are being represented within the thesis. Regardless, all participants were given the opportunity to review and edit their transcripts.

VII. Conclusion

The literature review shows that in education there is a weak relationship between public consultation and curricula, and more of a connection between political goals and the political orientations of a curriculum. Curricula is rarely developed without purpose and its contents are informed by philosophies and currents of thoughts that are held in esteem by the public. This democratic consultation process is a significant part of our modern history and has been realised from the Parent report (1966) to the Lacoursière report (1996). The Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid report (2014) is unsettling because, as the policy analysis shows, the report indicates an obscured move away from the democratic consultation process. The literature review and the policy analysis both inform on my understanding of teachers experiences because they explain why teachers wanted to talk to me about the difficulties with the 2016 curriculum. Their communities and their students' communities are not present in the curriculum. The consultation process was not fully realised and as a result English-speaking teachers struggle to give their students a sense of place, community and meaning in history while at the same time, help their students succeed. The experience of accommodating the curriculum is exhausting for educators but they do it out of a greater sense of duty to their students and community.

This study gives teachers a voice and it is a moment for them to express how they undertake their work. What is it like to be a teacher who has to deliver a curriculum that does not acknowledge the contributions of their students' ancestors? Do their students identify and feel validated by the material? In answer to these questions teachers overwhelmingly decide to accommodate their students and make pedagogical decisions in the best interest of their students. They adjust the curriculum in a way that promotes student success and connection to the material. At the same

time, teachers develop students' critical thinking skills by encouraging students to reflect why their provincially mandated curriculum leaves their community out of the course material. The teachers consulted for this study showed a tremendous amount of dedication to their students' success and historical communities. In a sense, the curriculum fails to inculcate English-speaking students with a national narrative because the teachers of these students are encouraging their students to think critically about their and others' place in the history set by the curriculum.

This thesis encourages us to think about the consequences of unifying a province of people from different backgrounds and ethnicities under one history and one culture. In this small sample, the unification does not seem to happen in English-speaking history teachers' classrooms. Ogbu's (2008) notion of an oppositional involuntary minority potentially applies to the English speaking history teachers - The extent of the teachers' modes of opposition and accommodation of the curriculum should be explored in future research. The climate of accommodation present in English-speaking teachers' experiences shows that English-speaking students are taught to critically reflect upon their learning in a manner that is not present in the curriculum. Promoting historical consciousness is a well-known approach for history educators - Over a number of years, Peter Seixas (2017) has developed various models of historical consciousness for teachers that help students engage and reflect on how their identity connects with history.

It is important to remember that the debate that ensued after the 2006 curriculum was not completely focused on the absence of a national history curriculum. Some pushed for a nationalist curriculum, while others, pushed for a more balanced representation of citizenship education. Éthier and Lefrançois (2012) have done a lot of work to promote critical thinking and citizenship in history education. Furthermore, the debate has been analysed and critiqued in many different ways (Éthier et al., 2017). So, in contrast with the curriculum employed by the Québec government, there is a dedicated movement amongst educators to promote critical engagement with history while at the same time provide a balanced acknowledgement of significant historical memories.

How does government policy affect at-risk communities' sense of belonging? The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2015) defines reconciliation as "establishing and maintaining a mutually respectful relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples in this country" (p.113). The commission stresses that in this cannot happen unless we recognise and acknowledge past damages and seek to recompense the victims and actively change future behaviors. Is the

Québec History Curriculum a mutually respectful acknowledgement of the Indigenous populations of Québec? How can it be if it espouses a national historical narrative of the French-speaking population of Québec? Several calls to action in the truth and reconciliation report ask the federal and provincial governments to develop culturally appropriate curricula and to educate about residential schools and reconciliation. There is no better avenue for this than the provincially mandated history course. While teachers do have the pedagogical purview to add to the curriculum, it would seem that this only happens when students present an interest. I would argue that the Québec government has a responsibility to provide an accurate historical representation of its Indigenous populations to all students across Québec.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Recommendations of the Lacoursière Report

THAT history courses be made compulsory in each year of secondary school and that it be allotted 100 hours of teaching time annually;

THAT the compulsory secondary school history courses be sequenced as follows:

Secondary I: General History I: Prehistory, Antiquity, and the Middle Ages;

Secondary II: General History II: The Renaissance, the Modern Era and the Contemporary Period;

Secondary III: History of Québec and Canada I: From Amerindian[sic] prehistory to 1791 or 1840;

Secondary IV: History of Québec and Canada II: From 1791 or 1840 to the Present;

Secondary V: Problems of the Contemporary World.

