Multicultural Education: The State of the Art

Studies of Canadian Heritage

A Study sponsored by the Canadian Association of Second Language Teachers

Keith A. McLeod
Editor
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<td>Multicultural Education: The State of the Art — National Study, is a project of the Canadian Association of Second Language Teachers and other supportive national organizations. These are: Canadian Council for Multicultural and Intercultural Education; Canadian Council for Multicultural Health; Teachers of English as a Second Language — Canada; Canadian Ethnocultural Council. The Department of Canadian Heritage, Hon. Sheila Finestone, Secretary of State, Multiculturalism and Status of Women, is providing support, as are the participating organizations, individuals, and the Faculty of Education, University of Toronto. The National Director of the study is Keith A. McLeod, Assistant Director, Zita De Koninck.</td>
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Introduction

This is the second publication of Multicultural Education: The State of the Art, sponsored by the Canadian Association of Second Language Teachers (CASLT) and other national organizations. Two more publications are anticipated; one in French that will address diversity in Francophone education, and a final publication of other studies that are being undertaken or that are supported by this national project.

The studies included in this publication again address pluralism — ethnic, racial, religious and linguistic pluralism in Canada. As CASLT is an organization that particularly focuses on linguistic pluralism, so these studies primarily reflect language diversity in Canada. However, other forms of pluralism are included as well: for example, racial and ethnic pluralism in the work of Cynthia Taylor, McGuckin and Carney, Sahay, Kehoe and Segawa, and Lundy and Lawrence. Similarly, as in Report #1, individual, group, and systemic issues are addressed.

We hope that educators across the country find these studies useful in improving the education of all children. All children need an education that supports their identity, that teaches them how to combat discrimination, that is anti-racist and which provides for the linguistic heritage of Canadians. A country’s most important resource is its people. The Canadian people bring a wealth of cultures to the overall Canadian culture; Canada is one of the richest countries of the world. This report encourages us to make use of all our wealth.

Keith McLeod
April 20, 1995
Dedicated to the late Juliet Cuenco

Department of Canadian Heritage
Government of Canada

Juliet was most supportive and helpful in launching this study. We dedicate this publication to her memory. She was one of the most joyful persons I have had the pleasure of working with.

Keith A. McLeod
National Director
Introduction

Over the last three decades, models of bilingual education throughout the world have received substantial research support. Indeed, ever since the publication of Peal and Lambert's classic 1962 study, which turned the tide in the field of education, such models have been shown consistently to have beneficial effects on all kinds of learners in diverse types of schooling contexts. In the seventies and eighties, the concept of bilingual education gained acceptability and respect within the framework of the Canadian elementary school system thanks to the Peal and Lambert study. With the passing of the Multiculturalism Act in 1971, Alberta became the first province to translate the implications of the study into practice by passing legislation permitting the use of languages other than English or French in the classroom (see Cummins and Danesi 1990 for a global assessment of the history of heritage bilingual education in Canada). Since then, similar educational programs have been established throughout Canada, generating an abundance of interest and research activity on the verbal, cognitive, social, and academic consequences ensuing from learning and the use of more than one language at school, especially when one of the languages is the mother tongue of the immigrant child.

The work of Jim Cummins of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (e.g. 1978, 1979, 1981, 1984, 1989, Cummins and Swain 1986) carried forward the momentum initiated by Peal and Lambert by documenting and explaining the effects of various forms of bilingual education on children from diverse sociocultural backgrounds and within a wide range of learning contexts. His research has made an especially eloquent case for the formalized learning of the mother tongue in elementary school, a learning situation that appears to enhance not only the global verbal skills of the minority-language child, but also the child's overall academic development. Parenthetically, the research has also discovered that majority-language children studying and using another language in elementary school also derive significant verbal and academic benefits from such an experience, paralleling the well-documented French immersion experience (e.g. Swain and Lapkin 1982, Swain and Carroll 1987). In a nutshell, the picture that has taken shape from the research literature shows that bilingual forms of schooling, especially in the case of children from immigrant backgrounds, tends to produce effective and flexible learners.

Despite this empirical support base, the heated debate over bilingual education has not subsided; the research findings have not allayed fears that bilingual models of education, particularly of the type that involves the academic utilization of the mother tongues of immigrant children, might hamper the educational progress of such children. The debate that Peal and Lambert's seminal 1962 study and Cummins' pivotal research was supposed to have ended, has now been rekindled, prompted in large part by widely-read popular books, like the recent one by Rosalie Pedalino Porter (1990), and by media reports and exposés which have become more and more acerbic and caustic in their attack on bilingualism, pluralism, and multiculturalism in Canada and the United States.

What has happened? Why has the question of the suitability of bilingual education—especially for minority-language children who seem to need it the most—resurfaced, a little more than three decades after the Peal and Lambert watershed study? Is bilingual education indeed a viable form of education for immigrants? This paper will attempt to answer these questions.

The Development of Language in Childhood

The scientific study of verbal development in childhood is a relatively recent academic enterprise, dating back only to the latter years of the previous century. The three main historical periods into which this field of investigation is generally subdivided are: (1) the “diary” studies (1876-1926), a period marked by the use of diaries or biographical annotations of an individual child's daily verbal development; (2) the behaviorist studies (1926-1957), a period characterized by the systematic observations of the verbal behavior manifested by children selected at random from the population; and (3) the longitudinal studies (1957-present), a period distinguished
by studies of verbal development over a specified stretch of time (Ingram 1989: 7-31). Since the research techniques and theoretical positions put forward in this domain have been extended to the study of primary bilingual language development — i.e. of bilingual development in infancy and childhood — it is worthwhile to give a schematic outline here of the main findings and ideas produced in this field.

Especially worthy of note is the work of the linguist Roman Jakobson (1941), who was among the first to investigate the universal stages through which children passed on their way to the development of their native phonological systems. According to Jakobson, children learn to use linguistic sounds to refer to objects and events in their immediate environment by first learning the main distinctive categories of sound (e.g. consonants vs. vowels) and then by further discriminating among the significant differences within each category (known technically as progressive phonemic differentiation).

In the sixties, the work of the psychologist Martin Braine (e.g. 1963, 1971) set the tone and scientific discourse for the study of verbal development. He noticed that around the first year of life children invariably developed a form of speech which he designated as holophrastic. The holophrases, or one-word, utterances that children typically produce at this point in their cognitive growth are essentially entire messages (phrases, sentences, etc.) compressed into single words. These suggest that a vast amount of conceptual development has already taken place in the child, since the child is now capable of naming objects and events in his or her immediate environment, of expressing actions or the desire to carry out actions, and of transmitting emotional states. At eighteen months, the first indications of syntax become obvious, as the child starts using two- and three-word utterances to carry the load of meaning-making and message-construction. Referring to this stage as telegraphic, Braine and other researchers noted that the order in which the child enunciates his or her words is not random, but rather, dependent upon an emerging grammatical system, which he called a "pivot grammar," given that some of the words functioned as grammatical pivots ("more," "less," etc.) while others belonged to a more open lexical class. In 1970, the psycholinguist Roger Brown pointed out that the open forms of a pivot grammar have specific signifying and communicative functions, such as naming, warning, recurrence, and so on.

Perhaps the greatest influence on child language research in the sixties, seventies, and eighties, even if it is now questioned by a growing number of researchers, is the innatist perspective put forth by the linguist Noam Chomsky and by his many followers (e.g. 1957, 1965, 1966, 1982, 1986, 1990). The Chomskyan view of language ontogenesis was, at first, a counterproposal to Skinner's (1957) radical behaviorist perspective, in that it maintained that the human organism is equipped at birth with the ability to make grammatical hypotheses which allow the child to impose a conceptual structure on the environment. The facts of language acquisition, Chomsky argued, reveal rather clearly that human infants possess a species-specific capacity to develop their native-language grammars by simply being exposed to verbal input. In 1967, in a study that has become a classic work of reference, Eric Lenneberg appeared to give this perspective some biological corroboration by showing that certain milestones in verbal development were reached in accordance with a fixed chronological sequence that is strictly interlinked with psychomotor and other biologically-determined aspects of development.

Initially, the innatist-oriented researchers portrayed the biological capacity for language in terms of a language acquisition device (LAD), which purportedly allowed human infants to construct their native-language grammars on the basis of the input they received (e.g. McNeill 1966). More recently, the mechanically-sounding concept of LAD has been replaced by that of a universal grammar (UG) (e.g. Chomsky 1986, 1990, Broselow 1988, Pinker 1990). According to this new paradigm, there exists a "language organ" in the brain that equips humans by the age of two with the ability to use the rules of a "universal" grammar to develop the specific languages that cultures require of them. Some (e.g. White 1990, Clahsen 1990, Carroll and Meisel 1990, Comrie 1990) argue that universal principles play an important role in learning a second language, but provide no specific empirical findings from the neolinguistic research domain that would support the idea of a "language organ." Whether or not the concept of UG is a useful one still remains to be seen: Does the bilingual child develop two languages on the basis of the same UG? Are there aspects of the "parameter-setting" process which may not apply to the case of bilingual? Moreover, as Jacobs (1988: 330) aptly puts it, any theory of language acquisition "will have to consider what the environment brings to the brain, including both the input itself (e.g. structure, intonation, morphology) and the surrounding situational variables (e.g. gestures, discourse context); and, just as importantly, must also consider what the brain does to this information."

The well-known ideas of the Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget (e.g. 1923, 1936, 1945, 1990) are also worthy of mention here. According to Piaget, there are four distinct stages through which the human organism passes on the way to cognitive maturity: (1) a sensory-motor stage (birth-2 years on average), (2) a pre-operational stage (2-7 years on average), (3) a concrete operations stage (7-11 years on average), (4) a formal operations stage (11- years). During the sensory-motor period infants are capable of distinguishing meaningful environmental stimuli (such as verbal ones) from the others and of exploring the world around them with all their senses. The pre-operational
period is marked by an emerging ability to classify and thus to understand the stimuli received from the social environment. This capacity is extended to cover many more situations, including non-immediate ones, during the concrete operations stage. Finally, cognitive development ends when the child starts to think of and organize the world in a rational and abstract way (the formal operations stage) around the age of puberty. Although the recent research on childhood development has become much more sophisticated in its experimental methodology and outlook, it has really done no more than to confirm and redefine these basic milestones in development.

The foregoing schematic outline of research on monolingual development was drawn because the techniques and ideas of Jakobson, Braine, Piaget, and the others have been used, time and time again, to study the bilingual upbringing of children. Indeed, some of the early work on bilingualism attempted to show that a bilingual upbringing tended to upset or delay the language acquisition process. It is only after the publication of the Peal and Lambert study of 1962 that psychologists started en masse to take a diametrically opposite view of bilingualism. Since then, researchers on bilingualism have shown consensus on three matters: (1) just like Lenneberg predicted, the optimal period for acquiring more than one language is during the prepubescent/pre-formal stages; (2) the success of a bilingual upbringing depends largely on both languages playing equal functional roles in the child’s environment; (3) if children are indeed exposed to both languages in a balanced and functional way, then they will tend to become more capable than their monolingual peers of processing complex verbal inputs during the preoperational and concrete operational stages.

The work of the Russian psychologist Vygotsky (1962) is germane to the present discussion. Working with monolingual and bilingual children in the twenties and thirties, he discovered that the child’s first holographs are self-made models of the world derived from the input to which the child is exposed. These models soon cohere into an internal monologue which the child uses for thinking. When the child reaches the formal operations stage, this “interior speech” becomes indistinguishable from cognition itself. In fact, from puberty onwards, it can be said that we do indeed “let our language do the thinking for us.” When the child’s home life is characterized by more than one language, then Vygotsky found that the child developed a more expansive form of interior speech (Vygotsky 1962: 110). However, if the two languages did not play an equal role in the child’s home ambiance, then some risks became noticeable. More recently, Tosi (1984) has referred to the verbal competence of a child reared in an unbalanced linguistic environment as “semilingual.” Semilingualism is defined as a state in which the bilingual child knows neither language to any degree of communicative mastery and in which the two codes often interfere with each other at various levels of grammatical, discourse, and semantic processing.

The researchers who studied bilingual development during the first decades of the present century focused on semilingual children, and then extrapolated their findings erroneously to bilingualism in general. During the twenties and thirties, various British and American researchers (e.g. Smith 1923, Saer 1924, Yoshioka 1929, Smith 1931, 1939), for example, found that the bilingual subjects they studied experienced problems on tests of intelligence that their monolingual peers did not encounter. In 1952, in a psychology textbook with a wide circulation in American universities, George Thompson (1952: 367) synthesized this line of research with the generalization that “the child reared in a bilingual environment is handicapped in his language growth.” But what these early researchers failed to notice was the fact that the social ambiance in which their subjects were raised, by and large, did not favour the balanced development of both languages. Barely a decade after Thompson’s gloomy assertion, Peal and Lambert (1962) showed that such studies failed to take into account social factors in the “bilingual environment,” as Thompson called it. Peal and Lambert thus led the way towards a new era of empirical investigation on bilingualism and to a completely new array of results. (For a “taste” of the kind of research that has been conducted on bilingualism in the last few decades see, for instance, the studies in Hyltenstam and Obler 1987, Bialystock 1991, and Reynolds 1992).

The Case for Bilingual Education

Soon after the Peal and Lambert study, interest in bilingualism was logically extended to the education of bilingual/semilingual children. In fact, barely a year after their study, the first bilingual education program was set up in Dade County in Florida in 1963 to deal with the influx of Cuban refugees into the state (Hakuta 1987: 194). Once the feasibility of this program became obvious, similar programs started sprouting up throughout the United States. But, while the Peal and Lambert study and subsequent research virtually put an end to the debate on the feasibility of bilingualism itself, it did not put an end to the debate on bilingual schooling, even though research in this specific domain has now shown that such programs tend to be the most effective ones in the case of minority-language children.

The technical terminology in language education is often confusing and misleading. The term bilingual education, as used in this essay, does not make a distinction between kinds of programs. In actual fact, there are many and diverse kinds of bilingual education programs. The one that interests us the most here is the kind that utilizes the mother tongue, or first language (symbolized as L1), of immigrant children. For such children, the language of the school, and of their new society, is a second language (symbolized as L2). From a purely educational perspective,
a bilingual education program of any kind simply implies the learning and utilization of any other language in addition to the primary language of instruction of the school.

The research has shown one thing above all else — namely that in the case of children who speak an L₁ that is different from the language of the school and the society in which they live, the need to enter into some kind of bilingual education program is crucial. World-wide research on L₁ language maintenance in school in the last few decades (e.g. Lambert 1977, Skutnabb-Kangas 1984, Harley, Hart, and Lapkin 1986, Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins 1988, Danesi 1988, Titone 1990, Danesi, McLeod, and Morris 1993, Verhoeven 1994) argues rather strongly in favour of the hypothesis that the only educationally-meaningful way to help the minority-language child learn the school language efficiently and to succeed in school from the outset seems to be through some form of "additive" bilingual schooling: i.e. through some utilization of the child's L₁ within the school system to remedy deficiencies in the school language. More specifically, the research has shown that the gaining of literacy in the mother tongue, and its use in literacy-related tasks, forms the cognitive basis for verbal skill transfer to the dominant language. The increased confidence with language that ensues from additive bilingual schooling seems consistently to "spill over" into all areas of cognitive development and of knowledge acquisition. Hence, it is not at all surprising to find that the research on bilingual education — in whatever form (from simple cultural enrichment to the use of the minority-child's L₁ for learning some school subjects) — has allowed the vast majority of minority-language children the world over to adjust rapidly and efficiently to the linguistic and academic demands of their new educational milieu. The alternative — the "subtraction" of the L₁ from the child's language repertoire — does not seem to make any educational sense whatsoever. Linguistically-diverse children need to develop adequate levels of proficiency in both their languages in order to function properly in an academic environment and to avoid the risk of semilingualism. That, in essence, is the story of the research on bilingual education.

We will refer to the type of bilingual education program directed towards those with a different L₁ than the society in which they live as "primary bilingual programs" (PBP's). PBP's are characterized by the fact that one of the languages of instruction is the immigrant child's L₁ and the other the dominant language. As it turns out, the goal of PBPs is, in effect, to facilitate the acquisition of the school language. All other kinds of bilingual education programs can, thus, be designated as "secondary bilingual programs" (SBP's). SBP's are generally characterized by the learning or utilization of a second language on the part of majority-language children. French immersion programs in Canada are examples of SBP's (e.g. Harley, Hart and Lapkin 1986). The common factor in PBP and SBP learning outcomes seems to be literacy skills attainment. As Lapkin, Swain and Shapson (1990: 643) have put it: "In the case of majority anglophones in early immersion, these skills are developed through the second language; in the case of the heritage language students they are established in the home language." (See Genesee 1987 for an overall assessment of the relevant research).

In an attempt to make sense of the positive findings that they were documenting with bilinguals vis-à-vis monolinguals (increased mental flexibility, superiority in concept formation, a diversified set of mental abilities), Peal and Lambert (1962) emphasized that the two language systems in the bilingual child were interdependent. Several contributors to an enriched form of cognition. In 1979, Cummins formalized the notion of linguistic interdependence by claiming that the positive research findings can be seen to make sense only if one posits that proficiency and skill in both the mother tongue and the school language are interdependent systems: "To the extent that instruction in L₁ is effective in promoting proficiency in L₁, transfer of this proficiency to L₂ will occur provided there is adequate exposure to L₂ (either in school or in environment) and adequate motivation to learn L₁" (Cummins 1984: 143).

