increased school funding and class sizes, while imposing standardized testing, school consolidation, and increasingly rigid controls on collective beginning—a process that has rendered public schools, in the words of one of Bocking’s interviewees, mere “service providers” for a system geared to commercial rather than educational ends (227; 236). When the political winds shifted to the right in 2011, the Ontario government altered its approach accordingly. It cut $500 million from the 2012 budget, instituted salary freezes, and worked the media to ensure that teachers were widely perceived as “well off and spoiled” (227). That same year, the province went further still, introducing the Putting Teacher’s First Act, which imposed contracts upon two of the three teachers’ unions, in a move that contravened Canada’s Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The Liberals eventually rescinded the Act, admitting that they might have gone too far, but only after the move “served its purpose,” which was, as the teachers interviewed made clear, to undermine teacher professional autonomy (228). Overall, it was, as Bocking argues, McGuinty and Wynne, and not Harris, who normalized neoliberalism in Ontario education by giving it a progressive sheen—one that provides cover for its more utilitarian aims, and that makes it readily exportable to other national and international contexts.

Though Public Education, Neoliberalism, and Teachers: New York, Mexico City, Toronto will prove most useful to those studying education in North America, it will give those interested in neoliberalism more generally much to reflect upon. Though it is not a work of history, Bocking is careful to historicize his social scientific work, and the wealth of detail he provides in all three of his case studies—much of it previously untapped by scholars—will undoubtedly enrich the work of educational, economic, and labour historians grappling with the development of the most potent and controversial ideological formation of our time.

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Stéphane Lévesque and Jean-Philippe Croteau

Beyond History for Historical Consciousness: Students, Narrative, and Memory


When academic research and writing focuses specifically on student voice and experience, it comes the closest to understanding the multiple worlds sitting within our students during our teaching. Understanding these worlds helps us, as educators, better develop a community of teaching and learning with content and ideas that may be difficult or new for students as well as for us. However, in the field of history education, full-length manuscripts related to student experience are rare. This is why publications like Stéphane Lévesque and Jean-Philippe Croteau’s new manuscript Beyond History for Historical Consciousness: Students, Narrative, and Memory, published by the University of Toronto Press, are important for developing academic dialogue
related to how students come to, and leave, their history education. Lévesque and Croteau position themselves in this gap by beginning *Beyond History for Historical Consciousness* stating how it is “striking” how “little policy has been informed by empirical research about students” (11). However, despite its best attempts, this book does not generate insight related to students in ways that might develop closer teaching and learning communities. It left me wondering how we can better centre the need for understanding the multifaceted nature of the lives of our history students in our teaching and scholarship.

I came to read Lévesque and Croteau’s manuscript with an expectation that the research would go *beyond* popular conceptions of historical consciousness using the narratives and memories of youth who live within Canada. These seem like sound expectations for a book titled *Beyond History for Historical Consciousness: Students, Narrative, and Memory*. Instead, the book provides a taxonomy for understanding French-Canadian students’ understanding of French-Canadian history and a theoretical extension to historical consciousness, without making clear and substantial connections between the two or undertaking critical explorations of the narratives and memories of youth within Canada. The data provided in this manuscript is a valuable contribution to Canadian history education scholarship, but it is offered without a broader, critical analysis that can be extrapolated beyond the case at hand.

The book presents the findings from a 2016 pan-university research project led by Lévesque and Croteau along with Anne Gilbert and Jocelyn Létourneau. This project draws on Létourneau’s earlier research published in 2000 and 2014, with Létourneau writing a foreword to the book. The introduction and conclusion to *Beyond History for Historical Consciousness* explore different interpretations of historical consciousness, specifically using an orientation to historical consciousness theorized by Jörn Rüsen, but also building on the work of Peter Seixas. Chapters 1 through 5 explore the data collected from over 600 Francophone youth in Quebec and Ontario. From this data, the authors (and research team) identify five different narrative orientations—modernization, Indigenous perspectives, descriptive, life story, and undermined—and discuss these orientations within the dimensions of geography, gender and language, and a deeper understanding of collective identity and narrative competence.