THAT the secondary school history program include the study of non-western society;

THAT the General History I and II and the History of Quebec and Canada I and II courses give equitable coverage to Native peoples with respect to the role they have played in the history of Québec, Canada or America.

THAT the history of Québec and Canada I and II courses give equitable coverage to the cultural communities with respect to the role they have played in history.

THAT, within each secondary-level history course, teachers who wish to address topics in history that are related to local concerns and needs be allowed to use 20% of the allotted teaching time at their discretion.

THAT the MEQ review the current guidelines for the preparation of the compulsory History of Quebec and Canada examination so as to gradually introduce questions geared to measuring attainment of the main objectives of the course and the degree to which students have mastered specific skills.

THAT questions requiring students to express their thoughts in writing be gradually introduced in the compulsory History of Quebec and Canada.

THAT the MEQ develop a history course adapted to vocational education students and prepare an examination, the passing of which would be compulsory.

THAT students enrolled in general education for adults be required to take History of Quebec and Canada I and II and pass the ministry examination, and that no equivalences be granted.

Appendix B: Ethics Certificate



**CERTIFICATION OF ETHICAL ACCEPTABILITY
FOR RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMAN SUBJECTS**

Name of Applicant: Tabitha McKell
Department: Faculty of Arts and Science\Education
Agency: N/A
Title of Project: Reflections on Change: The Quebec Anglophone Experience with the Revised History Curriculum
Certification Number: 30009839
Valid From: October 19, 2018 **To:** October 18, 2019

The members of the University Human Research Ethics Committee have examined the application for a grant to support the above-named project, and consider the experimental procedures, as outlined by the applicant, to be acceptable on ethical grounds for research involving human subjects.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Shannon Hebblethwaite".

Dr. Shannon Hebblethwaite, Vice Chair, University Human Research Ethics Committee



SUMMARY PROTOCOL FORM (SPF)

Office of
Research – Research Ethics Unit – GM 900 – 514-848-2424 ext. 7481 – oor.ethics@concordia.ca –
www.concordia.ca/offices/oor.html

IMPORTANT INFORMATION FOR ALL RESEARCHERS

Please take note of the following before completing this form:

- You must not conduct research involving human participants until you have received your Certification of Ethical Acceptability for Research Involving Human Subjects (Certificate).
- In order to obtain your Certificate, your study must receive approval from the appropriate committee:
 - Faculty research, and student research involving greater than minimal risk is reviewed by the University Human Research Ethics Committee (UHREC).
 - Minimal risk student research is reviewed by the College of Ethics Reviewers (CER; formerly the “Disciplinary College”), except as stated below.
 - Minimal risk student research conducted exclusively for pedagogical purposes is reviewed at the departmental level. **Do not use this form for such research.** Please use the Abbreviated Summary Protocol Form, available on the Office of Research (OOR) website referenced above, and consult with your academic department for review procedures.
- Research funding will not be released until your Certificate has been issued, and any other required certification (e.g. biohazard, radiation safety) has been obtained. For information about your research funding, please consult:
 - Faculty and staff: OOR
 - Graduate students: School of Graduate Studies
 - Undergraduate students: Financial Aid and Awards Office or the Faculty or Department
- Faculty members are encouraged to submit studies for ethics by uploading this form, as well as all supporting documentation, to ConRAD, which can be found in the MyConcordia portal.

If necessary, faculty members may complete this form and submit it by e-mail to

- along with all supporting documentation. Student researchers are asked to submit this form and all supporting documentation by e-mail, except for departmental review. Please note:
 - Handwritten forms will not be accepted.
 - Incomplete or omitted responses may result in delays.
 - This form expands to accommodate your responses.
- Please allow the appropriate amount of time for your study to be reviewed:
 - UHREC reviews greater than minimal risk research when it meets on the second Thursday of each month. You must submit your study 10 days before the meeting where it is to be reviewed. You will normally receive

a response within one week of the meeting. Please confirm the deadline and date of the meeting with the staff of the Research Ethics Unit.