Despite some valid critiques of this principle, which are beyond the scope of the present essay (e.g. Canale 1984, Genesee 1984, Troike 1984), there now seems to be a consensus among most researchers in the field that it constitutes, at the very least, a useful interpretive frame within which to locate many of the linguistic behaviors that manifest themselves in educational contexts that involve minority-language children. This frame makes it possible to suggest that the formalization of L₁ knowledge tends to shape the structure of the minority-language child's experience by forcing the child to reflect consciously on the similarities and differences between the L₁ and the school language. Upon entering the school system, minority-language children are faced with the arduous task of acquiring and mentally separating two language codes with many divergent, overlapping, and intersecting functions, meanings, and forms. But, to the child's advantage, the area of code intersection constitutes both a core of common language abilities and a source of transfer. The latter can be seen to be responsible for the ephemeral "interferences" that surface during the minority-language child's initial attempts to speak and write the school language. However, through the gaining of literacy in the mother tongue the common core comes to form a cognitive basis for verbal skill transfer, eventually forcing the child to recognize language differences consciously and, therefore, to separate them cognitively and functionally. The end result is a state of coordinate bilingualism which will, of course, vary in degree according to normal differences in individual intellectual development (Verhoeven 1994).
The interdependence principle has dealt a fatal blow to two myths that were previously deeply entrenched in the North American educational mindset: the “maximum exposure myth” (Cummins and Swain 1986: 80) and the “neurological space” myth (Danesi 1990). The former refers to the view that children who are deficient in the school language need maximum exposure and intensive instruction in that language alone. The latter alludes to the belief that there is only so much space in the brain for language and that the presence of a competing language (namely the immigrant child’s L1) would only take away from the space that the school language requires in the brain in order to process and store conceptual information in an efficient and unobstructed manner.

The notion of interdependence and the empirical evidence that supports it make it rather obvious that just the opposite is true: the L1 and the school language are not at all antagonistic contenders for “brain time and space,” so to speak, but cooperative systems in the child’s linguistic and cognitive development. The research on the minority-language and child who is actively learning the L1 in school reveals that, far from damaging acceptable levels of proficiency and literacy in the school language, the skills developed as a result of instruction in the L1 increase the child’s abilities in the school language. This is not only a finding of scientists, but a characteristic experience of educators, parents, and students involved in language maintenance and promotion programs. A recent survey conducted by Di Giovanni and Danesi (1989), for instance, found that the research does indeed match reality. By asking all teachers in whose schools L1s were taught what merits or demerits they personally associated with L1 training in the areas of language and academic achievement, the survey found that the vast majority of teachers seem to agree, if somewhat reluctantly, that the study of L1s not only does not create problems for ethnic children but, if given enough time, seems to accelerate their entry into the linguistic mainstream (especially when compared to their ethnic peers not enrolled in similar programs). As Vygotsky (1962) pointed out, the presence of more than one language code in the cognitive system of children makes them generally more aware of language form and of how it allows them to interact with the world. Bilingual children are in a better position to see the L1 and the school language as particular systems among many and, therefore, to view their specific forms and meanings under more general categories.

Clearly, then, minority-language children need to develop adequate levels of literacy in both their languages in order to function properly in an academic environment. Literacy, or the ability to utilize and manipulate the alphabetic code employed by a culture to record thought and knowledge in some textual form, is arguably civilization’s greatest accomplishment. From a phylogenetic perspective, the writing and reading of meaningful texts could only have been achieved by a highly-evolved and abstract rational intellect, capable of reflective and conscious thought. No wonder, then, that literacy-attainment has always been considered to be the primary condition for the acquisition of knowledge in formal educational situations. In fact, most cultures have traditionally looked upon schooling and literacy as concomitants of process and result. As Crystal (1987: 250) succinctly puts it, literacy “has long been considered the main evidence of a child’s educational progress.” And to this day, there really is no persuasive reason to reject this deeply-ingrained notion, although as Gardner has argued in several convincing discussions on intellectual development (e.g. 1982), educators should be aware of, and sensitive to, the fact that language ability and literacy attainment constitute only two of the many forms of “intelligence” of which the human mind is capable for gaining knowledge about the world.

Since the dawn of civilization, schooling practices seem to have worked on the principle that formal learning is best conducted through the template of the socially-dominant language, and therefore that the educational progress of the child can be maximized in terms of literacy-attainment in the most prestigious language of the culture—even if that language was not the spoken language of the people. Latin, for example, was not the language of ordinary people in Medieval Europe, but it was considered to be the verbal medium best suited for gaining, imparting and disseminating knowledge. As “vulgar” languages (i.e. languages of the people) gradually became national and literary languages from the Renaissance onwards, they soon came to replace Latin as the primary verbal channel for knowledge transfers of all kinds. As a mass phenomenon, however, the roots of literacy go back only to late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Europe (Nell 1988: 15-16). This was a time when concepts of universal human rights were starting to mesh with the practical need of an emerging industrial society to have a literate work force.

On June 9, 1815, seven European countries signed the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna. The aim of this multilateral treaty was to protect, perhaps for the first time ever, linguistic minorities (Berryman 1992: 10). The nineteenth century also witnessed the first sporadic attempts to incorporate the teaching of minority languages into European schools. But until the twentieth century few societies had ever contemplated the utilization of more than one language to carry out the formal training of their children and adolescents. However, as political boundaries in many areas of the world began increasingly to enclose more than one ethnic and linguistic group from the start of the present century onwards, some societies have had to take into serious consideration, and occasionally even to adopt, models of education based on biliterate modes of knowledge transfer. Inevitably, the question of the educational role of language in such societies has been the source of much discussion and psychological research. The debate on bilingualism and biliteracy in education has
become even more intense in areas of the world that have allowed the influx of large waves of immigrants throughout this century.

Biliteracy implies, of course, the ability to read functionally in two languages. The reason why a bilingual child should become biliterate are succinctly enumerated by Harding and Riley (1986: 134-135): (1) being able to read in the mother tongue allows the ethnic child the opportunity to participate fully in the cultural world it circumscribes; (2) reading gives the ethnic child access to more standardized varieties of the mother tongue.; (3) reading gives children a powerful cognitive tool to represent and manipulate experience; (4) reading both languages helps maintain one language during periods when the other one is otherwise predominant. Biliterate children are in a better position to see the mother tongue and the school language as particular systems among many and, therefore, to view their specific forms and meanings under more general categories.

Rekindling the Debate

Given the above research picture, why has the debate on additive forms of bilingual education for minority-language communities been rekindled? In her widely-read book, Forked Tongue: The Politics of Bilingual Education (1990), Rosalie Pedalino Porter has been a major contributor to this rekindling, systematically and cogently attempting to show the unreliability and the erroneous information of the research that Cummins and others have been publishing. She correctly identifies several ideological, sociological, and demographic forces that have triggered the backlash against PBPs in North America. These can be paraphrased as follows:

1. There is a growing feeling that students need to achieve productive competence in Standard English in order to achieve educational, social, and economic mobility in modern society. This is, of course, a version of the maximum exposure myth discussed above.

2. There is a growing sense that bilingual education programs cater to the whimsical and irascible demands of narrow-minded interest groups. This is not an unanticipated "image problem" that PBPs tend to have, especially in times of social instability and change.

3. There is an endemic fear that the maintenance and formalization of the mother tongue in school will hamper academic progress, given that the students will eventually have to master Standard English to carry out their career goals. This perception stems from a confusion in society at large of the relationship between language and cognition.

4. Finally, there is a widespread feeling that the teaching approaches, methods, and techniques needed for PBPs go beyond those used to teach children who already know Standard English. This "pedagogical problem" is seen as being too costly and probably impracticable to resolve.

A Rebuttal

In his response to Porter's severe critique, Cummins (1991) underlines two basic misunderstandings in her argument:

1. Neither the elimination of bilingual education for those who are experiencing difficulties in learning English, nor the use of "compensatory" or "transitional" bilingual programs will solve the problems at hand; and

2. Immigrant children have emotional and affective needs that can best be addressed in terms of some form of non-compensatory and non-transitional bilingual schooling. Each of the four apprehensions outlined above can actually be addressed by looking, once again, at the research and at the daily experiences associated with PBPs.

1. The Maximum Exposure Myth

The maximum exposure myth has already been rebutted above. Suffice it to say one more time that educational experiments involving bilingual education throughout the world have made it obvious that literacy-achievement in the language of the school/society does not suffer as a consequence of allowing the formal study of the mother tongue in elementary school. On the contrary, they suggest that in multicultural societies not only does it not hamper the gaining of literacy in the dominant language, but that it may be the only way that an ethnically-diverse child can take the path to educational success.

2. "Image Problem"

The "image problem" that PBPs have is a harder one to address and rectify. To this day the term "bilingual education" evokes a broad range of reactions from educators, parents, and students alike, from extremely negative to highly positive. Incidentally, the debate that has been rekindled does not involve SBPs, which continue to be seen as kinds of "alternative" or "cognitively-enriching" programs. It involves problems of perception vis-à-vis PBPs, which are not culturally neutral. This might well explain the persistence of a mindset against such programs in schools. In other words, it can be suggested that the term "bilingual education" connotes an array of cultural images that have little to do with language.

To investigate this possibility, one of the authors of this essay set up a research team at the University of Toronto in 1988. The team surveyed 200 parents living in southern Ontario who had children enrolled in elementary school (reported in Danesi 1990). The results revealed that the term "heritage", in heritage language program, was a troublesome one indeed. Two questionnaires (A and B) were used in the survey. Both asked the parents to answer...
yes or no to the same question, with the difference that in half the questionnaires (= A) the term “heritage language” was used at a specific point, while in the other half (= B) the term “language arts” was used instead. In A, the question asked: “If the school in which your child is enrolled offered a heritage language in which a language other than the one(s) you speak at home was taught, would you allow your child to take it?” In B, the question asked: “If the school in which your child is enrolled offered a language arts program, in which a language other than the one(s) you speak at home was taught, would you allow your child to take it?”

These two questions obviously had the same “semantic content.” It was assumed that any difference in response pattern between A and B would depend, in large part, upon a difference in cultural connotation between the terms heritage language and language arts. The parents were given the questionnaires at regularly scheduled parent-teacher meetings in various elementary schools throughout southern Ontario. Only those who agreed to fill-out a questionnaire anonymously were given one. The completed questionnaires were then returned to the field-worker in a sealed envelope. One hundred copies of A and one hundred of B were collected in this way. As it turned out, all 100 parents answered yes to B: i.e. every parent found the idea of a language arts program an attractive educational proposal, without regard to the language their child were to be taught. But only seven parents answered yes to A: i.e. 93 per cent were opposed to the idea of their child studying a heritage language at school. One can easily see from these results that the term heritage language is problematic. This might explain why there continues to be a discrepancy between the research findings and a significant portion of popular opinion with regard to bilingual education.

3. Language and Cognition
A part of the case against PBPs makes ambiguous references to the interplay between language and cognition. To understand how language and cognition interact, consider the ways in which different languages treat weather verbs (e.g. Ruwet 1991). In a Romance language like Italian, for example, the verb fare “to make” is used to convey a weather condition — fa caldo (literally) “it makes hot,” fa freddo (literally) “it makes cold.” The condition of “hotness” and “coldness” is conveyed instead by the verb essere “to be” when referring to objects — è caldo “it is hot,” è freddo “it is cold” — and by avere “to have” when referring to people — ha caldo “she is hot,” ha freddo “she is cold.” The reason for the use of one verb or the other is motivated by an underlying image schema of bodies and the environment as “containers.” So, the “containment context” in which the state of “coldness” or “hotness” is located determines the verbal category to be employed. If it is in the environment, it is “made” by nature (fa freddo); if it is in a human being, then the body “has” it (ha freddo); and if it is in an object, then the object “is” its container (è freddo). In the ethnic child’s learning of the dominant language, such knowledge is assessed — comparatively or contrasting — as the child learns about weather verbs and the conceptualization of “coldness” and “hotness” in the dominant language. The necessity to reflect upon differences of this kind is probably the reason behind the ethnic child’s propensity to acquire the dominant language effortlessly as he or she studies the mother tongue in concomitance with it. It is seemingly profitable for the child to use native language concepts to assimilate the new ones. When the latter coincide with the ways in which concepts are structured in the native language, then the two verbal systems reinforce each other serendipitously; when they do not, the student will consciously detect an asymmetry between language form and conceptual content, leading him or her to come to a better understanding of the new input.

In the mid-1930s, the American anthropologist Benjamin Lee Whorf (1957) kindled widespread interest in the view that language and cognition were interdependent phenomena. Whorf suggested that one’s world-view was built up from the labels and categories of one’s language. The idea was not particularly new, but Whorf made it a testable hypothesis by giving it a precise articulation. The question of whether or not he was right continues to be debated. At the very least it is a powerful intuitive notion. The Whorfian Hypothesis would, however, explain rather nicely why it is that the cognitive skills of bilingually-educated children show a significant improvement vis-à-vis control groups. The formal study of two languages can be seen to provide a broader conceptual substratum upon which the child can build verbal labels and categories. These then allow for an enhanced ability to acquire and retain knowledge. Different languages codify reality in overlapping and complementary ways. The bilingual learner has access, therefore, to more than one way of processing information, and this cannot help but diversify and enhance the child’s overall cognitive capacities. In other words, the gaining of literacy in two languages makes available to the child a diversified set of strategies for classifying, abstracting, and memorizing incoming information. This diversified processing of knowledge makes it more likely that the child will construct general conceptual schema that actually end up being language-independent.

4. Pedagogical Problems
A legitimate argument against PBPs concerns questions of the delivery of the programs at the pedagogical and administrative levels. Often PBPs are at odds with the policies and philosophies of school boards, and inconsistent with teaching practices in the mainstream school system. But this does not imply throwing out the baby with the bath water. If anything truly constructive is to come out of this rekindling of the debate, it is in having put the spotlight on the “nuts and bolts” of the daily functioning of such programs and of the roles that they should be playing in society.
Above all else, teaching should stress the development of literacy skills in the L1. As Krashen (1991) has recently remarked, any PBP that does not stress print-based literacy is probably doomed to failure. Minority-language children of all socioeconomic and sociocultural levels tend to do quite well in PBPs that provide literacy development in the primary language (see also Marin 1993 on this point). The use of the L1, to help students understand the writing/composition process can be transferred to the gaining of literacy in Standard English. This is something that surfaces again and again in the research literature and in standardized testing results. A case in point is the recent national literacy testing that was conducted throughout Italy. The schools that produced the best results in Italian-language literacy were, remarkably, the bilingual and trilingual schools of the Dolomite regions of northeastern Italy (Dutto and Lucisano 1993). Not surprisingly, in those schools German and Ladin (a language derived from the Rhaeto-Romance family) are taught, used, and developed alongside Italian in an equal academic partnership.

Concluding Remarks

In today's North American classrooms, the teacher is faced, more and more, with the task of educating a culturally and linguistically heterogeneous group of students. Gone are the days when a teacher could step into a classroom and assume that his or her students could speak the language of instruction and possess a common fund of cultural knowledge and reference points intersecting with that language. This explains the increasing demand for ESL (English as a Second Language) programs across the continent, and the ensuing need to develop instructional methodologies, learning materials, and curricula that reflect the new "multi-ethnic" reality. Since their inception, the rationale behind PBPs has been to help the minority-language child become more quickly adapted to the new ambiance. The learning and utilization of the L1 will, as the research suggests, go a long way towards helping the child gain literacy in English quickly and efficiently. As Cummins (1989: 45) has aptly observed, the reasons why this is so important are really self-evident:

Having a strong foundation in the native language makes learning a second language both easier and faster...Moreover, there is general agreement that knowledge transfers readily from one language to another, so that students do not have to relearn in a second what they have already learned in a first. In fact, it is clear that the ability to transfer to English what is learned in the native language applies not only to content-area subjects like science and math, but also to skills in reading and writing—even when the orthographic system is quite different from the Roman alphabet.

By way of conclusion, it should be mentioned that it is not only linguistic and cognitive benefits that accrue to bilingually-educated immigrant children. These components of the human mind could not operate efficiently without the proper functioning of the affective components of personality. Indeed, in the case of PBPs, it really is not necessary to look beyond common sense to find an overall explanation for the linguistic and cognitive benefits that children reap from such models of education. As Di Giovanni and Danesi (1989, 12) put it:

Just think what would happen if you were put in a linguistically-diverse society and then required immediately upon arrival to learn everything in that society's school system through the medium of the new and unfamiliar language. Clearly, this would constitute a Herculean task. But this is exactly the situation into which many immigrant children are projected. They are faced with the monumental task of learning arithmetic, geography, reading skills, and so on through the conceptual filter of a language which they have not as yet mastered.

By becoming comfortable with their ethnic and linguistic backgrounds at school, and in being allowed to use their mother tongues functionally for academic tasks, it becomes easier for minority-language children to perceive their school experiences as meaningful and worthwhile. It is the enhanced feeling of emotional security that ensues when the home language is accorded respect and importance within the school environment that, in our view, ultimately permits the child's linguistic and cognitive components to operate effectively and efficiently in tandem. As the great American educational philosopher, John Dewey (1916) argued nearly eighty years ago, schools must be sites in which critical thinking, individual self-esteem, and growth are dominant. PBPs, as flawed and frustrating as they might appear to be, are, at the very least, attempts to provide such sites.

References

Equity in Access to Teacher Education: Issues for Visible Minorities and First Nations Candidates

John E. Lundy and Denis Lawrence, Nipissing University

Introduction

Equity in education is a complex concept that is difficult to describe in both normative and empirical terms. For the last two centuries, “in ‘Western’ and Western-influenced societies, questions of justice in education have mainly been about access to formal schooling and certification” (Connell, 1993). This is most certainly the case in teacher education in Ontario where it is difficult to obtain admission to certification programs. Equity of access is circumscribed by issues of gender, race and social class. Thus a policy of affirmative action may produce conflict when implemented.

Ontario Faculties of Education have been prodded into action recently by such forces as the Teacher Education Council of Ontario’s (TECO) “Report on Selection for Teacher Education Programs” (1992), by a new equity branch within the Ministry of Education and Training, Ontario, and by direct ministerial suggestions of admissions policy changes. Indeed, there was a flurry of action within the Council of Ontario Universities (COU), the Ontario Council of Admissions (a sub-committee of COU) and the Ontario Association of Deans of Education (OADE) all on the issue of access by Aboriginals, visible minorities and differently abled persons. This paper outlines the social and political context of recent affirmative action initiatives at one Ontario Faculty of Education. It also presents the analysis of a survey sent to the 1992-3 applicants and a qualitative follow-up study of visible minority and Aboriginal respondents. Of particular interest is a critical analysis not only of issues related to equity of access but also to structural and programmatic components within faculties of education.