The comparison between Quebeccois students and French-Canadian students in Ontario is interesting and helps the reader think about the different ancestral, regional, linguistic, provincial, and national identities of the two groups. Using that taxonomy as the key area of discussion, however, makes it difficult to extrapolate the authors’ findings to the experience of students, French-Canadian or otherwise, outside of Quebec and Ontario. Furthermore, while students were quoted extensively and their rhetorical strategies explored as elements of narrative orientations to historical consciousness, they were presented through a prism of advanced adult theoretical understanding not broadened by research on youth and their cultures. I expected to see engagement with literature on youth cultures, especially as related to history and identity, such as Ostashewski, Frey, and Johnson’s research on youth coming together to create art-based explorations of shared histories, but
these connections were absent.¹ Such explorations of identity, history, place, and memory have expanded the ways one might approach the concept(s) of historical consciousness but instead, in this book, youths’ responses are positioned as a given, as examples of established narrative and memory, without interrogating them to see if these responses were indicative of students’ beliefs, as well as knowledge, about the past.²

The weight of these shortfalls is felt in the book’s lack of critical analysis that comes from Indigenous epistemologies, critical race theory, intersectional feminist theory, transnational theory, and other critical lenses. Without these theoretical tools, conclusions are often made without firm grounding in the literature that helps see nuanced dimensions of identity, historical narrative, and memory. For example, chapter 3 looks at narrative orientations from perspectives of gender and language. In the conclusion of the gender section, the authors write:

the narratives of young Quebec and Ontario men present political and military perspectives, often more defeatist in outlook as well as less optimistic about the future of French Canadians. Female students adhere to more socio-cultural and affirmative visions of the past, focused on the social dimensions of French Canada. This reveals the significant yet still marginalized role of women in shaping society. (99; my emphasis)

This statement of findings raises more questions than answers. Specifically: How do these findings “reveal” the “significant yet still marginalized role of women in shaping society”? Are “women” in this context the young women who are part of this research and/or women in contemporary society and/or women in the past? And which element of women’s “role” (to say nothing about men’s “role”) are being pulled out as significant, yet marginalized, in this framework? And marginalized by whom? The students? Society in general?

Perhaps I wanted more or expected different than this book was prepared to give. While I take some issue with methodology and the findings that come from this methodology, fundamentally I was looking for different, more complex, more intersectional understandings of history, historical consciousness, students, narrative, and memory that this book is not prepared to wrestle with. I expect that this book will be oft-cited in its review and analysis of historical consciousness and its taxonomy of students’ narrative understanding. However, I expect these citations will highlight these findings as a starting point for more critical in-depth analysis rather than a conclusive, and critical, summary. Frankly, the more research that uses student voices in thinking about Canadian history education the better, but I encourage these voices

to change how we come to understand the task of teaching and learning Canadian history, not augment the practices and ideas we currently have.

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Historical Studies in Education/Revue d’histoire de l’éducation recently published a review by Alexandre Lanoix of Stéphane Lévesque and Jean-Philippe Croteau’s L’avenir du passé: Identité, mémoire et récits de la jeunesse québécoise et franco-ontarienne (University of Ottawa Press, 2020): https://historicalstudiesineducation.ca/index.php/edu_hse-rhe/article/view/4917. This issue of the journal features the above review by Samantha Cutrara of Stéphane Lévesque and Jean-Philippe Croteau’s Beyond History for Historical Consciousness: Students, Narrative, and Memory (University of Toronto Press, 2020). As the publishers state, these two texts are not translations of each other but are two independent texts from a common research base.

Rie Croll
Shaped by Silence: Stories from the Inmates of the Good Shepherd Laundries and Reformatories

Sociologist Rie Croll’s Shaped by Silence documents the oral histories of five women who were confined to the Good Shepherd Magdalene Laundries (run by the Good Shepherd Sisters, a congregation of the Roman Catholic Church) across Canada, Australia, and Ireland between the 1930s and 1960s. The Magdalene Laundry system originated in France and expanded to Canada, Ireland, Australia, and beyond in the 1840s. These institutions were called laundries because girls and women were put to work laundering or cleaning. They often served as the public laundry. The Good Shepherd laundry aim was to provide perceived immoral women “moral protection” and to reshape women into the “image of pure womanhood” (3). Croll clarifies that, although pregnancy was the primary reason why a woman would be sentenced to the Magdalene laundries, they were not solely for unwed mothers. Croll reveals the nuance of individual oral histories and what led to each woman’s incarceration as well as the harmful legacies of the laundries, rather than penning these experiences as the same. For example, one woman was born at the laundry after her mother was sexually assaulted. Others escaped abuse or were presumed unmanageable. These stories convey how patriarchal structures sentenced young women to Good Shepherd laundries as punishment for their perceived immorality.