- CER reviews, and delegated reviews conducted by UHREC generally require 2 to 4 weeks.
- Research must comply with all applicable laws, regulations, and guidelines, including:
 - The [Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans](#)
 - The policies and guidelines of the funding/award agency
 - The [Official Policies of Concordia University](#), including the *Policy for the Ethical Review of Research Involving Human Participants, VPRGS-3*.
- The Certificate is valid for one year. In order to maintain your approval and renew your Certificate, please submit an Annual Report Form one month before the expiry date that appears on the Certificate. You must not conduct research under an expired Certificate.
- Please contact the Manager, Research Ethics at 514-848-2424 ext. 7481 if you need more information on the ethics review process or the ethical requirements that apply to your study.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FOR STUDENT RESEARCHERS

- If your research is part of your faculty supervisor's research, as approved, please have him or her inform the Research Ethics Unit via e-mail that you will be working on the study.
- If your research is an addition to your faculty supervisor's study, please have him or her submit an amendment request, and any revised documents via e-mail. You must not begin your research until the amendment has been approved.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR COMPLETING THIS FORM

- Please make sure that you are using the most recent version of the SPF by checking the OOR website.
- Please answer each question on the form; if you believe the question is not applicable, enter not applicable.
- Do not alter the questions on this form or delete any material. Where questions are followed by a checklist, please answer by checking the applicable boxes.
- The form can be signed and submitted as follows:
 - Faculty research submitted on ConRAD will be considered as signed as per section 16.
 - SPFs for faculty research submitted via the faculty member's official Concordia e-mail address will also be considered as signed as per section 16.
 - Both faculty and student researchers may submit a scanned pdf of the signature page by e-mail. In this case, the full SPF should also be submitted by e-mail in Word or pdf format (not scanned).
 - If you do not have access to a scanner, the signature page may be submitted on paper to the OOR.

ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTS

Please submit any additional documents as separate files in Word or PDF format.

I. BASIC INFORMATION

Study Title: Reflections on Change: The Quebec Anglophone Experience with the Revised History Curriculum

Principal Investigator: Tabitha McKell

Principal Investigator's Status:

- Concordia faculty or staff
- Visiting scholar
- Affiliate researcher
- Postdoctoral fellow
- PhD Student
- Master's student
- Undergraduate student
- Other (please specify):

Type of submission:

- New study
- Modification or an update of an approved study.
- Approved study number (e.g. 30001234): 30009839

Where will the research be conducted?

- Canada
- Another jurisdiction:

2. STUDY TEAM AND CONTACT INFORMATION*

Role	Name	Institution[†]/ Department / Address	Phone #	e-mail address
Principal Investigator	Tabitha McKell	Concordia University/ Department of Education 1455 De Maisonneuve Blvd. W. Montreal, Quebec, Canada H3G 1M8	514-449-2770	tabitha.mckell@gmail.com
Faculty supervisor [§]	Carolina Cambre	Concordia University/ Department of Education 1455 De Maisonneuve Blvd. W. Montreal, Quebec, Canada H3G 1M8	X 2002	carolina.cambre@concordia.ca
Committee member ^l	David Waddington	Concordia University/ Department of Education 1455 De Maisonneuve Blvd. W. Montreal, Quebec, Canada H3G 1M8		
Committee member ^l	Ailie Cleghorn	Concordia University/ Department of Education 1455 De Maisonneuve Blvd. W. Montreal, Quebec, Canada H3G 1M8		

Additional Team Members [°]				
n/a				

Notes:

* If additional space is required, please submit a list of team members as a separate document.

† For team members who are external to Concordia only.

‡ For individuals based at Concordia, please provide only the building and room number, e.g. GM-910.03.

§ For student research only.

¶ For research conducted by PhD and Master's students only.

° Please include all co-investigators and research assistants.

3. PROJECT AND FUNDING SOURCES

Please list all sources of funds that will be used for the research. Please note that fellowships or scholarships are not considered research funding for the purposes of this section.

Funding Source	Project Title*	Grant Number [†]	Award Period	
			Start	End
n/a				

Notes:

* Please provide the project title as it appears on the Notice of Award or equivalent documentation.

† If you have applied for funding, and the decision is still pending, please enter "applied".

4. OTHER CERTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS

Does the research involve any of the following (check all that apply):

- Controlled goods or technology
- Hazardous materials or explosives
- Biohazardous materials
- Human biological specimens

- Radioisotopes, lasers, x-ray equipment or magnetic fields
- Protected acts (requiring professional certification)
- A medical intervention, healthcare intervention or invasive procedures

Please submit any certification or authorization documents that may be relevant to ethics review for research involving human participants.

5. LAY SUMMARY

Please provide a brief description of the research in everyday language. The summary should make sense to a person with no discipline-specific training, and it should not use overly technical terms. Please do not submit your thesis proposal or grant application.

I propose a qualitative case study on Quebec anglophone high school teachers after they experience a major transition in their careers, a change in curriculum. I will examine circumstances that precipitated changes to the Quebec history curriculum in 2007 and in 2016 and investigate how the 2016 curriculum has affected teachers' experiences, practices and livelihood since its implementation. Several teachers will be interviewed individually and asked to provide feedback on the new curriculum. Since this is a qualitative study the main data source will come from interviews with teachers, reflective journals and a personal journal. I am also an anglophone high school history teacher and I will document my own experience as I go through the curriculum change. The interviews will be recorded and transcribed. This research could inform policy and provide a model for implementing curriculum change in the future.