Access to Faculties of Education

1. Problem

The initial issue is, of course, a reliable picture of what is currently happening in Faculties of Education in the Province of Ontario. Figure 1.1 shows the location of these Faculties and the 1992-93 consecutive program enrolment figures. The scope of this paper cannot cover the state of affairs in other faculties. It can point to (a) general problems related to the data collection process; (b) the implications for policy creation both within and across faculties of education.

![Figure 1.1: Ontario Faculties of Education](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enrolment 1992-93</th>
<th>Consecutive Programs</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brock (St. Catharines)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lakehead (Thunder Bay)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Laurentian (Sudbury)*</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Nipissing (North Bay)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ottawa (Ottawa)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>*274</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Queens (Kingston)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Toronto (Toronto)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Western (London)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Windsor (Windsor)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>York (NorthYork)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* French Language Program
Source: OUAC Nov. 92
faculties; (c) the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion in one Faculty of Education. This paper does ascribe motives to the various organizations related to teacher education but examines conflicts which have arisen around the issue of affirmative action in access to teacher education.

In order to resolve these conflicts, it is first necessary to gain specific precise demographic data on teacher education candidates. Liston and Zeichner point out “the imbalance between the numbers of minorities entering [U.S.] teacher education programs and general population demographics” (1991). Whether or not this is the situation in Ontario is at the heart of this first conflict. Recent studies (Myer and Towson, 1991; Lundy and Lawrence, 1992; Watson and Allison, 1992) in Ontario have not identified a clear provincial demographic picture of teacher education candidates. Lundy and Lawrence (1992) note that there is a difference between teacher education registrants and the pool of teacher candidates. Provincial demographic data will soon be available since the COU mandated (May, 1993) data collection instruments for all University applicants, not just teacher education candidates.

The second issue relates to equal access for policy creation. Without knowing an exact demographic picture it is difficult to promote and justify affirmative action entrance policies; it is, however, relatively easy to argue for their exclusion when clear data are not present. This paper will also deal with policy processes and especially the affirmative action components that determine whether or not affirmative action actually occurs.

The third issue relates to the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion. Since education candidates, like all other university students, apply to the Ontario University Application Centre (OUAC), it is relatively easy to ascertain how many candidates apply to each Faculty. It is not, however, easy to determine which students were accepted at which Faculties and what patterns emerge from these offers of admission. For this reason, current research shows not only demographic characteristics (eg. membership in a visible minority group or belonging to an aboriginal group, parental education as a rough indicator of social class, gender and maternal language) via an (voluntary) applicant survey, but also qualitative data on registrants and non-registrants who identified themselves as belonging to a visible minority or an aboriginal group.

Further research is needed to show which visible minority and/or aboriginal candidates accept an offer of admission and also why certain candidates in these categories do not accept an offer. The latter group could help to identify patterns that are not picked up in provincial statistical reports. Furthermore, problems for teacher education candidates related to acceptance under affirmative action policies would be brought to light by qualitative research. As we have suggested previously (Lundy and Lawrence, 1992), the issue is not so much who is currently attending a Faculty of Education (see Myer and Towson, 1991; Nyce, 1990; Watson and Allison, 1992) as much as who has access. Gaining information about candidates before they enter the institution is complex and often draped in the cloak of bureaucratic fairness. It is linked to the notion of similarity of treatment. In general schooling terms, “some teachers seem to think that justice and fairness entail the denial of differences” (Liston and Zeichner, 1991), as in the denial of race, class and gender.

2. Recent Studies on the Recruitment of Ontario Teacher Education Candidates

Lundy and Lawrence (1992) have noted the contributions and limitations of recent teacher education studies (Myer and Towson, 1991; Nyce, 1990; Watson and Allison, 1992) that relate especially to access of visible minorities and aboriginals to Ontario Faculties of Education. The major drawback of these studies lies in their omission of various programs in operation at the time of the study and in the data collection techniques.

An internal document of the Ontario Association of Deans of Education (OADE), “Responses to Issues of Equity,” an appendix to an OADE Agenda for a meeting held in December, 1993, can be seen in this same vein. This manuscript details the response of each of the ten Faculties of Education to the issue of equity of access. This appendix gives the clearest statement yet of what all ten Faculties are currently doing in relation to equity access. However, like the above studies, there are problems of anomalous data collection instruments, data omission and non-comparability of data.

For example, one Faculty’s figure of six per cent visible minorities determined by “visual observation” of students in the classroom and on campus does not equate to another Faculty’s 1.47 per cent figure ascertained through empirical study of entrance candidates and based on a survey with a response rate of approximately 40 per cent. Secondly, an overall percentage of Aboriginal student participation in teacher education programs (6 per cent) based only on five faculties is misleading. The results of what Connell refers to as “highly abstracted, generalized surveys” (1993), may be delaying meaningful action with respect to real affirmative action for Aboriginals, visible minorities and differently abled teacher candidates.

The issue of non-comparability of data is most significant if one is to look at the possibility of a real imbalance between those Faculties that actually register significant numbers of Aboriginals, visible minorities and differently abled persons and those that do not. Liston and Zeichner point out such an imbalance in the U.S.:

... there is an extreme concentration of those minority students who do choose teacher education in relatively few institutions. This concentration of
minority students in relatively few teacher education institutions makes it very difficult to deal with the problem of underrepresentation in teacher education institutions across the country (1991, pp. 201-2).

In Ontario we cannot determine whether we have such an imbalance unless we have clear research to determine existing equity of access. As noted earlier, a clear picture of one's geographic and social context can help immensely in the formulation and implementation of affirmative action policies for targeted groups (Lundy and Lawrence, 1992).

Finally, the issue of statistical clarity is aided neither by the changing nomenclature used by social scientists nor by the lack of comparable data. Statistics Canada, for example, has changed its survey terminology from the 1981 to the 1991 census for Aboriginal persons. Native, Status-Indian and Non-Status Indian have given way to the more inclusive term, Aboriginal (North American Indian, Metis, Inuit). Similarly, we have changed our use of the term Status Indian (see Appendix 1) to this more inclusive word to exhibit clearly in our research, and in University policy and practice, a term that allows more persons easier access to affirmative action programs. Furthermore, incomplete data collection on Indian Reserves during the 1991 census is another example of the complexities in this area of research.

The social context of teacher education in North Bay is illustrated in Table 2.1. It shows the (1986) percentage of immigrant and First Nations (FN) population in Ontario and in Nipissing and Parry Sound Districts. The data graphically depict a complex social reality within which Nipissing's Faculty of Education operates. We live, work and teach in a sparsely populated area with double the (1986) Ontario average of First Nations persons, slightly more than 25 per cent of the provincial average for immigrant population, and from which most of our graduates leave.

One might infer that a higher Aboriginal population in North Bay would make for an appropriate context for teacher education for Aboriginals which, indeed, is borne out by some of the qualitative data explored below. This assumption is also borne out by a past history of Aboriginal education at Nipissing and by a similar experience at another northern Faculty at Lakehead (Thunder Bay).

However, the apparent corollary from the above data, namely that Nipissing is not an obvious site for the attendance of visible minorities at faculties of education, given the already (assumed) low percentage of these groups in the District, does not hold true. The major reason for this, developed more fully in our last paper (Lundy and Lawrence, 1992), is due to the mandate of universities to serve a population beyond the local community. Indeed, as we pointed out in terms of a five year history of Aboriginal (affIRMATIVE action) teacher education registrants (49), 59.2 per cent came from the North while a similar percentage (58.5 per cent) of 1992-93 registrants came from southern Ontario or out of province. About 41 per cent of our 1992-3 cohort of 342 students came from home towns in the north (Muskoka District and northwards) while 31 per cent held a degree from one of the three northern universities. One VM candidate (.3 per cent) hailed from North Bay while the other four came from the south. There was and is a decided southern Ontario concentration of all registrants.

Thus, the local context of a Faculty of Education can be quite misleading in terms of necessary “appropriateness” for affirmative action practices. As many of Lundy’s preservice teacher candidates notice in their practicum experiences in elementary and secondary schools in Toronto, Hamilton, London and Ottawa, classrooms are distinctly multicultural and quite different from the schooling experiences remembered by most of these novice teachers. Ontario schools are increasingly populated by visible minority and Aboriginal students. Ontario accounts for nearly 50 per cent of all visible minorities in Canada (Government of Canada, 1989, p. 11) and over 22 per cent of all Aboriginals (Statistics Canada, 1993, p. 9). More teacher candidates from these target groups are obviously needed (Lundy and Lawrence, 1992).

3. Methodology
A voluntary survey (see Appendix 1) was sent to the 3,459 applicants for the 1992-3 scholastic year. Respondents were asked to indicate whether or not they considered themselves to be a Status Indian, Visible Minority (excluding non-status Indian), Disabled Person or Single Parent. Other questions related to place of birth, maternal language and highest level of schooling for mother and father. As explained above, the reader should note that the authors have changed in this paper a number of the labels used in the 1992 “applicant profile.” 1,335 applicants responded (38.6 per cent response rate) to the survey.

Appendix 2 gives a statistical summary of this 1992-93 applicant profile.
Table 3.1: Final or Conditional Offers 1992-3

670 applicants were made final or conditional offers
257 of the 670 applicants completed the questionnaire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Actual Offers</th>
<th>Registrants</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Aboriginal*</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Visible Minority</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asian</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Asian/N. African</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Partial Vision</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hard of Hearing</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coord' n/Dexterity</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mobility</td>
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<tr>
<td>Epilepsy</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Learning Disability</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Disability</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Single Parent</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Inuit, Metis, Non-Status Indian, Status Indian

Note: “Actual Offers” and “Registrants” refer to survey respondents in Appendix 2. Non-survey respondents from each of these categories may have been made offers and actually registered.

The central focus of this paper, however, is the qualitative follow-up study of Aboriginal and visible minority respondents who either accepted or refused offers of admission. Table 3.1 compares the number of offers made and the actual number of registrants. This follow-up study, conducted during the months of January to April (1993), used semi-structured interviews by telephone (those who refused offer) and on-site (those who accepted admission).

All visible minority and aboriginal candidates (15) who were offered admission but who did not accept were sent an explanatory letter and a voluntary consent to be interviewed form in December, 1992. Interviews were conducted by telephone with those applicants who responded to the letter. Five minority candidates (four male and one female) were interviewed while one female Aboriginal talked with us. One male candidate made it clear that he was “mixed race.”

The authors are pleased with the 40 per cent response rate here but would certainly have liked a more substantial number from which to gather qualitative data. It should be noted too that there was a very small sample of Aboriginal respondents since 17 out of 18 eligible candidates for the Aboriginal Affirmative Action program accepted offers of admission.

One other significant methodological issue that arises here is a concern for ethical standards. The authors were very aware of possible conflicts of interest (roles as professors and registrar versus the role of researcher) and went through an ethical review performed by the Ethical Review Committee at our institution. The preservation of anonymity and the safety of individual data were of paramount concern. Nonetheless, this difference in roles may have accounted for the reasonable response rate of non-registrants and the rather disappointing response rate of registrant Aboriginals and visible minorities who agreed to be interviewed. Indeed, one registrant interview subject wanted to know, on two occasions, whether his/her answers would in any way negatively impact on his/her success in the program.

From this first grouping, the non-registrants at Nipissing, we were most interested in gleaning information that would tell us reasons why, as two distinct groups, they would not accept our institution or any teacher education program. We also wanted to ascertain their general opinion about affirmative action and, from Aboriginal subjects, their knowledge about our Aboriginal affirmative action initiative.

All aboriginal and visible minority (22) survey respondents who were sent an offer of admission and who accepted the offer were sent an explanatory letter about our research. The letter outlined the three questions to be asked. One male and two female Aboriginals along with one female visible minority student were interviewed.

For the Aboriginal registrants we were particularly interested in their knowledge about our affirmative action initiative. We wanted to know the attitudes of both groups towards affirmative action for visible minorities in teacher education and their experiences or knowledge of any organizational — bureaucratic and social — barriers to their success in the teacher certification program. Since all of our students are put into sections of approximately 35 students it was important to probe this latter area. That is, our Primary /Junior (P/J) students — currently 60 per cent of our intake — spend 100 per cent of their on-campus instructional time together. Our Junior /Intermediate (J/I) and Intermediate /Senior (I/S) students spend somewhat less time together but no less than 50 per cent of the time.

Thus the focus of this follow-up study aimed mainly at equity of access but also looked at programmatic variables / organizational concerns. We were not unconcerned about larger issues of curriculum content within our entire program at Nipissing; we simply did not have the time to conduct another study that would focus in...
on this most important variable (see Liston and Zeichner, 1991). All of the interview subjects agreed to be audiotaped and the ten interviews were then transcribed into machine-readable and hard copy formats. These data were subsequently interrogated using a “taxonomic analysis” (Spradley, 1979).

4. Analysis
The complex picture that emerges from our data is rich in meaning but thin in allowing for generalizations. Our only claim to a reasonable snapshot of who seeks teacher education lies in merging our statistical survey results with these follow-up interviews. Nonetheless, four main themes emerge:

(i) the importance of multi-racial role models in teaching;
(ii) organizational factors that impact on seeking admission to a Faculty of Education;
(iii) ideological discourse around the issue of affirmative action; and
(iv) social class and racial competition for scarce entrance places.

The first two were perhaps the easiest to probe; the latter two the most interesting sociological findings.

Multi-racial role models emerged from the data in a serendipitous manner. After the first two interviews where subjects spontaneously offered comments about the importance of role models, we started to include a question relating to this issue. Almost all respondents indicated that they felt it was important to have such models; on the other hand, almost all also indicated that they did not have such (racially mixed) role models, a finding not surprising given the mainly white teaching force in Ontario. However, this is too facile a treatment of this theme.

In the first place, most Aboriginal subjects clearly articulated a need for First Nations educators. One stated that

I think it's really important for native education to have active teachers as role models to prove to the children that they can complete their education and make something out of themselves.

All Aboriginal subjects stated similar points.

However, not all agreed with the importance of Native role models in their own lives. Indeed, one person clearly articulated a perspective that implied a deeply embedded individualism: “It didn’t matter to me because I was very strongly motivated to succeed in schools.” This position of “role models are good for other Aboriginals or visible minorities but not for me” [subject] came across quite explicitly. The meritocratic viewpoint dominated this discourse.

Another interesting variant of this individualist position is related to social class. One visible minority respondent explained how role models played in part in her life:

I think that it is important to have role models — like I said, my Dad and the people he is with are from . . . [the] Caribbean islands and their immediate friends are all professionals, so I have always had those role models, so it didn’t hit me until I was in my 20s that some kids who are visible minorities don’t have those role models, where I’ve always had people who are professionals around me so I never even thought. It was always in your mind you are going to university, and you are going to do this and you’re going to do that, so it was never in your mind that you weren’t going to succeed to achieve because you had people who were doctors, lawyers and professors who were visible minorities, who achieved this before there was affirmative action in universities.

The issue of role models now takes on a scope that goes beyond the school and into the upper middle class family and the kind of social class networks that Rob Connell (1982) explores. This is not the perceived lack within one’s own background but rather a growing realization that there are many visible minority students who do and did not fit this middle class mould.

She continued on with an explanation of this realization that emerged during a teaching practicum:

The first placement I was the Jane/Finch area which was a shock to me because you saw classes where there were no white kids and that shocked me, so maybe for those kids, they need role models maybe so they know somebody of colour can be seen as a professional.

Most visible minority subjects indicated, if not the same startling realization, at least a keen awareness of role models for their future students.

One Aboriginal interviewee put the experience of other colleagues into a similar light when she stated that she “listened to other students’ experiences who perhaps had gone North [James Bay area] and did the native placement . . . [and] found no Native curriculum — any curriculum that was relevant to Natives.” She continued on and talked about the lack of Aboriginal role models in her own life and how “it would have been good to have a teacher who would have talked about Native people and Native culture.” The entwining of person (teacher) and curriculum is quite evident here. Nonetheless, the salient message that emerged in most of the interviews was that role models have to be good people in order to be good teachers: “Just because you are a certain colour doesn’t mean the kids are going to relate to you because they will relate to a good teacher as opposed to a colour” stated one visible minority student.
The second theme that emerged from these data was that
of the importance of organizational variables that support
or impede affirmative action (actual or impending). One
quite positive element was mentioned by an Aboriginal
subject who stated that her decision to come to Nipissing
rather than another Faculty related directly to the larger
cohort groupings:

I find there are more students I can identify with,
being I don’t look native. There are lots of students
who don’t look Native either and so they can relate to
problems I have, like funding. It is really nice to have
a group of people here that you can relate to. It’s a
nice experience. (our italics)

Here in this one person’s experience is a good enough
reason for educational organizations not choosing “visual
observation” as their primary measure of minority or
disadvantaged status, a prerequisite for affirmative action.

She put this sub-group affiliation also into the context of
her decision making about which offer of admission she
would take. Thus

From my experience, what had happened to me, I
had an interview at X [Faculty of Education] and
they held positions for Native students but also in
the category they held positions that were Black or
disabled and I found that there was so much
competition, whereas with the 20 seats [at Nipissing]
it just seemed more open and also it was more
appealing — a university that would hold a higher
number of seats.

This larger cohort grouping played a major role since she
goes on to say that she investigated some other Faculties
as well and found that they held only “5 or so” places for
Aboriginals and this perception gave her “more
confidence to apply” to Nipissing. Other Aboriginal
interviewees stated similar feelings but none as precisely
related to their final decision. These latter comments
hinged on statements like “I’m not keen on going down
south” to a knowledge of the “reputation” Nipissing
holds in various communities.

However, as Fullan and Steigelbauer (1991) note about
change within school systems, there are unintended
consequences to this organizational decision to accept a
larger number of students from a First Nations candidate
pool and cluster these students into a few sections within
the Faculty. In one case, at least, intolerance of differences
emerged on the part of peers and this continued
experience left emotional scars on some of the students, of
both the minority and dominant culture. One example
related to “racist comments... people not understanding
why perhaps someone...does not stand up for O Canada.
People couldn’t understand that.” This incident was
further clarified and put into the context of both racial and
religious objections to singing the National Anthem.

Another example of this kind of racial intolerance
emerged:

An example would be in [X’s class] where the
professor was talking about sweat lodges and this
could be very personal to someone from First
Nations, but other people in the class were laughing
at it and saying jokes about things they just don’t
understand. To a Native person that could be very
hurtful.

Again one sees the importance of the curriculum and the
teacher as directly entwined within a social and
organizational context.

However, these incidents decreased rapidly through direct
and indirect faculty intervention and through peer
attention to the problem.

The attitude did improve. A couple of Native
students got together and did a presentation and
talked about Native values and curriculum and tried
to touch on things not everybody knows about. We
got a lot of positive feedback, but we mainly just
wanted to get people’s interest so they would go into
groups themselves and find out more about things
they don’t understand.

Thus, organizational decisions relating to deliberate social
groupings, as in organizational plans for affirmative action
cohort groups, have to be carefully attended to (faculty
professional development and curriculum development) in
the “implementation and institutionalization” phases of
the planned change (Fullan and Steigelbauer, 1991). To
leave up to chance such implementation concerns is to
court real upheaval.

As one subject noted about his own experience of being
from mixed ancestry in the Toronto area:

if you are not mainstream you are just visible
minority and you clump all of them together; the
main line was either you were ethnic or you are a
visible minority or you’re not.

His experience, as well as that of other visible minority
subjects, told him that all too many dominant culture
Canadians react to the “visible” nature of a person’s
minority status and not necessarily to that person’s
particular racial grouping. This experience-based
knowledge is therefore important for those of us who have
and are likely to have affirmative action in this area of
teacher education. As teacher educators, we must educate
not only our students but also ourselves and our colleagues.

One last area of organizational concern relates not only to a
student’s perception of her/his status within the student-
teacher cohort group as a whole but also to the next theme
on ideological attitudes awards affirmative action. One
interviewee said most succinctly, in relation to acceptance at our Faculty, that

I don't think that the admission process should differ because ever since I was accepted I've been questioning whether I was accepted because I'm a non-status Indian or because of my qualifications. And I think it's difficult enough to be a visible minority. You wouldn't want your classmates questioning whether you were accepted because you are a visible minority.

This notion of stigmatization is indeed an important organizational concern. Our Faculty has had various affirmative action programs for Aboriginal candidates (c. 20 places in the regular program as well as places in other programs; see Lundy and Lawrence, 1992), mature students (c. 30 places) and, as of February, 1993, special admissions policies for visible minority and differently-abled candidates. Selection committees are most aware of this problem and assiduously attempt to guard the identity of students who enter under special programs. However, being visibly different by virtue of skin colour, age and/or other physical distinctions will have to be addressed clearly as a social concern by faculty as well as peers in their interactions.

Linked with this last concern is the complicated ideological discourse about affirmative action. It is quite clear, for example, that while a few of the interview subjects were immediately and unreservedly in favour of proactive entrance policies for either Aboriginal and/or visible minorities, the majority were quite ambivalent about the concept in principle and in practice. Most visible minority subjects favoured special entrance status for Aboriginals and this was replicated with Aboriginal interviewee attitudes towards Aboriginal special status. However, the significant issue that arose in these interviews was the generally prevalent attitude around what one subject called "no lowered standards."

This rather interesting finding centres on what we have seen above in an organizational context — notions of fairness. One visible minority subject stated succinctly, "I don't think there should be quotas set aside for different segments of the population . . . [because the] admission process as it stands is quite fair." This expression of treating education candidates in exactly the same manner circumscribes the meaning of "fairness" for most subjects. The majority were in agreement with a Toronto area interviewee:

I think you should take the qualified people no matter who they are and if they are a visible minority then all the better but I don't think there should be any difference in the standard.

Fairness, then, is linked with treating people in the same manner which translates into the icon of marks attainment/grade point average.

It is here that a rift in individual discourses around the issue of affirmative action occurs. We say "around" because most of our subjects indicated that they had thought about this topic prior to the interview and yet talked around the issue a great deal, starting with notions of standards, qualifications and fairness but ending up with more societal concerns. The individual immediately above, for example, went on to say that

if someone were to apply and had the qualifications and they were a visible minority then, you know, that sort of takes care of getting the numbers up to a proportion, a proportional representation.

Here is a veiled reference to the social goal of equity and justice, an idea that also emerged clearly in almost all interviews. Another visible minority candidate who adamantly talked of standards and the status quo as "fair" put it this way: "I hate to say this . . . [being a visible minority] should have a little more weight." That is, subjects were groping for the words to express the idea that being treated fairly did not coincide with being treated in exactly the same manner.

This conundrum can be looked at in terms of the equal but different way that grade point averages are used to select candidates for different divisions within a Faculty of Education. At Nipissing P/J students are admitted on the basis of a "floating average" that corresponds to the bottom cut-off needed to attain a reasonable number of offers of admission. In 1992, for example, the "floating average" was 79 per cent. In the J/I Division, however, this "floating average" depended entirely on the available candidates, the (Faculty's) perceived need in the field for these subject-oriented skills and the candidate averages within a particular subject elective. For example, more candidates presented themselves in History and the "floating average" was 82 per cent; fewer candidates were available in Visual Arts and the average was 74 per cent. Within each category there certainly was equal treatment but there were differences within the J/I and I/S Divisions and, therefore, across the Faculty.

The current social need for certain subject categories in Ontario schools is most certainly analogous to the social need for equitable representation of Aboriginal, visible minority and differently-abled teachers in these schools. Of course the supply and demand of subject area needs is also similar to the actual pool of available candidates from various racial and ethnic backgrounds. For example, eleven per cent of Ontarians, in general, hold a university degree while only two per cent of Aboriginals ("single origin only") have such a degree (McDonald, 1991, p. 4). With smaller candidate pools comes a different but hopefully just and equitable treatment.

The last theme that emerges from these interviews relates directly to this ambivalent expression of attitudes towards affirmative action. Almost all interviewees expressed a
meritocratic perspective in some fashion. Five of the six
visible minority candidates had received two or more
offers of admission; one of the four Aboriginal candidates
had received three offers. These candidates, for the most
part, had succeeded quite well in schooling up to this point
in their academic careers. One minority student, registered
at a Faculty of Education, explained her meritocratic
perspective in this way:

In some cases it probably is fair. Maybe if they want
to supposedly get a minority because the [visible
minority school] students are there, but on the other
hand, you should get in because you are qualified.

Being qualified, in this discourse, is thus directly linked to
the work it takes to attain the grades necessary to gain
entrance into a Faculty. Indeed, one Aboriginal candidate,
during he course of the interview, learned of the
affirmative action procedures that allowed for his/her
offer of admission and was visibly upset that it was not

Table 4.1: Respondents' Parental Educational
Background and Grade Average

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Actual Count</th>
<th>Percentage of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>All Applicants</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both parents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Education</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average above 80%</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average between 76%-80%</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>21.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average between 70%-75%</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>38.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average below 70%</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Visible Minorities</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both Parents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Education</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average above 80%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average between 76%-80%</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average between 70%-75%</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>34.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average below 70%</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>45.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Visible Minorities *

Note: * Includes both Aboriginals who are not Status Indian, and “Other Minority”

Indeed these lives and their class background are ripe for
further investigation. What we do know, from our survey
data, is that there is quite a discrepancy in the education of
the parents of our dominant culture survey respondents
and that of our visible minority respondents (see Table
4.1). Visible minority respondents tend to have parents
with more years of schooling than dominant culture
parents.

Indeed, when one correlates this with the overall
educational background of Canadian teachers reported in
King and Peart (1992), we see an interesting change. King
and Peart note that for teachers aged 30 and under20 their
fathers' level of university attainment was 20 per cent
(1992, p. 25). Our data (see Appendix 2) shows that 25.5 per
cent of the fathers of our respondents held a university
degree. This pattern holds true at the lower end of parental
schooling also, with our respondents showing fathers' elementary (grade school) and partial secondary
attainment levels of only 32.5 per cent compared to King
and Peart's figure of 42 per cent for this age cohort. It
appears that current candidates entering Faculties of
Education come from families where parents have
completed more years of schooling.

We conclude that more of these candidates come from
upper middle class backgrounds, a finding not dissimilar
to King and Peart's comment that “younger teachers ... are more likely ... to come from white collar and
professional groups” (1992, p. 24). This pattern, then, does
not deviate much from that of the early 1980s when there
was far less access to teaching by working and underclass
students (Lockart, 1991, pp. 36-37). When the great
demand for teachers, caused by the baby boom of the late
1940s and early 1950s, quickly diminished (see Smith, 1989,
p. 29) there was a similar return to what Lockart calls an
“intergenerational social-inheritance pattern” (1991, p. 36),
what we would call the reproduction of social class. With
far greater competition for both fewer teaching positions
28) and fewer places in Faculties of Education, one can see
why social class reproduction may have a negative effect
on social mobility. Whether, in our data (see Table 4.1), the
marks — as a mechanism of exclusion — of this upper
middle class cohort are higher than other candidates
remains a matter for further research.

However, what we currently know is that visible minority
candidates do not seem to attain marks as high as their
dominant culture counterparts. Visible minority
respondents attained only 19.8 per cent of the 76 per cent
and above average marks as opposed to the dominant
culture candidates who got 29.8 per cent of this range of
grades. It is easy to see why fewer minority candidates
would receive an offer since most of the “floating averages” for admission would be in this upper range of marks.

Lastly, financial concerns plays a major role in deciding to accept offers of admissions and these concerns are greater for Aboriginal and possibly for visible minority students as well. One Aboriginal interviewee explained this class-based problem succinctly:

There are many native students who want to get to university in the native programs, but the funding just isn’t there and there is limited funding on the reserves. The government agencies are not dealing with it.

Her/his point is particularly poignant in these difficult economic times. Other subjects stated their economic plight in different terms. Getting and keeping a part-time job in their local communities kept a number of potential registrants away from our Faculty. As Sunter notes, “rising education costs may require older students, in community colleges and universities, to seek jobs” (1992, p.5).

What is particularly gratifying, despite the problems still to be overcome in terms of inequity of access to teacher education, are the small victories that are on-going in the struggle for social justice. One Aboriginal subject stated that, despite economic hardship and the difficulties in getting to Nipissing, she “felt really good . . . really comfortable.”

5. Conclusion

The analysis of current practices would help in the implementation and institutionalization of affirmative action initiatives for Aboriginal, visible minority and differently-abled education candidates. What we have seen above is a small scale exploration of the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion in access to teacher education. We have called for the collection of relevant provincial data in this area of candidate racial/ethnic, social class and differently-abled backgrounds since these data do not currently exist. An analysis of the “Educational Equity Data Collection” (COU), given to 1993-94 teacher education candidates, may solve some of the statistical obfuscations found in more recent publications on the subject of equity of access to Ontario Faculties of Education.

Our current research has added to a growing body of knowledge about candidates in terms of their social class and ethnic backgrounds. Unlike previous studies that have used mainly male-oriented categories like “father’s educational background” as the major descriptor of social class and educational attainment (King and Peart, 1992; Lockhart, 1991), we have used maternal and paternal education background information to help us probe the social dynamics involved in social class and ethnic — especially visible minority and Aboriginal — access to teacher education.

We have only begun this complex research process. However, we have a few new guidespots to help us. We now have a better understanding of the ambivalence that may be prevalent in Aboriginal and visible minority candidates surrounding a) multiracial role models in teaching, and b) the issue of affirmative action. We certainly know that these attitudes may be a part of an ideological discourse impeding access. We also have a better picture of some of the organizational factors that both help and impede access as well as a deeper understanding of the dynamics of social class and racial competition for scarce teacher education positions.

Liston and Zeichner (1991) cite the Holmes Group consortium in their exhortation to provide a more multiethnic (U.S.) teaching force: “To do so would help to diminish the powerful negative messages about justice, fairness, and about authority and power, about inclusion and participation, that are implicit in the prevailing monochrome of our nation’s teaching cadre” (1991, p. 203). Hopefully, as Canadians, we too will have the determination to carry out what is fair and just. In Roger Simon’s words, “I cannot fail the responsibility of considering what I/we do in the present with our past heritage and our current privilege” (1992, p. 153). As educators, we hope that Ontario and the rest of Canada will gather the teachers of tomorrow from the rich diversity of our present.

References


Appendices

Appendix 1: Applicant profile — 1992
(distributed Nov. 1991)

In order to obtain information which could be used to help improve the selection of applicants to Nipissing's Faculty of Education we are sending this profile to all 1992 applicants. By voluntarily providing information about yourself in the following areas, you will assist Nipissing's efforts toward an equitable admission of applicants from under-represented groups. The information will not be used in any way that is detrimental to your application.

COMPLETION OF THE FOLLOWING IS VOLUNTARY

1. Are you a Status Indian? Yes ___ No ___

2. Are you, by virtue of your race or colour, in a visible minority in Canada? Yes ___ No ___

If yes, please check the appropriate box, regardless of your country or birth.

___ Black
___ South Asian (Indo-Pakistani)
___ Aboriginal (Inuit, Metis, Non-Status Indian)
___ Asian (Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, South-East Asian)
___ West Asian or North African
___ Other visible minority group (specify):

3. Were you born in Canada? Yes ___ No ___

4. What is your maternal language(s)? (language spoken in the home) __________________________

5. Disabled persons:
For the purposes of employment, do you consider yourself, or do you believe that a potential employer would likely consider your disadvantaged by reason of a persistent disability which relates to (check more than one if appropriate):

___ Vision (Partially sighted)
___ Coordination or dexterity
___ Learning disability
___ Other disability (specify)
___ Hearing (Hard of hearing)
___ Speech
___ Epilepsy

6. What was the highest level of schooling completed by your
Mother: __________________________
Father: __________________________

7. Are you a single parent? Yes ___ No ___
Appendix 2: Profile of 1992-93 Survey Respondents

Date: October 23, 1992
1335 out of 3459 applicants responded

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Actual Count</th>
<th>Percentage of Respondents</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Aboriginal*</td>
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<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Visible Minority</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
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<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asian</td>
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<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Asian/N. African</td>
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<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Born in Canada</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Maternal Language E</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal Language F</td>
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<td>2.0</td>
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<td>5. Partial Vision</td>
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<td>.1</td>
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<td>0.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Epilepsy</td>
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<td>.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning Disability</td>
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<td>.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Disability</td>
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<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Student’s Mother:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>High School</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
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<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
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<td>349</td>
<td>25.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Single Parent</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Inuit, Metis, Non-Status Indian, Status Indian

Notes

1. This paper was originally presented at the annual conference of the Canadian Society for the Study of Higher Education held at the University of Ottawa in June, 1993.
2. The Ontario Minister of Education, Tony Silipo, made a statement in 1992 (cited in the November 1st Sunday Toronto Star) indicating that a rumoured admissions policy change with respect to mandated affirmative action for First Nations and visible minorities would be announced by the government soon afterwards (Deverell, 1992).
3. Unfortunately, due to the small number of registrants (2) in the differently abled category, the authors did not investigate this category further.
4. Ontario Faculties of Education enrol mainly consecutive (post-baccalaureate) program students. Approximately 5/6ths of the B.Ed. program totals are accounted for in this consecutive program mode.
5. Firstly, this survey is an instrument similar to that used in Lundy and Lawrence (1992). Secondly, a further inter-organizational conflict could be seen in the Ontario Council of Admissions, a sub-committee of COU. Significant debate and resistance to data collection instruments for all university/collar candidates could be seen within this sub-group. Wide resistance to completing this form (1993 applicants) occurred within the pool of first year candidates to colleges and universities but far less resistance was found in teacher education applicants. This phenomenon warrants investigation.
6. Unfortunately our modern world is filled with acronyms. OUAC is the Ontario University Application Centre, situated in Guelph.
7. It is with a great deal of humility that social researchers must address action research. A figure of 39 per cent acceptance rate for visible minority candidates at Nipissing in 1992, cited in this OADE document, is not at all correct. Our relaying and the subsequent reporting of initial research findings for the statistical part of this study left a lot to be desired. A more accurate assessment was made in the Lundy and Lawrence paper delivered at the University of Manitoba in November, 1992.
8. Statistic Canada’s The Daily (March 30, 1993) gives a useful explanatory note on “Comparability of 1986 and 1991 Ethnic [and Aboriginal] Origin Data.” It explains that such comparisons are quite complex and “can be affected by changes in the environment in which the questions are asked as well as by changes in the respondents’ understanding or views about the topic.” The note goes on to state that, as an example of this, “public attention on Aboriginal issues in the year leading up to the Census may have contributed to increased reporting of Aboriginal origins” as well as other factors (p. 3). Note also that 53 per cent of Aboriginal respondents reported “multiple ancestries” (p. 4). On the precise issue of nomenclature see also Statistics Canada’s 1991 Census Dictionary.
9. We would like to clarify our use of the term “First Nations.” We have used it herein as interchangeable with Aboriginal. However, from our interviews with various respondents we realized that the term Aboriginal or Native is preferable to “First Nations” for a number of these respondents.
10. Statistics Canada, in The Daily (March 30, 1993) notes that there are recently released (March 30, 1993) “lists of incompletely enumerated reserves and settlements” that “can be found in Aboriginal Data: Age and Sex (Catalogue No. 94-327)” (p. 11).
11. Immigrant Population and Visible Minority are complex social phenomena and are not interchangeable terms. However, as a crude measure, the Statistics Canada (1986) Census term “immigrant population”, does provide a measure of comparability for visible minorities in Nipissing and Parry Sound
Districts (see Lundy, 1992). Indeed, one further Statistics Canada publication, *Census Canada 1986: Federal Electoral Districts 1987 Representation Order: Part 2* (Cat. #94-134) gives a closer approximation of visible minority status. That is, within a total population (Electoral District and not Census District) of 71,930 (including institutionalized persons), there were 305 visible minorities (Blacks, Chinese and South Asians) comprising 0.42 per cent of this Electoral District (184). From this 1986 Census we know clearly, however, that over 49 per cent of Canada’s visible minorities lived in Ontario and that Toronto’s visible minorities made up 17.5 per cent of the overall city population (Government of Canada, 1989).