6. RISK LEVEL AND SCHOLARLY REVIEW

As part of the research, will participants be exposed to risk that is greater than minimal?

Minimal risk means that the probability and magnitude of the risks are greater than those to which participants would be exposed in those aspects of their daily lives that are pertinent to the research.

- Yes
- No

Has this research received favorable review for scholarly merit?

Scholarly review is not required for minimal risk research.

For faculty research, funding from a granting agency such as CIHR, FQRSC, or CINO is considered evidence of such review. Please provide the name of the agency.

For student research, a successful defense of a thesis or dissertation proposal is considered evidence of such review. Please provide the date of your proposal defense.

- Yes Funding agency or date of defense: August 28, 2018
- No
- Not required

If you answered no, please submit a Scholarly Review Form, available on the OOR website. For studies to be conducted at the PERFORM Centre, please submit the Scientific Review Evaluator Worksheet.

7. RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

Will any of the participants be part of the following categories? N/A

- Minors (individuals under 18 years old)
 - Individuals with diminished mental capacity
 - Individuals with diminished physical capacity
 - Members of Canada's First Nations, Inuit, or Métis peoples
 - Vulnerable individuals or groups (vulnerability may be caused by limited capacity, or limited access to social goods, such as rights, opportunities and power, and includes individuals or groups whose situation or circumstances make them vulnerable in the context of the research project, or those who live with relatively high levels of risk on a daily basis)
- a)** Please describe potential participants, including any inclusion or exclusion criteria.

The 12 participants will be certified teachers who have experience teaching the Quebec history program. Participants must be anglophone and have taught the 2006 and 2016 Quebec history program. Participants will be over the age of 18.

- b) Please describe in detail how potential participants will be identified, and invited to participate. Please submit any recruitment materials to be used, for example, advertisements or letters to participants.

I will contact potential participants several ways. First, I will use my own personal network to contact participants through email, Facebook or word-of-mouth. Second, I plan to present a lecture on the history program at the annual teachers' conference in November, 2018, and ask for participants after the presentation. Potential participants will be provided a brief explanation of the study by email and asked to respond if they are interested in participating (see attached sample e-mail to teachers). I will then meet the teachers individually and obtain written consent prior to conducting the interviews. I will offer participants a 20\$ gift card if they agree to do the interview.

- c) Please describe in detail what participants will be asked to do as part of the research, and any procedures they will be asked to undergo. Please submit any instruments to be used to gather data, for example questionnaires or interview guides.

Participants will be asked to participate in a scheduled interview that will last 1-2 hours. During this interview, they will be recorded on zoomH5 portable audio recorder and on my iPhone. They will be asked to fill in a short background questionnaire and asked a series of questions. From the moment consent has been given, participants' answers, concerns and opinions will not be discussed with others in order to guarantee privacy, to allow for free thought and to build trust. Contact with participants will be scheduled. I will make myself available via e-mail for questions and concerns regarding this study and will respect any decision to withdraw. I will transcribe the interview and send a copy to the participant via email. The participant will have one week to request changes to the transcript. If the participant wishes to change or withdraw any comments, their decision will be respected. I will change all of my records as per their request and then send them a second copy with changes. Once the participant has agreed to the changes, I will make all of my records reflect this change permanently.

- d) Do any of the research procedures require special training, such as medical procedures or conducting interviews on sensitive topics or with vulnerable populations? If so, please indicate who will conduct the procedures and what their qualifications are.

n/a

8. INFORMED CONSENT

- a) Please explain how you will solicit informed consent from potential participants. Please submit your written consent form. In certain circumstances, oral consent may be appropriate. If you intend to use an oral consent procedure, please submit a consent script containing the same elements as the template, and describe how consent will be documented.

Please note: written consent forms and oral consent scripts should follow the consent form template available on the OOR website. Please include all of the information shown in the sample, adapting it as necessary for your research.

The participants will be emailed a copy of the written consent form to read. I will meet with them to explain what participating in the study will entail, to discuss the procedures used to maintain

confidentiality and to answer any related questions. I will outline the benefits and risks, as well as the time contribution they will be expected to make. A copy of the signed consent forms will be collected prior to the start of the interview.

- b) Does your research involve individuals belonging to cultural traditions in which individualized consent may not be appropriate, or in which additional consent, such as group consent or consent from community leaders, may be required? If so, please describe the appropriate format of consent, and how you will solicit it.