12. It should be noted that we have no data whatsoever on Aboriginal students who entered our program via regular (non-affirmative action) procedures. As we discuss below, an important drawback to “visual observation” of minority status noted in the OADE report and other studies using this method (Myer and Towson, 1991) is the real variety of facial and skin features in Aboriginals. This lack of being visibly Native was one of the irksome life experiences for at least one of our Aboriginal respondents.

13. We have revised this instrument in subsequent surveys. We discuss some of the changes later in this paper.

14. In a later voluntary survey sent out in December, 1992 to all 1993-94 applicants, 1335 our of 3039 responded (43.8 per cent response rate). For the purposes of this present paper we are using only selected data for illustrative comparison.

15. “Eligible” in this sense is used to mean chosen by a Faculty committee struck for this purpose. For more detail on this program see Lundy and Lawrence, 1992. It is important to note also that survey respondents (“Actual Count” in Appendix 2) and registrant numbers do not necessarily coincide.

16. Whether this apparent concern for “being frank,” to organization members who could affect student subjects in positive and/or negative ways, impeded a larger number of willing interviewees remains to be seen. The frantic pace of classes and assignments at this time of year may also have influenced the low number of willing interview subjects.

17. Teacher candidates in our consecutive program obtain a B.Ed. and an Ontario Teaching Certificate if they successfully complete all courses with a 70 per cent average and at least 60 per cent in each course. Those who have less than this average but 60 per cent in each course are eligible for the Certificate only.

18. The actual number of places for each of these new initiatives is being determined, for the first few years at least, by selection committees. This process is quite similar to the implementation of long standing affirmative action for Aboriginal as well as mature (over 30 years of age) student initiatives.

19. In our analysis of survey respondents for the 1993-94 academic year we have become more precise in our use of survey categories (eg. Aboriginal, no “Other Minority”) and we will soon have four years of data to compare. We are now able to make more accurate analyses of this parental educational background (see also Lundy, Lawrence and Sparkes, 1994).

20. The average age of pre-service teachers at Nipissing in 1992-93 was 29 years of age.
The State of Heritage Language Programs in Small- and Mid-sized School Boards in Central and Southwestern Ontario

Suzanne Majhanovich and Lisa Richards, University of Western Ontario

While the research on the development of Heritage Language programs has mainly focused on larger urban boards in Ontario (Berryman, 1988; Cummins, 1981, 1983, Cummins and Danesi, 1990; Danesi, 1983, 1989, 1990; Di Giovanni and Danesi, 1988; Fan, 1992, to name a few), the status of the programs in smaller boards has largely been ignored. In this study, the researchers seek to redress that problem by looking at mid- and small-sized boards with regard to the number of heritage languages taught, along with numbers of instructors delivering the program, as well as teaching methods, organization, and supervision of the programs. In this way, specific issues of heritage language programs in smaller systems can be identified.

Methodology

For the first part of this study, school boards from Central and Western Ontario districts with student populations of 27,000 or less according to the 1991/92 Directory of Education were chosen. Since the investigators were specifically interested in examining boards that lay outside the region of Metro Toronto, those within the geographic region of Toronto were excluded from the sample. Ministry personnel, namely an information officer with the Ministry of Education and an official from the statistical division of the Ministry, were then contacted to determine which of these smaller boards offered Heritage Language Programs. The designated boards were then contacted by telephone in order to determine whether or not they still offered heritage languages at the time the investigation was begun.

Based on the information reported by Ministry personnel, and then confirmation of heritage language status given by the boards themselves, those which met the sample criteria among Public Boards included Brant, Elgin, Hastings, Kent, Lambton, Lincoln, Niagara South, Norfolk, Northumberland and Newcastle, Oxford, Peterborough, Wellington, and Windsor; Roman Catholic Boards included Brant, Elgin, Hastings Prince Edward, Kent, Lambton, Lincoln, London–Middlesex, Oxford, Simcoe, Waterloo Region, Welland, Wellington and Windsor.

Response to a survey questionnaire (please refer to Appendix 1 for a profile of both the questions and answers given in this survey) gave a detailed profile of those boards chosen for this study. Three individuals from among those boards that responded to the survey questionnaires participated in a 30-minute personal interview (please see Appendix 2 for Personal Interview Questions). Another person who had taught in both smaller and larger school boards in the sample districts was interviewed as a control. Also, five boards were contacted by telephone to give further clarification regarding some of the answers recorded on the survey.

The populations of the boards selected for the sample ranged from a total student population of 1,962 to 26,604. The response rate from the surveys was seventy-four per cent. Despite personal verification from board personnel that heritage language programs were offered at their schools, two respondents indicated that they did not offer, or no longer offered, heritage language programs. In all, data from 18 boards are presented in this analysis. The number of students enrolled in the international languages program ranged from 57 to 1,200, with over half the boards in the sample having student enrolments of fewer than 200 students (please see Appendix 1 for a more detailed breakdown of the heritage/international language population).

Analysis of the Data

The survey provided information on the variety of heritage languages taught as well as the number of instructors involved and total number of classes offered (Survey questions #1, #4, and #5). It is interesting to note that despite the relatively small populations of the boards under study, 27 different languages were offered among the 18 respondents (See Figure 1). This is an impressive number representing almost half of the total variety of heritage languages offered in Ontario (approximately 60).

Figure 2 shows the total number of Heritage Language (HL) classes offered for each board organized from the lowest to the highest number of different languages offered, and the number of instructors involved in delivering the program. In some cases, one instructor will be responsible for more than one class; in others, an extra
Figure 1: Heritage Languages: Offerings among Boards Responding to the Survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>No. Boards Offering Language</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>No. Boards Offering Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Arabic</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15. Hungarian</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Armenian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16. Italian</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Cambodian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17. Korean</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Cantonese</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18. Persian</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Chinese*</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19. Polish</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Dutch</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22. Romanian</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Eritrean</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23. Slovak</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Filipino</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24. Slovenian</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. German</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25. Spanish</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Greek</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>26. Ukrainian</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Hebrew</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27. Vietnamese</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Hindi</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Boards did not indicate whether they offered Mandarin or Cantonese Chinese.

Instructor is involved, probably to supervise the program; and on occasion, instructors share classes, one perhaps responsible for the linguistic part and another for culture and conversation.

The length of time which boards indicated that their Heritage Language Programs had been in operation ranged from 4 to 16 years. There were no discernable trends between the number of years that the Heritage Language Program had been available and the number of languages offered. Some boards that had offered the program for many years offered two or three languages while other boards whose programs were less well established offered eleven.

Heritage Language growth reported by respondents largely follows general immigration trends found in Ontario at large (please refer to Appendix 3 for a more detailed profile of immigration statistics which correspond to the languages recorded in this study). From responses given to questions #3 and #18 on the survey questionnaire, and from personal contact requesting further clarification on survey responses, growth appears to be in languages of South-East Asia (i.e. Vietnamese, Cambodian, Chinese), Eastern Europe (i.e. Polish, and Romanian), North-East Africa (Eritrean) and Central America (Spanish). Similarly, language decline also appears to reflect trends of decreased immigration from Western Europe. For example, a number of respondents have indicated that Italian, German, and Dutch have either decreased in

Figure 2: Summary of Answers to Questions #1, #4 and #5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety of Languages</th>
<th>No. of Classes</th>
<th>No. of Instructors</th>
<th>Hours/Week</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>47.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>127.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>42.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>72.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>137.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
heritage language enrolment or been dropped altogether. The exception to this rule seems to be Portuguese where the amount of immigration has increased in the past few years. In this case, the number of Portuguese language classes is staying constant, if not growing in certain areas. This trend in heritage language growth, however, may decline as many of the local immigration reception centres are being moved and consolidated in the larger urban cities, e.g. Kitchener, London and Windsor. Because many of the places in this study will not be receiving new immigrants, the source of first generation students will be depleted.

Other important information gathered from the surveys and interviews includes resources that the small- and mid-sized boards can call upon including the teaching staff, relatives and other individuals from the community, and teaching materials.

**Resources**

*Teachers*
Trends in immigration are not only important predictors of growth or decline in future student populations in the heritage language classes, but they also indicate which ethnic groups would be more likely to have first generation teachers. Naturally, bigger boards with larger ethnic populations have a greater chance of finding first generation immigrants to teach heritage language classes. However, the supply of first generation teachers in smaller boards would be more limited. Some boards that offer more than one class in a particular language try to cope with this problem by having the most fluent (usually the most recent immigrant) teach only the grammatical component of the two and one half hour sessions, while those with less facility in the language teach only the cultural element of the lessons. By specializing in this manner, boards with smaller populations are able to make maximum use of the expertise located in their areas.

However, there may be hidden costs in such a practice. Although the policy of having two or three different teachers rotate among language classes each week may be beneficial for boards, it may also have a deleterious effect on the quality of teacher–student rapport. Limited amounts of student–teacher contact may make the student and teacher feel unconnected with the class, and by extension, the culture. Other boards (at least three that we contacted) have the same teacher teaching more than one class per week. Another respondent indicated that they maintained their stock of teachers by taking recent graduates of the program and recycling heritage language teachers back into the system.

*Relatives and Community*
Although two of the respondents on the survey questionnaire indicated that there was little or no community support for the program (See question #15, Appendix 1), all of the candidates interviewed and some of the respondents on the survey questionnaire listed parents, grandparents, older brothers and sisters of heritage language students as being very important resources. One person interviewed said:

They also come into the classroom to help us. In fact, in my school, every Saturday in the staff room there is a parent there to help us.

Another interviewee reports that:

Our kids have very different levels of language when they come through our doors. Sometimes we have to divide people up into groups of different language ability. That's why we depend a lot on the parents for the conversational part.

Because the ethnic populations in the smaller boards are not large enough to warrant separate classrooms according to grade or ability level, there are greater variations in ages and language backgrounds of students entering the heritage language program. Such disparities between students make extra assistance from a parent or relative a tremendous asset to the program. Their voluntary services enable the teacher to accommodate the specific needs of the children better.

However, while parent volunteerism seems to provide the ideal solution for addressing the specific needs of heritage language teachers working in smaller boards, this policy may also have the unintended side-effect of threatening the autonomy of the teacher. Being constantly on display to students' relatives can leave the heritage language teachers vulnerable to criticism. One respondent states:

Some parents want to go in and sit in the classroom and almost criticize the teacher. They say, "Look at the teacher who is not speaking good Chinese." Often the teachers panic, especially if they are not as qualified as they think they should be — they panic when a parent comes in and starts criticizing them.

As a mainstay for heritage language programs in some of the smaller boards, family volunteerism may unwittingly be creating new sets of problems in an attempt to rectify others. While it is true that relatives, depending on their own level of education and fluency in the language, can act as system checks and balances which monitor the quality of the program being administered, they may discourage the few people who are available to teach in these communities from becoming teachers. This raises questions of how much ownership over the program relatives should have, and whether greater emphasis and opportunities for teaching skill development alone can, in fact, make teachers more immune to this type of criticism.

But it also brings up the issue of how smaller school boards conceptualize "bilingualism" and whether perfect fluency should be the criterion of a "good" heritage language teacher. Interestingly, although question #9 in the survey...
questionnaire reveals that most (13 out of the 18) of the boards responding to this study feel that their heritage language teachers are bilingual, our in-depth interviews have suggested that, in certain contexts, i.e. the heritage language classroom, teachers are not as fluent in the language as they feel they need to be. Since 12 of the 18 boards responding to our survey indicated that the person most responsible for the language program was fluent only in English (see survey questionnaire—question #8), key board personnel do not have the language facility to know how proficient their teachers are in the heritage language; they can only rely on the judgement of the contact person from the ethno-cultural community. This leaves boards vulnerable to the political interests of those with more clout within the community. Arguably, being proficient in an ancestral language does not guarantee good teaching nor does it necessarily instill in students the kind of pride in that culture that the Heritage Language Program is intended to cultivate. It is possible, on the one hand, that the person who responded that his or her board selects its teachers on the basis of enthusiasm for the program (See survey questionnaire—question #10b) may be as justified in that criterion for teacher selection as the person who mentioned that level of fluency in the language was the most important factor for hiring teacher in theirs. On the other hand, where will these “enthusiastic” teachers develop their language facilities in such small communities?

The second problem with unilingual persons in charge of language programs is that they may not place the same educational priority on heritage language teaching as someone from a non–Anglophone culture or someone who has first-hand knowledge of second language learning (or for that matter second language teaching). While program coordinators are familiar with classroom management issues, they may not be aware of the specific types of problems faced by heritage language teachers.

Materials
On question #15 of the survey questionnaire, respondents indicated that there were varying degrees of support for the Heritage Language Program in their community. However, through the personal interviews, there seemed to be widespread concern among teachers in these school boards that there was a lack of professionally produced material to be used in the classroom as well as home that reflected the Canadian reality of heritage language students. As one interviewee states:

I believe we need materials. It is not sufficient just to throw money at us and say we’ll pay your teachers, we’ll give you a school, we’ll buy your pencils, and so forth. I think we need to have a group of people to develop materials.

The control person in this study who has taught in both larger and smaller boards reiterates this observation saying:

The bigger boards have more money for heritage languages. There is a central resource centre for all languages and I actually know that because that is where I was interviewed and I flipped through some of these books and said, “There are so many books here.” I couldn’t believe it. I mean three book cases with books available e.g. novels — not your everyday reader that was used in the 30s. It is more of an enriched reading resource centre.

Because heritage language programs are funded on a per child basis, the greater the number of students, the more funds boards can obtain for the program. Furthermore, the presence of larger ethnic populations means that ethno-cultural communities have a larger pool of financial resources on which to draw. Smaller boards usually have fewer numbers of ethnic students enrolled in the program and, correspondingly, smaller ethno-cultural communities to provide financial support for the program. As a result, they have fewer funds available to purchase or produce materials for the program.

This situation is highly problematic for three reasons. First, limited amounts of funding mean boards rely too much on the goodwill of teachers either to purchase these materials out of their own pocket or take on the time-consuming work of producing these materials themselves. One person interviewed comments:

We don’t really receive funds from any outside source and we don’t feel we need this because we have the school provided freely. The materials that we need we produce it by our own hands. We buy materials — just raw materials to use.

Thus, even when teacher salaries are comparable to those in the bigger boards, the hidden cost of having to purchase most of your own equipment depreciates the value of the wage considerably. Second, a substantial stock of audio–visual aids and equipment adds to the variety and perceived legitimacy of the program. Conceivably, when students do not see the same kinds of professionally produced materials as they do in other classes in the schools, the heritage class becomes even further removed from the student’s notion of “real school.” Thirdly, teachers who are not familiar with second language teaching methodology in the Canadian context may not know how to produce teaching materials for the program (particularly for classes with wide variations in heritage language proficiency), where to purchase such materials, nor how to use them (Lopes and Lopes, 1991).

Interviews in this study have suggested that teachers try to deal with these issues by pooling resources and collaborating on a regular basis with other teachers. One interviewee reflects on this situation:

Every Sunday, we usually have about a 20- or 30-minute recess where we visit for 20 minutes and
Interestingly, the interviewee who has worked in both larger and smaller school boards views the close collaboration stemming from insufficient resources as one of the smaller boards' strengths:

In the smaller communities, there was a lot of team teaching and let's plan this together. In this bigger community, they kind of don't feel as though they need to discuss anything because we know what we are doing. The assumption is that everybody knows what they are doing and then people are afraid to ask for help because they think they will look stupid.

Perhaps one of the strengths of at least some of the smaller school boards is their awareness of the specific problems facing heritage language teachers in the smaller communities and their willingness to initiate communal strategies in order to help augment existing levels of resources.

Qualifications and Professional Development

Another persistent concern among those interviewed was the large numbers of heritage language teachers who continue to be unfamiliar with the Canadian education system. As one teacher observes:

We have a certain type of dichotomy here where the students are taught by regular day school teachers who are qualified in one specific area using specific strategies to encourage them to learn in a certain manner, and on Saturday they move on to the heritage language school where people in front of them don't have any idea of what they are doing...I think it's terrible because a child's learning needs to be on a continuum and where it is cut off on Friday and they go to a different methodology, we are inviting disaster.

Although 65 per cent of the boards in the study that responded to survey question #6 (11 out of 17) indicated that there were opportunities for professional development in the boards, all persons interviewed claimed that these occasions for skill development were simply not enough.

Often heritage language teachers are schooled in another country which means that there are significant differences between the way they were taught and how students are taught today in Canada (Costaki, 1993). As a result, they conceptualize learning in very different ways than do their students. Most of the people that I interviewed, for example, indicated that, in many classes, there was far too heavy an emphasis on grammar-translation exercises and copying sentences out of a book. Many are not familiar with modern methods of instructional strategies or evaluation and assessment techniques. Unfortunately, when the teacher is incapable of teaching in a format that is familiar to the students, the students cannot see the relevance of learning about that culture. Perhaps this is one of the reasons, among many others, why so many students drop out of the program after grade 8 (please see survey questionnaire #14 for numbers of students enrolled in early, formative, transition and specialization heritage language programs).

This raises the issue of what type and how much professional development should be offered to heritage language teachers so that their classes are more meaningful to students. One problem encountered by one of the teachers interviewed was that many of the workshops and seminars are conducted in English. Thus, these events are not accessible to those heritage language teachers with a poor grasp of English. Another question is whether or not heritage language professional development can develop teachers who are familiar with the Canadian system in a specific number of sessions.

This is not to suggest that courses, seminars or workshops which introduce these teachers to simple management techniques and modern technology are not valuable. One person that we interviewed stated that the people in his community were "thrilled" to be given a chance to go to a two–day workshop. Yet, he was surprised that, until they attended that workshop last year, many of those teachers did not know that such opportunities existed. This leads one to speculate what vehicles could be used to inform teachers of the professional development available to them, particularly in the smaller boards where seminars may be held many kilometres outside of their community. One interviewee suggests that the Heritage Language Association of Canada could promote greater awareness of heritage language activities by communicating more regularly with its various constituents.

Interestingly, while the people we interviewed called for further teacher training and professional development opportunities for heritage languages, interviewees were hesitant about recommending teacher certification as a means of rectifying this problem. One person insightfully describes her dilemma over compulsory certification:

How can they [the heritage language teachers] be considered professional when they don't have the training and certification? But is it realistic to expect [for candidates to go to university] when they are only teaching for three hours a week and when it's not a full–time position?

Although many people in the program may be dissatisfied with the lack of professional development, it would seem that, limited as they are, such unofficial training...
opportunities are the only feasible option at this time. Perhaps boards in less populated areas could increase the number of training sessions available to teachers by allowing them to attend French or other second language workshops.

Gearing the Program to the Student Population
There is an assumption that Heritage Language Programs are for first generation students — and in many cases, they are. Question #12 of the survey sought to uncover what percentage of students in the HL program were first, second or third generation. Of the 15 boards that responded to this question in our study, only four indicated a majority of their HL students were first generation, citing 60 per cent, 75 per cent, 80 per cent and 90 per cent, respectively. The other boards, however, indicated that second, third or even fourth generation students predominated in their HL programs. Although first generation students may tend to be clustered in certain languages, clearly, many HL teachers in our study have a mixture of both recent and third generation students in their classes. Even first generation HL students may exhibit different levels of proficiency. As one person interviewed stated:

All of the children are first generation immigrants... But [depending on their home background] the kids have very different levels of language when they come through our doors. That is why we depend a lot on the parents for the conversational part.

Another person interviewed said "it is probably a second language program, but there are a lot of first language kids involved."

Having to deal with a wide range of language proficiency in one classroom may help explain the type of program which teachers can realistically offer. Question #16 was included to address the issue of how much of the program was culturally based and how much was devoted to linguistic activities, oral and written. Although a number of respondents felt that "language is culture" and hence the two aspects could not be separated, and two even stated that the program was 100% culturally based, the majority (10 respondents) indicated that language activities characterized most of their programs with oral (as opposed to written) activities dominating. This is not surprising since most of the students participating in HL programs in the boards we surveyed are in the age group of the formative years where listening and speaking would naturally constitute most of the language arts program. The individuals interviewed all stressed the importance of culture, but bemoaned the over-emphasis on language, especially grammar and translation. However the language program is delivered, concentrating on communication or grammar and translation, such an emphasis on linguistic elements suggests that HL programs in smaller and mid-sized boards are second language programs, not maintenance for first language immigrants. In this way, these programs do not differ much from those in large urban centres.

Summary and Conclusions
The data that we were able to gather in this study show a number of very positive findings about heritage language programs in small- and mid-sized boards. First, heritage languages are alive and well, in many cases flourishing. A surprising variety of languages is offered with facilities to offer more as the various communities request them. However, a smaller population to draw upon as compared to large urban centres can also cause some difficulties. To begin with, there are fewer qualified native speakers to serve as teachers, less opportunity for professional development, and teachers and the existing community must be prepared to contribute more in the way of resources and the production of teaching materials if the program is to continue. The small- to mid-sized boards that we surveyed hardly had any HL students continuing into the credit courses at the secondary level unlike the situation in large urban areas, particularly in Metropolitan Toronto. Does that indicate that the programs are not as well established, or just that in a small community with small ethnic populations, assimilation is more likely to take place, obviating the demand for HL programs? It is difficult to make a definitive conclusion based on our relatively small sample.

However, since some of the boards have been offering heritage languages for as many as 16 years and are not experiencing much if any growth in the program, it would seem that perhaps the second assumption (that assimilation in small areas is taking place) is justified. In any case, the responses to question #18 indicate, that as as immigration from certain areas of the world wanes, and the population in Ontario from those areas becomes second or third generation, well established in their community, there seems to be a decline in demand for those heritage languages. Nevertheless, programs for recent immigrants to these small communities are growing, and no doubt provide real support. The individuals that we interviewed personally are all truly committed to the program and commended the enthusiasm of the teachers and community members involved in heritage languages. While all is not ideal for heritage languages in small and mid-sized boards, there are some positive features as well. For example, as the person who has taught a heritage language in both large and small boards commented, in smaller programs there is a greater sense of community and more cooperation among participants to improve and keep the program going; in larger centres, people may tend to take the program for granted and not be as disposed to work together. Nor are the programs being used to create or perpetuate ghettos of recent immigrants. Several of the
people interviewed commented on how they view the HL classes as places where the culture of the particular language and ethnic community can be presented and connected to the larger Canadian reality. Thus, the HL programs, wherever they are offered, help children of diverse backgrounds to value and understand their own, and their parents' and ancestors' origins in the context of their new pluralistic homeland.

The authors wish to thank the Multicultural Education: The State of the Art project of the Canadian Association of Second Language Teachers for the grant that made this study possible.

Note

1 Between the time that this study began and when we had completed our final report, Heritage Languages became officially designated as International Languages, Elementary. For the purposes of this report, however, we have retained the term "Heritage Languages" because this is the name that was used to compile most of our research.

References


Appendix 1

Results of Questionnaire

The results from the survey will be presented in the order that they appear on the questionnaire that was distributed to the boards in our study. Where appropriate, tables have been provided to synthesize the data. N indicates the number of boards that responded to the question.

Question #1: In which Heritage Languages are your programs offered?

N= 18

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>No. Boards Offering Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Arabic</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Armenian</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Cambodian</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Cantonese</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Chinese</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Croatian</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Dutch/Belgian</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Dutch</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Eritrean</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Filipino</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. German</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Greek</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Hebrew</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Hindi</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Hungarian</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Italian</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Korean</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Persian</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Polish</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Portuguese</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Punjabi</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Romanian</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Slovak</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Slovenian</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Spanish</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
26. Ukrainian 4
27. Vietnamese 3

*Boards did not indicate whether they offered Cantonese or Mandarin Chinese.

Question #2: For how many years has your board offered Heritage Language Programs?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. Years Programs Have Been Offered</th>
<th>No. Boards</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question #3: If your Board were to start any new Heritage Language Programs, in which language(s) is there a need in your community?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages Needed</th>
<th>No. Boards</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chaldean</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandarin</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainian</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown or Not Available</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question #4: How many instructors are involved in teaching your Board's Heritage Language programs?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Instructors</th>
<th>Number of Boards</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numbers of instructors varied from a low of 2 in three boards to 51 in one.

Question #5: How many total hours of classes are offered in Heritage Languages per week?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. Hours/Week</th>
<th>Number of Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-55</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-59</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-64</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-69</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-74</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75-79</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-84</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85-89</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90-94</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95-99</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100+</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The official Number of hours/wk for each language is two and one half. The figures above represent the total number of hours devoted to heritage language by the various boards.

Question #6: Are there professional development opportunities provided for Heritage Language teachers in your Board?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Teachers</th>
<th>Number of Boards</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Yes = 11
No = 6

If yes, please describe this opportunity:

Those who responded to this question mentioned such opportunities as Regional Professional Development Workshops in London, the Languages Alive Symposium in Toronto, Professional Activity Days and Regional Conferences run by their boards, instructor training (i.e. classroom management, lesson planning), workshops under Heritage Language initiatives, and grants from the Ministry.

Question #7: What position in your board is assigned responsibility for the Heritage Language program?
N=17

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person Most Responsible for the Heritage Language Program</th>
<th>No. of Boards</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Board Language Consultant</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Board English as a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Language Consultant</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Board Superintendent</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A coordinator from Continuing Education</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vice-principal of Continuing Education</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principal Alternative or Continuing Education</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question #8: Is that person in question #7 fluent in both English and a Heritage Language? (please check only one)
N=17

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No. Boards</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very fluent</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fluent only in one Heritage Language</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fluent only in English</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat fluent</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other: Fluent in English and French</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question #9: What percentage of the Heritage Language teachers in your board would you consider a) bilingual (i.e. speaks a heritage language and one of the official languages) and b) are women?
N=17

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No. Boards</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A) Bilingual</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. Boards</td>
<td>% Bilingual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>10*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B) Women</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. Boards</td>
<td>% Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question #10: Must Heritage Language teachers have Ontario Teacher’s Certificates?
N=17

a) Yes = 0
No = 17
b) If no, on what basis does your board select its Heritage Language teachers?

1) On a letter of permission from the Ministry 0
2) On a voluntary basis* 8
3) Other:
   a) Through Continuing Education 1
   b) Through teaching credentials obtained in the teacher’s native country 1
   c) Enthusiasm for the program 1
   d) Joint decision by School Board and Community Group Representatives 5
   e) Recommendation by Heritage Community 2
   f) Fluency in Heritage Language 1

*Although many marked volunteer, they qualified by saying that they must be recommended by the sponsoring or the ethnic community.

Question #11:
(a) What is the salary range for Heritage Language teachers in your board?
N=17

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dollar Amount per Hour</th>
<th>No. Boards</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$12.00 – $24.00</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15.00</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15.00 – $20.00</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$16.00</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$16.05</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$17.20</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$18.40</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$20.00</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$20.50 – $23.50*</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$20.00 – $25.00</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$21.00</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
* $ 20.50 for an instructor and $ 23.50 for a key instructor. The range of salaries reflects the amount of funding available on a per student basis, the amount that is subsidized by the various communities themselves, the number of qualifications that the teachers' possess, board subsidization and the amount of money paid to different teaching positions within boards (e.g. instructional salary vs. key instructional salary). Large ranges in salaries across boards, for example, could be indicative of pro-rated wages for those classes of fewer than 25 students or they could be due to other variables. Therefore, when determining salaries, it is possible that all of these factors must be taken into consideration.

b) What is the criteria for determining these salaries?

N=16

On a per pupil basis 4
On the basis of OTC or other teacher certification 0
On the basis of the number of years teaching experience 1
Other:
   a) *Cost of running the program 2
   b) Continuing education salary scale 1
   c) Board non-contract rate 1
   d) Community Agreement 1
   e) **Flat rate 4
   f) Supply teacher (per hour) home instruction 1
   g) Board Policy 1

*One respondent specified that the cost of running the program was based on the class average.

**Another respondent specified that teachers are paid the standard rate for Continuing Ed. teachers.

Question #12: Approximately what percentage of your Heritage Language students are: first generation? second generation? third generation? other?

N=16

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Gen.</th>
<th>2nd Gen.</th>
<th>3rd Gen.</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>90%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td></td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td></td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td></td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td></td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50%</td>
<td></td>
<td>50%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question #13: About how many students participate in your Board’s Heritage Language programs yearly?

N=18

Heritage Language Student Populations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number Students Enrolled</th>
<th>Number Boards With These Population Ranges</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-99</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-199</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200-299</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300-399</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400-499</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500-599</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600-699</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>700-799</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>800-899</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>900-999</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000+</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question #14: In which age group are the majority of Heritage Language students in your area?

N=17

Note: Some respondents checked off more than one area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Early</th>
<th>Formative</th>
<th>Transition</th>
<th>Specialization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question #15: What community support is there for Heritage Language programs in your area?

N=15

1) Very little or no support
2) Support from parents in the community
3) Community support for recruitment of international language teachers
4) Student referrals from Cultural Centres
5) Community provides location for the class
6) Funds and materials provided by Cultural societies for contests and cultural excursions
7) In-services provided by the community

Most respondents who answered this question stipulated that the amount of support depends on the community group. Responses ranged from very little or no support whatsoever for the programs to high degrees of community involvement which, depending on the ethnic group, were reported to be actively involved in providing
in-servicing sessions for their respective language classes. One respondent indicated that the amount of community support depends on the teacher's enthusiasm, suggesting that it may be the teacher who acts as the primary agent for community mobilization in some of the smaller communities rather than existing ethnic networks extending support to the teacher. While this observation seems to vary among ethnic communities (e.g. another respondent indicated that the Spanish and Dutch communities in his or her board were mostly motivated by the teachers as opposed to the Arabic and Cantonese community which provided support to the program and teachers), HL teachers themselves are reported to be the prime support in three of the communities in our sample.

Question #16: What is the content of your Heritage Language programs? Cite the approximate percent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% Culturally Based</th>
<th>No. Boards</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% Orally Based</th>
<th>No. Boards</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% Written Language Based</th>
<th>No. Boards</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question #17: What measures does your Board take to ensure that the delivery and the outcome of the Heritage Language Credit programs (i.e. International Languages) have met Provincial guidelines? (check one or more)

N=17
1) Not Applicable 6
2) On-site supervision 11
3) Curriculum guidelines 7
4) Other
   a) Teacher in-services 1
   b) Conversation 1

Question #18: How has the population that your Heritage Languages classes serve changed since your Board began the program? (e.g., has one language been dropped and another added because of community need)?

General observations made by some of people responding to the survey questionnaire indicate that enrolments vary from year to year depending on the interest expressed by the community and the period of time that the immigrants have been in Canada. Two people in the study commented that the Indian languages of Gujaradi, Punjabi and Hindi are no longer offered in their communities because of waning interest and because English is now spoken in the home. Numbers of Dutch, German and Italian HL classes have also diminished in some boards. On the other hand, Polish, Spanish (Latin American) and Vietnamese language classes have been added, reflecting increased immigration from those areas of the world. One person commented that languages are often dropped when the population is largely 3rd generation because the language is no longer spoken in the home. In any case, boards try to remain cognizant of the needs of the community.

Appendix 2

Questions to Individuals

1. How would you characterize the strengths of the heritage language programs in your board?
2. Could you describe the development of the heritage language program in your board or any particular turning point in the development of the program?
3. What kind of needs does your board presently have with respect to its heritage language programs?
4. Who are the people who provide the funds for heritage language programs?
5. How do you recruit new teachers into the program?
6. Are there any special concerns that heritage language teachers have that would be different from other second language teachers?
7. What opportunities for professional development do your heritage language teachers have? Are they qualified teachers?

33
8. How much emphasis do you put on, a) linguistic elements, b) cultural elements in your program?

9. Given the student population which you serve, would you say that this is a first or a second language program?

10. What kind of community support do you receive for the program?

Appendix 3

Ontario immigration statistics from 1977–1993

The following statistics are derived from the Immigration Statistics (1977–1992) as provided by Employment and Immigration Canada, Ministry of Supply and Services. The statistics for each year have been consulted. It is interesting to note areas where immigration has drastically dropped off as opposed to growth areas. Trends are evident which will affect HL enrolments in the future.

Region: Western Europe

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Region: Eastern Europe

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*In 1984 the Republic of Somali became the Republic of Somalia.

Region: Asia

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*From 1979 onward China is listed as China, People’s Republic of.

**From 1979 onward Hong Kong is listed as Hong Kong B.C.C.

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Heritage Language Study and its Effect on Learning English

Marcel Danesi, Professor of Semiotics and Italian, University of Toronto
Christopher De Sousa, Graduate Student, University of Toronto

Introduction

As is well known, ever since the Canadian Parliament passed its Multiculturalism Bill into law in 1971, making possible the incorporation of Heritage Language (HL) classes into the Canadian elementary school system, there has been intense interest and research activity on the possible effects that HL study entails, especially on the learning of the school language.* The research has shown, time and time again, that HL study enhances not only the global verbal skills of the child, but also the child's overall academic development. Parenthetically, the research has also revealed that English-language children studying and using an HL in elementary school also derive great verbal and academic benefits from such a learning experience, paralleling the well-documented French immersion findings. The framework enlisted to explain this constantly-recurring result is generally known as interdependence theory, i.e. the hypothesis that the formal skills gained in one language are automatically transferred to the learning of the other. The scholar recognized for having given interdependence theory a testable articulation is Jim Cummins of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (e.g. 1979, 1984a, 1984b, 1991). In the case of minority-language children, the interdependence effect is considered to be especially critical, because it has been found to help such children move towards the so-called state of “additive bilingualism” (Lambert 1977). This posits that a child entering the school system with a mother tongue different from the school language should be allowed to gain literacy in the mother tongue in order to avoid verbal and cognitive deficits. Research has shown that the “addition” of the home language to the child’s school learning experience tends to enhance his or her overall verbal development, and especially his or her acquisition of literacy skills in the school language, whereas the “subtraction” of the home language, so as to allow the child to receive more exposure to the school language, tends to produce diametrically opposite consequences (see Cummins and Danesi 1990 for a global discussion of the relevant research).

Such research was supposed to have allayed the fears of skeptics of bilingual models of education. Recently, however, the debate over such models has been rekindled, in large part because of widely-read popular books, like the one by Rosalie Pedalino Porter (1990), and media reports and exposés which have been severely critical of bilingual education in Canada and the United States. Such critiques have led to doubts about the validity of interdependence theory. So, the time has come to look once again at this hypothesis in its essential and simplest form. If Cummins is correct, then the interdependence effect should show up in any random sampling of children studying an HL under diverse conditions and in different contexts.

Objective of the Study

This paper reports on a study that we conducted during the 1993-94 school year. Its objective was to determine how children studying an HL (Italian or Portuguese) in school compared with a control group of monolingual English-only trained children vis-a-vis English-language literacy skills. We decided to focus on metalinguistic awareness as the criterion for evaluating literacy and general proficiency in English, since we agree with Cummins (1984b) that tests of metalinguistic awareness are suitable instruments for assessing the CALP component of the child’s language proficiency (CALP = cognitive and academic aspects of language proficiency). Such tests do not, however, provide data on the child’s BICS skills, such as oral fluency, prosody, and other aspects of sociolinguistic or pragmatic competence (BICS = basic interpersonal communicative skills). The reason for our choice was simply because evidence of any interdependence effect is more readily apparent from CALP-focused tests. Moreover, as Wald (1984: 58) has aptly observed, we too suspect that oral fluency may even camouflage some underlying deficits in school language proficiency.

Our goal was to determine if HL learning, no matter how it is delivered or to whom it is destined, does indeed influence literacy acquisition of, and proficiency in, the school language. We were not interested in identifying any factor as primary, secondary, or neutral in producing the interdependence effect: i.e. we were not interested in zeroing in on any pedagogical, sociological, or curricular
The basic premise in the cognitive and social sciences underlying any comparative study is, of course, that the subjects be chosen in a random way. We did not utilize a standard random sampling technique to select our subjects, because only certain schools and parents gave us their consent to administer the tests we had devised (under strict conditions of anonymity). Given this low accessibility to the target population, we had to limit the sample size, the method of selection, and the range of HLs represented in the experimental group. Nevertheless, we believe ours to be a representative sampling of the population of typical grade 3 learners in the city of Toronto, since the schools attended by the children were located in areas that vary broadly in socioeconomic and ethnic configuration. There is no reason to believe that a different or a larger sampling would have produced significantly different results from the ones we collected from our testing procedures.