This is not the case with the teachers involved in this study.

9. DECEPTION

Does your research involve any form of deception of participants? If so, please describe the deception, explain why the deception is necessary, and explain how participants will be de-briefed at the end of their participation. If applicable, please submit a debriefing script.

Please note that deception includes giving participants false information, withholding relevant information, and providing information designed to mislead.

There is no deception planned for this study. I do not foresee a need for deception ever arising at any point during this study.

10. PARTICIPANT WITHDRAWAL

- a) Please explain how participants will be informed that they are free to discontinue at any time, and describe any limitations on this freedom that may result from the nature of the research.

Participants will be told that they are allowed to withdraw from the study at the first point of contact via email. Moreover, the consent form, which all participants must read and sign, addresses the freedom to discontinue participation without penalty and outlines the procedure for doing so. All documents stipulate that participants will no longer be able to withdraw consent once they approve the final interview transcript because after that point it will be difficult to disaggregate the participant's data from the analysis.

- b) Please explain what will happen to the information obtained from a participant if he or she withdraws. For example, will their information be destroyed or excluded from analysis if the participant requests it? Please describe any limits on withdrawing a participant's data, such as a deadline related to publishing data.

The participant will be able to withdraw consent up until the moment they approve the final transcript. If the participant wishes to withdraw consent, all notes in regard to the participant will be shredded. The audio recording and transcript will be deleted from all drives. No data gathered from that participant will be used in the analysis.

11. RISKS AND BENEFITS

- a) Please identify any foreseeable benefits to participants.

I do not foresee any benefits to participants.

b) Please identify any foreseeable risks to participants, including any physical or psychological discomfort, and risks to their relationships with others, or to their financial well-being.

Participants could experience anxiety or distress during this study due to fears of misrepresentation, disclosure of identity and/or personal information. Participants could also feel discomfort at the amount of time they have to set aside for the interview and to review the transcript. Finally, during the interviews, participants could potentially reveal distressing work situations.

c) Please describe how the risks identified above will be minimized. For example, if individuals who are particularly susceptible to these risks will be excluded from participating, please describe how they will be identified. Furthermore, if there is a chance that researchers will discontinue participants' involvement for their own well-being, please state the criteria that will be used.

Risks will be minimized by providing the participants with clear information during recruitment and allowing participants to make informed decisions whether or not to participate. Prior to the participants' signing of the consent form, the researcher will highlight how the consent form contains the contact information of the Ethics committee should the participant feel misrepresented at any point during the study; Moreover, the researcher will also highlight how the study has been vetted by a team of qualified researchers. The length and duration of interviews and transcript reviews are clearly stated, allowing those who would feel discomfort at the amount of time required to participate to decline participation. The interview questions do not solicit stories that could cause discomfort, and in order to avoid incidental discomforts during questioning, participants will be given a list of questions prior to the start of the interview and asked to answer only those that appeal to them.

d) Please describe how you will manage the situation if the risks described above are realized. For example, if referrals to appropriate resources are available, please provide a list. If there is a chance that participants will need first aid or medical attention, please describe what arrangements have been made.

If the risks above are realized, the researcher will provide support to the participant depending upon the situation. Should participants fear misrepresentation the researcher will assure the participant that they are using up-to-date and rigorous methods of analysis for qualitative data and that they are doing all possible to eliminate potential misuse of the information gathered. Should participants fear disclosure of identity or personal information the researcher will confirm to the participant that their name will not be revealed on any documents associated with the study except the consent form which guarantees them anonymity. If the interview risks running beyond the allotted time, the researcher will inform the participant and obtain their verbal consent to move forward. The researcher will also let the participant know that this will lengthen the transcript and thereby their time reviewing the transcript. Should any potentially damaging work situations be revealed the researcher will refer each teacher to their local union and/or CLSC for support. The researcher will have copies available of the form: Teachers' Resources.

12. REPORTABLE SITUATIONS AND INCIDENTAL FINDINGS

a) Is there a chance that the research might reveal a situation that would have to be reported to appropriate authorities, such as child abuse or an imminent threat of serious harm to specific individuals? If so, please describe the situation, and how it would be handled.

Please note that legal requirements apply in such situations. It is the researcher's responsibility to be familiar with the laws in force in the jurisdiction where the research is being conducted.

It is possible that a teacher could reveal a situation where they are abusing a minor. If this is the case, I will discontinue the interview and contact the police and youth protection services.

- b) Is there a chance that the research might reveal a material incidental finding? If so, please describe how it would be handled.

Please note that a material incidental finding is an unanticipated discovery made in the course of research but that is outside the scope of the research, such as a previously undiagnosed medical or psychiatric condition that has significant welfare implications for the participant or others.

Incidental findings during the course of this study are unlikely. Should an incidental finding be revealed they will be dealt with according to the nature of the finding. For instance, should the participant present extreme views the interview will continue and the results will be used in data analysis. Should the participant use hate speech the interview will be terminated and the appropriate authorities contacted. Should the participant reveal that they are abusing a minor, the interview will be stopped and the appropriate authorities will be contacted. Should the participant reveal that they are the subject of threats or workplace harassment, I will refer them immediately to a teachers' union and/or CLSC obtain their consent to continue the interview.

13. CONFIDENTIALITY, ACCESS, AND STORAGE

- a) Please describe the path of your data from collection to storage to its eventual archiving or disposal, including details on short and long-term storage (format, duration, and location), measures taken to prevent unauthorized access, who will have access, and final destination (including archiving, or destruction).

Data will be recorded digitally on a zoom recording device and on my iPhone where it will be later transcribed. All data, which I collect personally, will be kept either on my person or in a locked cabinet in my place of residence. No data will be left or stored at work, school or any other insecure location. Written data will be kept in labeled notebooks and most data will be stored electronically both on my home computer and on a personal flash drive. All data will be secured for five years following the completion of the master's thesis, at which point it will be destroyed.

- b) Please identify the access that the research team will have to participants' identity:

<input type="checkbox"/>	Anonymous	The information provided never had identifiers associated with it, and the risk of identification of individuals is low, or very low.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Anonymous results, but identify who participated	The information provided never had identifiers associated with it. The research team knows participants' identity, but it would be impossible to link the information provided to link the participant's identity.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Pseudonym	Information provided will be linked to an individual, but that individual will only provide a fictitious name. The research team will not know the real identity of the participant.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Coded	Direct identifiers will be removed and replaced with a code on the information provided. Only specific individuals have access to the code, meaning that they can re-identify the participant if necessary.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Indirectly identified	The information provided is not associated with direct identifiers (such as the participant's name), but it is associated with information that can reasonably be expected to identify an individual through a combination of indirect identifiers (such as place of residence, or unique personal characteristics).
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Confidential	The research team will know the participants' real identity, but it will not be disclosed.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Disclosed	The research team will know the participants' real identity, and it will be revealed in accordance with their consent.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Participant Choice	Participants will be able to choose which level of disclosure they wish for their real identity.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other (please describe)	

c) Please describe what access research participants will have to study results, and any debriefing information that will be provided to participants post-participation.

There are no other researchers involved in this study.

d) Would the revelation of participants' identity be particularly sensitive, for example, because they belong to a stigmatized group? If so, please describe any special measures that you will take to respect the wishes of your participants regarding the disclosure of their identity.

I will interview 10-12 teachers. I have no reason to assume this group is a particularly vulnerable or stigmatized, but regardless, their identities will not be revealed at any point during the research process.

Their names will not be written on any documents associated with the study and will be replaced with pseudonyms.

e) In some research traditions, such as action research, and research of a socio-political nature, there can be concerns about giving participant groups a “voice”. This is especially the case with groups that have been oppressed or whose views have been suppressed in their cultural location. If these concerns are relevant for your participant group, please describe how you will address them in your project.

n/a

14. MULTI-JURISDICTIONAL RESEARCH

Does your research involve researchers affiliated with an institution other than Concordia? If so, please complete the following table, including the Concordia researcher’s role and activities to be conducted at Concordia. If researchers have multiple institutional affiliations, please include a line for each institution.

Researcher’s Name	Institutional Affiliation	Role in the research (e.g. principal investigator, co-investigator, collaborator)	What research activities will be conducted at each institution?

15. ADDITIONAL ISSUES

Bearing in mind the ethical guidelines of your academic or professional association, please comment on any other ethical concerns which may arise in the conduct of this research. For example, are there responsibilities to participants beyond the purposes of this study?

I do not see any ethical guidelines being crossed during the course of this study.

16. DECLARATION AND SIGNATURE

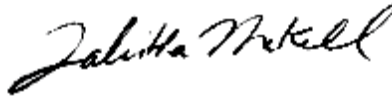
Study Title: Reflections on Change: Quebec Anglophone Experiences with the Revised History Curriculum

I hereby declare that this Summary Protocol Form accurately describes the research project or scholarly activity that I plan to conduct. I will submit a detailed modification request if I wish to make modifications to this research.