It should be pointed out, moreover, that two factors emerged during the administration of the tests which may have had a slight impact on the outcome. Several of the children were ill with assorted cold and flu-like symptoms when the tests were being administered. This may have prevented them from answering the test items to their fullest potential. As well, the classroom and household atmosphere in which some of the tests were administered may have been distracting, given that people were coming in and out of the room where the children were writing the tests.

It is also relevant to note that the Italian HL children had, by and large, been exposed at home and in their community settings to regional, non-standard variants of the language. From our contact with the Italian subjects, we discovered that some of them were expected to speak Italian at home most of the time. For these, the HL classes served to impart and reinforce more standard versions of the language at school, as well as to impart literacy skills. Others, on the other hand, were exposed only occasionally to regional versions of Italian in the home, and thus were studying Italian as a kind of “second language,” as Baetens Beardsmore (1982: 8) calls it, or as a “consecutive language,” as Hamers and Blanc (1989: 10) designate it. This pattern of variability in the subjects constitutes the current-day “reality” of the HL classroom in Toronto, thus making the children in our study truly “typical” of the contemporary classroom scene in the city.

### Methodology

#### Subjects

The subjects chosen for the purposes of the present study were children enrolled in grade 3 (ages 7 and 8) in the city of Toronto. The experimental group consisted of children who were concurrently attending the optional Italian or Portuguese HL program. All these children were exposed to the HL at home to varying degrees. The control group was made up of monolingual English children at the same grade level who were not enrolled in a HL class: i.e. the group was made up of students from the regular English program who were identical to the experimental group in all respects, except that they were not studying a HL. These children were exposed only to English at home. The total number of subjects examined was 20 English-only and 20 HL children. The sites chosen for the administration of the testing materials were several local area schools and the homes of the subjects. A breakdown of the subjects in terms of their test sites is shown in Table 1.

### Table 1: Subjects and Test Sites

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<tr>
<td>Monolingual English</td>
<td>7</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monolingual English</td>
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factor as a contributor to, or detractor from, the effect. We wanted to see simply if HL training, under normal (uncontrolled) circumstances, produced the effect regardless of who taught the HL, of what materials were used, and of who learned it.
Table 2 - Test Questions Modeled after the PI

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<th>Corresponding Test Items</th>
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<td>I. Recognizing and Understanding Literacy Behavior: Given a drawing the child is asked what a person in the picture is doing. The objective is to find out if the child understands the purposes of literacy: e.g. knowing that reading a story can be enjoyable.</td>
<td>2, 3A, 3B</td>
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<td>II. Recognizing Features of Printed Language: The child is asked if he/she knows technical terms describing language such as “letter” and “word.”</td>
<td>3C</td>
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<tr>
<td>III. Recognizing Features of Spoken and Written Language:</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Phoneme Awareness: The child is asked to point out or work with phonemic/graphemic distinctions.</td>
<td>1C, 5C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word Awareness: The child is asked if a given item constitutes a word, or which of two given words is the longer one.</td>
<td>4A, 4B, 5B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sentence Awareness: The child is asked to indicate if a given item constitutes a sentence.</td>
<td>5A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 - System Employed to Score the Tests

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Question</th>
<th>Scoring</th>
<th>Maximum Points</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>1 point for each correct answer</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>1 point for each correct answer</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>C</td>
<td>1 point for each correct word</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Picture cues</td>
<td>1 point if sentences are well constructed</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 point for spelling accuracy</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 point for the use of exceptional vocabulary</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 point for punctuation accuracy</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 point if the sentences show a logical narrative coherence with the picture cues</td>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>1 point for describing the picture cue accurately, 1 point for form accuracy (spelling, punctuation, etc.), 1 point for sentence construction</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>1 point for each correct response</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C</td>
<td>1 point for suitable definition, 1 point for form accuracy</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>1 point for each correct response</td>
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<td>1 point for each correct response</td>
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<td>A</td>
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<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>1 point for each correct response</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C</td>
<td>1 point for each correct response</td>
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<td>12</td>
</tr>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>1 point for each correct response</td>
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<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>1 point for each correct response</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
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</table>

Total: 76
items from the PI instrument related to literacy behavior and to the knowledge of printed and spoken language, adapting them to our own situation. These are specified in Table 2 above. The aspects of metalinguistic awareness that the PI instrument aims to test are self-explanatory. In the table, the numbers and letters refer respectively to the test numbers and question items that we ourselves modeled after the PI (e.g. 3A refers to question A on test 3 that we constructed).

Other kinds of language knowledge were tested via question 1A, which examined reading comprehension, questions 1B and 6B, which tested knowledge of English vocabulary, and question 6A, which aimed to determine the extent to which the children were able to recognize present and past verb tenses. The 6 tests used for the study are reproduced in Appendix A. In a nutshell, I focused on reading comprehension in English, with some testing of form knowledge in the section "Thinking about the Words"; 2 focused on narrative skills; 3 on literacy and print-related concepts; 4, 5, and 6 on word and sentence construction (6 also tested knowledge of the association between verb tense and time relations).

The tests were scored as shown in Table 3.

Results

The results obtained on each specific test are reported in Appendix B. Tables 4 and 5 contain, respectively, the overall average scores of each of the students in the control (English-only) and experimental (HL) groups, as well as the average score for each group as a whole. The maximum score obtainable on the 6 tests was 76.

Table 5 summarizes the average scores achieved by each group on a test-by-test and question-by-question basis.

An average of 70 per cent or over on the PI is considered to be high. These tables reveal that: (1) both groups scored high overall (the control group was just below the 70 per cent average); (2) the experimental group scored higher overall and consistently higher on individual test questions than did the control group. Applying the t-test to the results reveals that the overall difference in scores between the two groups (t = 2.07) is statistically significant at p < .05.

Discussion and Conclusions

As already discussed, although we are aware of the limitations that were inherent in our study—e.g. the relatively small size of the sample due to access limitations to the schools, the restriction to only two HLs—we nevertheless feel that our study, as conducted, has replicability and that its findings are significant. Sample populations as provided by the "real world," with all its constraints, rather than by some pre-established, mechanically-applied sampling technique, tend nonetheless to be representative of the target population.

The overall finding of our study was that the HL group scored consistently higher on virtually all tests of language knowledge than did the control group, achieving a very high score in CALP-based English-language literacy. This is consistent with similar investigations on interdependence as documented by the relevant literature. There is, therefore, no reason to believe that by increasing our sample size a conflicting result would have emerged. On the contrary, it would probably have increased the significance factor in all domains of the test battery. Specifically, the results of the present investigation suggest that HL students tend to develop an enhanced awareness of English word meanings, are highly capable of recognizing specific features of the written language, have a good command of English vocabulary, and possess a

| Table 4: Average Score of Each Subject and of the Two Groups as a Whole |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Control Group               | Experimental Group          |
| Student | Overall Test Score | Student | Overall Test Score |
| 1     | 72.5            | 1      | 69.5             |
| 2     | 63             | 2      | 66              |
| 3     | 49             | 3      | 68.5            |
| 4     | 61             | 4      | 65.5            |
| 5     | 13             | 5      | 55.5            |
| 6     | 67.5           | 6      | 45.5            |
| 7     | 42             | 7      | 56              |
| 8     | 63             | 8      | 63              |
| 9     | 63             | 9      | 47.3            |
| 10    | 48.5           | 10     | 48.5            |
| 11    | 51.5           | 11     | 53              |
| 12    | 59             | 12     | 60              |
| 13    | 60             | 13     | 52              |
| 14    | 47.5           | 14     | 70              |
| 15    | 49.5           | 15     | 70.5            |
| 16    | 59.5           | 16     | 62.5            |
| 17    | 52.5           | 17     | 61              |
| 18    | 51             | 18     | 68.5            |
| 19    | 47             | 19     | 70              |
| 20    | 42             | 20     | 62.5            |
| Group Average = 53          | Group Average = 59.8        |
| Standard Deviation = 12.35  | Standard Deviation = 7.97   |

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keen ability to convert iconic texts into verbal ones (pictures into sentences).

We are aware of the dangers of establishing cause and effect connections on the basis of experiments such as ours. Indeed, one of the authors of the present study has expressed skepticism over the entire epistemology, apparatus, and methodology of the social sciences in this respect (see Danesi 1995). Nevertheless, ever since Cummins articulated the interdependence hypothesis in 1979, educators and psychologists have consistently found what we have in this study—namely what appears to be an interdependence effect between the CALP literacy skills of the home/ancestral language and those of the language of the school (see Titone 1989 and Verhoeven 1994 for recent corroborative reports).

Interestingly, our results differ somewhat from the previous pattern of findings. Prior research has shown that the interdependence effect starts to manifest itself only when bilingual children have received a sufficient amount of formal training in each of their languages over several years. However, even though most of our HL subjects attended classes in the HL language for only 2.5 hours per week, and had just started studying the HL during that year, this amount of exposure to the HL was sufficient to produce the interdependence effect.

Table 5: Average Scores of Each Group on a Test-by-Test, Question-by-Question Basis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Test</th>
<th>Control Group</th>
<th>Experimental Group</th>
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<td>1— Overall</td>
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<td>C</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>8.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>2— Overall</td>
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<td>3.05</td>
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<td>.65</td>
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<td>C</td>
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<td>D</td>
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<td>E</td>
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<td>.875</td>
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<td>3— Overall</td>
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<td>8.3</td>
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<td>C</td>
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<td>4— Overall</td>
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<td>5— Overall</td>
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<td>3.95</td>
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<td>6— Overall</td>
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<td>B</td>
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<td>6.05</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overall Average of All Tests</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>59.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overall Average in Percentage Terms</td>
<td>69.73%</td>
<td>78.68%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

References


Appendix A: Testing Materials

Test 1 LOUELLA AND THE AARDVARK

Louella was very shy. She didn’t have many friends. Louella felt that people didn’t like her. And so she decided to hate everybody.

One summer Louella went on a tour of South Africa with her family. When she came back, she had a new pet. It wasn’t a common animal like a cat or a dog, or even like a cougar or caribou. It was an aardvark—a female aardvark named Pandora.

An aardvark is an ant eater. It looks a bit like a pig. But it has a floppy snout and a long tongue.

Louella felt that people would probably find Pandora ugly and make fun of her. But Louella was very fond of Pandora and she didn’t care what people said.

Louella fitted Pandora with a leash and collar. Then she took her pet for a walk down Brewster Street. Along the way Pandora scooped up insects from the sidewalk. She detoured to a nearby ant hill. She began lapping up ants, sticking her tongue into the hill to get more and more.

A group of Brewster Street boys was coming along the street. Louella knew what was going to happen. They would see Pandora and make fun of her. But that didn’t matter to Louella. She wasn’t going to let a few boys bother her. She would just pay no attention to them.

The boys were getting closer. They were pointing at Pandora.

"Hey, what’s that?" asked Andrew.

"It’s a big dog," said another boy.

"No, it isn’t. No dog looks like that."

"What’s it doing?"

The boys came closer. The sight of Pandora drew them like a magnet.

Pandora kept right on eating ants, not even noticing the boys.

"Hey, Louella, that’s not a dog, is it?" asked Stewart.

"No," answered Louella.

"Well, what is it then?"

"An aardvark."

"A what?"

"An aardvark."

"What’s an aardvark?"

"An anteater."

"Oh, boy! That’s really something. Where’d you get him?"

"Her."

"Where’d you get her?"

"South Africa."

"An aardvark from South Africa! That’s terrific," said Andrew. "Can I pet her?"

"Well, I suppose so, if you don’t hurt her," said Louella.

"What’s her name?" he asked.

"Pandora."

Thinking about the Story
A. Answer each question.
1. An aardvark looks a bit like
   a. a cat
   b. a cougar
   c. a pig
2. Louella’s aardvark came from
   a. a pet shop
   b. South Africa
   c. South America
3. Louella expected the boys to
   a. make fun of Pandora
   b. be kind to Pandora
   c. take Pandora away
4. Which happened last?
   a. Louella found herself talking to a lot.
   b. Some kids asked Louella to go swimming.
   c. Everyone asked questions about Pandora.
5. This story is mainly about
   a. how some boys found an aardvark
   b. how an aardvark finds its food
   c. how an aardvark helped a girl find friends

Thinking about the Words
B. Write the word that fits each sentence.
   detoured group tour drew routine
1. A tourist is a person who goes on a ______.
2. A driver who turns off the main or direct road has ______.
3. The music of the bands ______ the children to the parade.
4. A number of persons or things together is called a ______.
5. Brushing your teeth should be part of your morning ______.

C. For each sentence, write the two words that contain the vowel sound we hear in grew and Lou.
6. A caribou likes to chew willow leaves.
7. The dog licked its wounds after its fight with the cougar.
8. With this coupon, you can get the soup for less than regular price.
9. The plane flew to Paris to pick up extra crew members.
10. Don’t twist the corkscrew all the way through.
Write out the story in your own words:

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

Test 3

A.

What is the girl doing in the picture?

B.

Colour in everything that can be read.
C. Describe the following words:

word:
letter: alphabet:

Test 4

A. Which of the following is a word? Circle each word.
black seem aerodynamic
white light and
dkfls today you
5 yto timing
go arbitrary 678

B. Which word is longer? Circle each longer one.

Example: house or mat
1. bake or later
2. hunger or to
3. longer or shorter
4. chair or bear

Test 5

A. Which of the following is a sentence? Circle each sentence.
1. You are
2. Look at the beautiful book.
3. free
4. You three far

B. Each of the following words is made up of two small words. Write out both of them.

Example: upon = up on
into
upset
today
playtime

C. Change the vowel in each word to the vowel u to make a new word.

Example: beg = bug
mad
dig
not
fan

bit
tag
is

Test 6

A. Read these sentences:
I hide.
I am hiding.
I was hiding.

Decide whether each sentence means now or before. Write each sentence under the appropriate heading. The first one is done for you.

Now
I hide.

Before

B. Can you give the correct word?

Example: seven days = week

 tidy = _ea_
something on which dishes are carried = _ _ ay
something to sit on = _ea_
remain = _ _ ay
happiness = _oy
part of your body = _ea_
the sharp end of a pin = _oi_ _
something used to carry water = _ai_

Appendix B: Individual Test Scores

Test 1: Control Group

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Test 1: Experimental Group

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Test 2: Experimental Group

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<th>Skill</th>
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<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Vocab</th>
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**Average Scores** 8.15 3.8 11.95

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**Average Scores** .95 3.95 6.9 11.8

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**Average Scores**

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**Average Scores**

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*We are aware of the change in designation from heritage languages programme to international languages programme that has been recently enacted in the province of Ontario, and welcome it wholeheartedly. However, we will continue to employ the former designation in this paper because of its broad utilization in the context of world-wide educational research on bilingual education.*

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Language Awareness and Its Place in the Canadian Curriculum

Olenka Bilash, University of Alberta and Witold Tulasiewicz, Cambridge University

It is difficult in these economic times to suggest curriculum reform. As both educators and the public know, reform is costly. However, in light of the socio-political (constitutional) issues recently debated in Canada, it is timely to explore a current curriculum which encompasses issues relating to language competencies, multilingualism, cultural distinctions, markets and employment. This curriculum, known in Britain as Knowledge About Language (KAL) or Language Awareness (LA) has been broadly implemented in all schools in England and Wales through massive in-service (Carter, 1990) and teacher education programs.1 KAL/LA is a syllabus of (1) content about language; (2) language skills; (3) attitudinal education; and (4) metacognitive opportunities to reflect on the processes of language acquisition, learning and language use, all designed to be completely integrated into existing subject areas and taught in student-centred classrooms according to student readiness.2 The authors wished to examine what, if any, impact this curriculum might have in a Canadian context. Three questions guided the exploration:

1. What opportunities do KAL/LA activities offer to students for discussion and understanding of the complexities of a multicultural society?
2. How do teachers respond to these opportunities?
3. Does KAL/LA have a place in the Canadian curriculum?

The four components of KAL/LA which are not mutually exclusive, were used as guidelines in the preparation of practical KAL/LA sessions in Alberta by the authors. Drawing on the information and sample activities contained in World Languages Project (Garson et al. 1989) the authors of this article borrowed, developed, adapted and conducted a series of KAL/LA activities in Alberta schools in 1991-92. This article will describe these activities, report reactions of teachers and students, and identify areas for further research on the potential of KAL/LA integration in the Alberta curriculum.

KAL/LA: the UK Experience

Fueled by international concern about student performance and the curricular content of public schools in the developed world, the UK of the 1980s established three national committees (resulting in the Kingman Report, the Harris Report and the Cox Report) and gave them the mandate to give directions and set student competencies in national education. In this process not only did they point out the need to see language more broadly (that is, the relationships and interrelationships of what is referred to as Mother Tongue (MT) and foreign languages (FL), to place higher emphasis on listening skills, to integrate students' written and oral reflection into classroom activities in all subject areas, and to integrate all aspects of what was known as "language across the curriculum", but the commissions also acknowledged the country's intercultural/interlinguistic challenges. The classrooms in the UK, as in a number of European countries (as identified in the Commission of European Communities), face a changing composition:

(a) in each classroom there may be more than one MT;
(b) progress of some pupils is impeded by an inadequate command of the language of instruction; and
(c) the multicultural plurality of the school needs to be acknowledged explicitly by becoming a part of the curriculum.

With this new classroom reality in mind, curriculum specialists called for a rethinking of language. What emerged was KAL/LA.