I agree to conduct all activities conducted in relation to the research described in this form in compliance with all applicable laws, regulations, and guidelines, including:

- The [Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans](#)
- The policies and guidelines of the funding/award agency
- The [Official Policies of Concordia University](#), including the *Policy for the Ethical Review of Research Involving Human Participants, VPRGS-3*.

Principal Investigator Signature:



Date: September 3, 2018

FACULTY SUPERVISOR STATEMENT (REQUIRED FOR STUDENT PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATORS):

I have read and approved this project. I affirm that it has received the appropriate academic approval, and that the student investigator is aware of the applicable policies and procedures governing the ethical conduct of human participant research at Concordia University. I agree to provide all necessary supervision to the student. I allow release of my nominative information as required by these policies and procedures in relation to this project.

Faculty Supervisor Signature: _____

Date: _____



INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM

Study Title: Reflections on Change: The Quebec Anglophone Experiences with the Revised History Curriculum

Researcher: Tabitha McKell

Researcher's Contact Information: 514-449-2770 tabitha.mckell@gmail.com

Faculty Supervisor: Carolina Cambre

Faculty Supervisor's Contact Information: carolina.cambre@concordia.ca

Source of funding for the study: n/a

You are being invited to participate in the research study mentioned above. This form provides information about what participating would mean. Please read it carefully before deciding if you want to participate or not. If there is anything you do not understand, or if you want more information, please ask the researcher.

A. PURPOSE

The purpose of this research is to study and record experiences of Quebec Anglophone high school teachers as they experience a major transition in their career, a change in curriculum. Through individual interviews with teachers, I will examine cultural and historical contexts of the Quebec high school history curriculum and observe how changes to this curriculum could impact teachers' experiences, practices and livelihoods. Several teachers will be interviewed individually and asked to provide feedback on the new curriculum. Since this is a qualitative study, the main empirical data source will come from interviews with teachers, reflective journals and a personal journal. I am a history teacher myself and I will document my own experience as I go through the curriculum change. Your interview will be recorded and subsequently transcribed. All the information gathered will be used towards the completion of a master's thesis. This research could inform policy and provide a model for curriculum change in the future.

B. PROCEDURES

If you participate, you will be asked to complete a short background questionnaire and then interviewed about your experiences as a history teacher. This should take 1-2 hours. Your

interview will be transcribed and you will be provided with a copy of the transcript. If you wish to make any changes to the content of the transcript, you will be allowed to do so within 1 (one) week of receiving it. Once you agree to the final transcript, you can no longer withdraw your consent to participate in the study.

In total, participating in this study will take a maximum of three hours of your time. Two hours for the interview and one hour to review the transcript. It is not mandatory to review the transcript. The researcher would like to reserve the right to contact you after the interview if she has questions.

C. RISKS AND BENEFITS

There are no risks by participating in this research.

This research is not intended to benefit you personally.

D. CONFIDENTIALITY

We will gather the following information as part of this research: Stories about your work experience. No personal information, such as your name or school board, will be recorded.

We will not allow anyone to access the information, except people directly involved in conducting the research. We will only use the information for the purposes of the research described in this form.

The information gathered will be anonymous. That means that it will not be possible to make a link between you and the information you provide.

We will protect the information by not relating the name of the participant to any documents associated with the study.

We intend to publish the results of the research. However, it will not be possible to identify you in the published results.

We will destroy the information five years after the end of the study by shredding all paper documents and deleting all digital files.

In exceptional situations we might be legally required to disclose the information that you provide. This includes situations where the participant reveals that they are abusing a minor or using hate speech. If this kind of situation arises, we will disclose the information as required by law, despite what is written in this form.

F. CONDITIONS OF PARTICIPATION

You do not have to participate in this research. It is purely your decision. If you do participate, you can stop at any time. You can also ask that the information you provided not be used, and your choice will be respected. If you decide that you don't want us to use your information, you must tell the researcher within 1 (one) week of receiving your transcript.

There are no negative consequences for not participating, stopping in the middle, or asking us not to use your information.

G. PARTICIPANT'S DECLARATION

I have read and understood this form. I have had the chance to ask questions and any questions have been answered. I agree to participate in this research under the conditions described.

NAME (please print)

SIGNATURE _____

DATE _____

If you have questions about the scientific or scholarly aspects of this research, please contact the researcher. Their contact information is on page 1. You may also contact their faculty supervisor.

If you have concerns about ethical issues in this research, please contact the Manager, Research Ethics, Concordia University, 514.848.2424 ex. 7481 or oor.ethics@concordia.ca.

Appendix E: Background Questionnaire and Interview Guide

Background Questionnaire

1) *Where did you attend...*

a) *Elementary school?*

b) *High school?*

c) *Cegep?*

d) *University?*

2) *How long have you been employed as a teacher in Quebec?*

3) *What kinds of schools have you taught at? Public? Private? Levels? Ages of students?*

Interview Guide

1. Describe your experience teaching and living in Quebec

What courses are regularly a part of your workload?

How did you become a teacher? Why do you teach?

What influences your teaching?

Does your teaching relate to your community?

What are your experiences with the Quebec Referendums?

2. Describe your experience teaching history

How did you start teaching history?

Are there support networks for curriculum in your school, if so what are they?

How do you typically prepare for your classes?

How do you typically know that you have taught what you need to teach?

3. Describe the 2006 history program

Do you know what happened with the history program in 2006? Can you explain?

Did you teach the course? How did you get into teaching that course?

How did you, your peers and/or students respond to the program?

How would you describe the course text books, materials and final exam?

In what language did you instruct the class?

4. Describe the 2016-7 history program

Tell me about the new history program.

What changed in the history program?

Tell me about your experiences teaching the new program.

Tell me about your students' and/or peers' responses to the new program.

What teaching materials do you use? Can you describe the new textbooks?

How do you prepare for the course?

How is the new program different from the 2006 program?

In what language do you instruct the class?

5. Do you have any final ideas, stories or comments that you would like to share

Appendix F: Recruitment Documents

Recruitment e-mail for participant teachers

Subject line: Concordia University Research Study on the Quebec History Program

Dear (Teacher),

My name is Tabitha McKell. I know you from _____ or have been referred to you by _____ or met you at _____. I am a secondary four history teacher who is currently completing studies towards a master's degree at Concordia University. My field of interest is educational policy in Quebec, and as a part of my thesis I am conducting a case study on teachers' experiences with the new grade 10 history curriculum. I am inviting you to participate in my study because you are familiar with the Quebec history program. If you participate, you will receive a 20\$ gift card.

My study is titled "Reflections on Change: Quebec Anglophone Experiences with the Revised History Curriculum". I will examine the cultural and historical context of the Quebec high school history curriculum and examine how a change to this curriculum affects teachers' experiences, practices and livelihoods. I will interview several history teachers about their experience with the past and new history curriculum. All information gathered from this study, including personal names, place names and school boards, will remain confidential. This means that no one will be able to make the link between you and the information gathered. All the information gathered will be used for strictly academic purposes.

Participation is voluntary and you can withdraw your consent at any time up until you approve the final interview transcript. If you choose to withdraw, all your information will be erased from my files. Should you volunteer, I would interview you for approximately 2 hours. Then, I will send you a transcript of our interview and you will have one week to review the document and make changes, should you feel it necessary.

If you are interested in participating, please read the attached information and consent form and respond to this email or call me. If you have any questions, do not hesitate to ask.

Sincerely,

Tabitha McKell
Concordia University
514-449-2770

Facebook post

Hello, my name is Tabitha McKell. I am conducting a case study on teachers' experiences with the new grade 9 and 10 history curriculum in Quebec. If you are teaching or have taught the new program and are interested in participating in a study, please send me an email! (I will only take up a few hours of your time, and if you participate, you will receive a 20\$ gift card!)

Thanks! tabitha.mckell@gmail.com

NOTE: If a teacher contacted me through the facebook I would then send them the recruitment email.

Appendix G: Participant Pseudonyms

Participant 1 Emma

Participant 2 William

Participant 3 Liam

Participant 4 Thomas

Participant 5 Alice

Participant 6 Noah

Participant 7 Olivia

Participant 8 Lea

Appendix H: Summary of the Findings of the History Experts Committee

- The program focuses narrowly on the experience of and events pertaining to the French Canadiens/Québécois, from contact until the present day. It pays too little attention to other Canadian content.
- Nationalism further narrows the focus, as it is not addressed as part of a larger phenomenon having its roots in Europe in the late 18th century.
- Although the program encourages a “constructivist” approach to history, it inculcates students with a particular view and identity. Therefore, students are not taught to see the complexities of history and exercise their critical thinking skills.
- The program is driven by a particular view of the past and its connection to a specific vision of the present and future. Such an approach does not support the liberalism which the program upholds as a hallmark of 21st century Québec.
- For all the coverage of the Indigenous peoples, of the Inuit, of women, there are no insights into their versions of Québec. Those who identify with Irish, Jewish, Italian, Haitian, Greek, Portuguese or with other ethnic, cultural or racial minorities, also seem to have no perspectives on Quebec history and identity.