Application to the Canadian Context

As an exploration of the need for curricular reform the authors took the four main aims of KAL/LA, namely discussions about the nature of language, improvement of language skills, attitudinal education and awareness of the language learning process, into Alberta classrooms where the same multicultural plurality of school needs exists as that known in the UK. KAL/LA activities were conducted with students under the observation of their teachers. Since these activities relied heavily upon student participation and interaction, no two sessions were alike; however, most activities were conducted in all classrooms. Fourteen classrooms ranging from grades 3-8 participated in these sessions. The classrooms represented inner city schools, urban and suburban schools with mainstream and ESL
populations, as well as students from French immersion and Ukrainian and Chinese Bilingual programs. While the authors conducted the activities, classroom teachers were asked to observe the entire session. Most of the 75-minute sessions were recorded on video or audio tapes, teachers were interviewed immediately following the session, and following that, students were interviewed by teachers. Students then wrote a reflection on the session and submitted this to the investigators. Sessions required reference to a world map and use of a chalkboard, overhead project and a VCR. The activities represented all four curricular aims; in fact, most activities touched upon two or three aims simultaneously.

Activities

Opening Discussion
Students were asked how many languages they spoke and how well they spoke each of them. This icebreaker led into a discussion about how many languages there are in the world. To this question student responses varied greatly. Some guessed “25”, “50”, “maybe 100”, while others began with what seemed like an enormous figure — 1,000. In responding to their guesses we pointed to the West African nation of Cameroon on the map and told them that in Cameroon, with a population of about 16 million, over 235 languages are spoken. We further explained that, like Canada, Cameroon has two official languages — French and English. However, most people in Cameroon speak at least three languages; one of the official languages and at least two tribal languages. Some tribal languages may be spoken by only 5,000 people while others may be used by up to one million people. This information helped students revise their hypotheses. When an answer of “thousands” emerged from the class, we continued to the next activity. In the process, a variety of comments were noted. Examples are:

“Well, that’s like Canada. Some people speak other languages here, too.”

“And, not everyone knows French.”

Synonyms and Expression
Students were shown an overhead transparency of two cartoons. One showed a cowboy stranded in the desert beside his pick-up truck, the truck having a flat tire. The other showed a gentleman dressed in a suit inside the living room of his apartment. The text beneath both of them read “I’m mad about my flat”. Students were asked to read the texts silently and then to read them aloud imitating the expression they imagined each would have. A discussion about synonyms for “mad” and “flat” followed, as did identification of the locale of each of the men in the cartoons. In most classrooms intrigue was high as to words used in England and Canada — pram for baby carriage; bobby for policeman; boot for trunk of a car...

Social Register
As an introduction to the notion of register or language formality/informality and awareness of audience, students were asked how they might respond if they bumped into

- a younger child after recess?
- a peer who had tripped them on the soccer field during recess?
- their teacher?
- the school principal?
- an elderly person?

As expected, possible responses ranged from the profane to the formal. Students were made aware that responses to people vary according to how we view and value them. In a few classrooms, the conversation was directed toward how we might more appropriately talk with different people.

Then students listened to a brief role-play presentation of a ten year old speaking with her elderly uncle, parts of which are reprinted below.

Where did you get that hat?
I acquired it from an acquaintance.

It must have been dear.
Yes, I believe it was rather expensive.

My friend saw a ghost the other day. It chased him up a tree.
Really! I don’t believe in apparitions. How can one be pursued by an apparition?
I thought it was funny.
Yes, that’s very drole.

At the conclusion students were asked to identify similarities and differences in the way the two speakers speak. Discussions followed various avenues. In all classes, the formality of the elderly uncle was quickly contrasted with the informality of the youngster. Some students noted the difference in dialects of the two speakers (though they used the colloquial term “accents” to describe this). Other students identified the activity as a “synonym” exercise. A child in a grade three classroom noted that “drole” is also a French word. This opened the door to explaining the influence of Latin and Greek words on many languages.

Counting
Students were taught to count to fourteen in Bengali. Not only do the words for each number sound different in Bengali, but they are also represented in different symbols. Students enjoyed the challenge of simple math problems using the Bengali symbols.

The discussion which accompanied this activity brought to light other ways of symbolizing numerals, such as Roman numerals. In the Chinese bilingual classroom students were eager to share with us their way of writing numbers, even though the teacher informed us that Arabic numerals are used more frequently.
Language Variation or Dialect

Students listened to an audio cassette and identified different pronunciations of English speakers (Welsh, Scottish, Irish, Australian, Canadian, American, Jamaican, etc.). Using a world map to locate the home of these speakers, students explored the range of use of the English language around the world.

At the conclusion of this activity students in the ESL/high needs classroom expressed a ‘eureka’ moment. “Now we know why Paul (a class member who arrived at the school a few months into the school year) speaks different,” several reported. We asked Paul what they meant and immediately heard a Nova Scotian twang. “This is the way everybody talks where I’m from,” he said. Paul seemed to feel good to be singled out in this way—a way which acknowledged his difference but explained it, too; a way which helped other students in the class understand Paul as only an example of many other Canadians. Then Karim suggested that we add Paul’s voice to our dialect tape.

A second activity introduced students to Jamaican Creole. They were shown pronoun forms and asked how they were similar to English words. They quickly spotted that *im* was like him and *mi* like me. They were then introduced to the pattern for forming past tense in Jamaican Creole and asked to extrapolate to other examples. The following information was written on the blackboard:

He = *im*  \quad We = *wi*  \quad I = *mi*

He came. = *lm en kom*.

In all classes students were able to apply the pattern quickly: “So ‘mi en dance’ means I danced?” confirmed one grade five girl.

A discussion about word order ensued in several classrooms with some students pointing out how the position of the direct and indirect pronoun objects occur before the verb in French, but not in English: “In French we say, ‘je les aime’, but in English ‘I like them’.”

Chinese students felt comfortable with word order differences between English and their MT. The Ukrainian students who spoke Ukrainian before they spoke English also added that “some words can’t be translated in all languages!” Mainstream unilingual students seemed more perplexed by the word order differences, but were quite willing to accept them and apply the Creole pattern.

Cyrillic Alphabet

Students learned how to write their names using the Cyrillic Russian script. After being introduced to the sound-symbol system of the Russian alphabet, students proceed to print their names using symbols from the Cyrillic alphabet. Many were amazed to see that “some letters look the same as in English, but have different sounds”, for example “п” and “x”. Others learned that there were no letters to make certain English sounds—for example, “w”. Others were confused by single Cyrillic letters the sound of which required several letters in English script—for example “sh”. One teacher remarked that a grade three child who spoke and wrote Ukrainian saw that “the alphabets are the same, but not quite.”

Word Origins

Students worked in groups of three to five to match word cards with etymological root description cards. For example, one card stated *Bungalow* while another stated:

Hindi-Bengali. People from the British East India Company came to India in the seventeenth century to trade there. The one-storied houses they stayed in were called *bangla* or *bangalo* in Hindi or Bengali.

This activity increased participants’ awareness of the influence other languages have had on English and broadened their knowledge about select words. With the aid of a map or globe, a discussion about how these and other words might enter the English language brought students to refer to the age of exploration and see explorers as transporters of words, as well as goods. When presented with the two words “canoe” and “kayak”, students were asked if these were English words. Their initial response was affirmative. However, upon reflection they guessed that they must be Indian and Inuit words. A further question, “Are these words French?” met with a negative response until the teacher’s glance confirmed a yes. A Dutch boy in the class noted that the word was also a German one, spelled *Kanu*. Such additional information helped students to realize that words enter a language as a result of invention, too, and that each language will spell the word according to its own conventions. Students were always intrigued by the influence of Cree on English—surprised to learn that “moose” and “moccasins” were not originally English.

Scripts

Students were shown a series of scripts in various languages (Japanese, Russian, Chinese, Bengalese, Arabic, Dutch, Hungarian) and asked to identify them. Given the multicultural make-up of many classrooms, this task became one of sharing cultural knowledge. Students identified the script of their mother tongue or heritage language group and in turn taught their classmates about that script, not so much about the language and script in terms of its history or where it is spoken, but about its name. Naming or giving a label is an important step in concept development.

Word Order

The following information was written on the blackboard.

*Apmar nam ki?* (informal)

*Tomar nam ki?* (formal)

*Amar nam Mary.*
Students were informed that the first phrase was an informal one. They recognized that the punctuation indicated that it was a question. They were told that the second was a formal version of the same question while the third was an answer to either question. Students were then asked if they could guess what the questions were or what any of the words meant.

The discussion began by noting that since nam sounds and is written like name, the question probably was "what is your name?" The authors confirmed the note, pointing out that Bengali is an Indo-European language and hence will share such similarities. Students who spoke some French noted that ki sounds like qui, although it is written differently.

In the Chinese program the students identified that their question words also come at the end of the sentence. Another student noted that in this example there seemed to be no word equivalent to "is". They noted that this is similar to their language and the authors were able to point out that this is true of other languages as well. For example, in Ukrainian some sentences do not require the verb "is" as it is understood.

**Videotape of Gestures Used in Language**

Students observed a one-minute videotape on which three gentlemen recorded gestures and accompanying phrases typically used in Italian and Greek. Students were asked if they could recognize the languages or guess the meanings of any of the phrases by watching the gestures. Many hypotheses, mostly correct, were forthcoming. Then they observed another one-minute videotape with the same men using the same gestures, but this time accompanied by English words and phrases. Students were intrigued about these gestures and began to propose similar gestures used in Canada. "I don't think we use as many," said one grade five girl.

As our anecdotes reveal, KAL/LA activities afforded students many opportunities to discuss intercultural contact and to see commonalities among different cultures through language. The student-centred nature of KAL/LA activities allow each group of children to deal with their "real" multicultural challenges, such as understanding why Paul "speaks different". The authors do not wish to mislead the reader into thinking that this package of activities and how it was presented fulfills requirements of a KAL/LA program. In fact, it is unlikely that these activities would ever be done in one session of 75 minutes. Rather, it is hoped that these activities individually or in some combination might be integrated into specific subject areas, the timing of which would be left to the teacher's discretion. For example, social studies would be an appropriate time to examine etymologies, and practice of mapwork skills might be done in the form of language distributions, while language classes may be better able to point out social conventions of oral and written language, grammar and spelling patterns. Second language programs would be well equipped to examine word order and interrelationships of languages.

**Teacher Reaction**

**General Observations**

In all classrooms teachers reported that they were "amazed" how much their students knew. "In honesty," one reported, the students knew "more than I do about scripts, about languages. . .I'm sure that I didn't know that much when I was their age. . .the students seem so natural in responding that some scripts are read up and down or right to left. . ." Teachers noted how students "listened carefully" or "were glued to the words of the presenters" or "soaked all of the information in like sponges." Grade five teachers were particularly pleased that students made connections between explorers and word origins, attributing responses and insights to the social studies unit on exploration. Many wondered where they could obtain information about word origins so that they might integrate these activities into their classrooms. Some teachers noted that the social register activity could act as a bridge to help students understand the notion of audience in the writing process. The point that the KAL curriculum as they observed it was an integrative one and not an additive one was made consistently.

All teachers had various suggestions for integration and wished that some form of in-service would be available so that they could acquire the background knowledge and gain methodology and resource materials necessary to convey the aims of KAL/LA at the best "teachable moments" of every day. Given the large population of Albertans of Ukrainian descent, teachers proposed the use of the Ukrainian Cyrillic alphabet instead of the Russian one. It is also useful to note that to many (Chinese, Ukrainian) the writing of a script is considered an aesthetic activity. The audiotaped activity could also represent greater Canadian content if speakers from different regions and groups were included: Newfoundlanders, Quebecois, Acadians, Aboriginals and Prairie farmers, who speak English or French in many distinct and enriching ways.

**ESL: High Needs Classrooms**

The teachers of high needs classes noted how their "students' eyes shone when their MT was referred to. I noticed the excitement of children when they could say 'This is from my country'. What a boost to their self-esteem!" These teachers concluded with a telling comment about how language and culture are interrelated:

I see now that I have not approached culture in a broad enough way. I've only looked at foods, dances, costumes, and religious holidays. There's a whole pack of knowledge that these kids have that I haven't even tapped — that I wasn't even aware of.
French Immersion Classrooms
Teachers reported that they would like to know more about how KAL/LA might fit into their classrooms. They noted their students' excitement about recognizing similarities between French and some of "new" English words — e.g. *drole*. Students were interested in the scope of the world. Teachers wondered if something similar might be done in French with reference to the French language. "For example," said one teacher, "OK — which we use and sometimes overuse — actually comes from the French *au quai*, a response of confirmation given by *courier du bois* when it was time to load the boat and disembark."

Ukrainian Bilingual Program
As the French Immersion Program, teachers of the Ukrainian Bilingual Program wondered which Ukrainian words had entered the English language. "Perogies. Kobassa..." said one teacher. "What about surnames?" asked another. "They're Ukrainian words which are a part of the Canadian way of life. I mean, people see your last name and ask if you're Ukrainian. They must be able to tell. Even if they don't know what the name means...".

"... Maybe someone could tell them that the *iv iw* endings are sort of like the Scandinavian's "son" endings. So just like Gustafson meant the son of Gustaf, Ostapiw meant the son of Ostap. And Ostapowich means the grandson of Ostap...

Chinese Bilingual Program
Teachers in this program were impressed at the focus and engagement of their students during the activities. They were delighted at how eager their students were to share their background knowledge with the presenters, "[Your interest!]" in the Chinese language... brought out the best in them" one teacher reported.

Student Responses
Students in all programs and all locations reported that they "learned a lot" and that "the activities were fun!" When students were polled, several activities were repeatedly identified as their favourites:

• writing their names using the Cyrillic script (with a few suggestions including the requirement of more time to complete the activity and the request to learn to write their names in many scripts!)
• watching the videotape of speakers of Italian and Greek showing standardized body language or gestures
• playing games such as identifying what language used which script
• finding out where countries are on a map and what languages are spoken there.

Future Directions
In the UK, Bain, Fitzgerald and Taylor (1992) describe three ways in which KAL/LA might fit into the everyday classroom through incidental reflection, as a contributory focus and as a main focus. In Alberta, based on our preliminary research it appears the KAL/LA might belong in a few additional places:

1. In any subject area using a process writing approach, KAL/LA activities would be an ideal way of helping students discover similarities and differences in oral and written language and to come to understand the purpose of writing, and the adjustments made to messages when considering the audience;
2. In the second language curriculum where, by explicitly describing similarities and differences between English and the second language, students might better accept and more quickly learn and apply important points relating to the language. This can be supported by research on metacognitive awareness of strategies used to learn a second language;
3. In the social studies area where teachers might explain the trading of words as part of the age of exploration, the borrowing of words as a result of great inventions, and assist students in developing sensitivity towards names, surnames, names of manufacturers, industries, etc. The impact of language as power — as a part of the democratic decision making process — would surely have its place in the social studies curriculum at all levels;
4. In daily classroom practice surnames could be explored to reveal similarities in naming patterns in languages and breed respect for the meanings of last names; and
5. In raising awareness of Aboriginal contributions to Canadian. For example, linguistic influence on English (mocassin, moose, mukluk) and inclusion of Cree syllabics or other aboriginal languages in the exercise on scripts.

Most of the teachers we met had used aspects of KAL/LA in their teaching. They considered this a necessary part of effective teaching of certain concepts in language and other subjects and noted their students' interest in them. However, nowhere were all aspects of KAL/LA as we have described it taught, and nowhere had the teachers systematically organized their content into a program of explicit instruction. With this in mind the following recommendations might be considered for future direction in Alberta:

1. An analysis of the Alberta curriculum documents to specify where KAL/LA content might best fit;
2. Through teacher education courses at the university and through annual conferences sponsored by the ATA and school jurisdictions teachers be informed about KAL/LA, its content and activities and ways in which it might be integrated into Alberta curricula; and
3. An implementation program within school jurisdictions be organized so that these ideas find their way into classroom practice in a systematic way.

Concluding Remarks

This project remains exploratory at this stage. Activities need to be added and adapted to the Canadian context. However, based on our findings it appears that a KAL/LA program can raise children's awareness of language and knowledge about language with their peers; allow immigrant children to see not only their foods and dances celebrated in the classroom, but also their languages; and raise the awareness of what is sometimes taken for granted in aspects of language. In these sometimes divisive times, the intercultural understanding based on children's experiences with their fellow Canadians which KAL/LA activities offer may act as a uniting force. Understanding the similarities between languages may be more powerful than hearing and seeing the apparent differences.

Notes

1 A more detailed account of the development of KAL/LA in Britain is available in Tulasiewicz (1992).

2 KAL/LA content includes (1) knowledge (facts about the nature of language as a vehicle of everyday communication, history of language and specific languages, the ongoing changing nature of language) and its socio-political dimension (as a mirror of a nation's culture, speaker/listener and reader/writer relationships, interpersonal and mass uses of language with a particular concern for the ways in which social power is constructed and challenged through language); (2) language skills in MT for more effective communication in all subject areas (how to use and improve them, language as a system, literary language, differences between oral and written language) and in FL (learning skills which include aural, oral, and visual faculties, and the ability to use them appropriately, with increasing proficiency); (3) attitudinal education (sensitivity to other speakers of MT and FL and their language variants), and (4) in all cases an understanding of the process of language acquisition and learning and language use (metacognition and reflection - language as a vehicle of concept building and thinking) in all subject areas and in all aspects of everyday life. (Tulasiewicz, 1992)

References


Introduction

The purpose of this study was to compare the effects of two different curricula on the attitude and beliefs of high school students about First Nations people. The study compared the effects of the two curricula on three different outcome measures: a measure of empathy; a measure of attitude; and a measure of attribution of blame for the situation of First Nations people. In addition, the study attempted to determine if there was any interaction between the extent of student beliefs in a just world, the treatments and the outcome measures.

There is currently a debate taking place concerning the meaning and merits of antiracist education and multicultural education. A review (Kehoe and Mansfield, 1993) of the components of anti-racist and multicultural education suggests they have a great deal in common. One evident difference between the two approaches, especially for secondary schools, is the content of the curriculum. The advocates of multicultural education urge teaching similarities and differences among cultures with an emphasis on accepting differences. The purpose is to convey social and cultural information about other cultures with an emphasis on positive achievements. Evidence of program success is usually a measure of attitude toward the cultural or racial group.

The advocates of antiracist education urge teaching the economic, structural and historical roots of inequality. Antiracist education is firmly rooted in the notion of race and social discrimination as systemic and embedded within the policies and practices of institutions. The approach suggests analyzing unequal social and power relations, teaching the human consequences of racism and increasing people's understanding of the dynamics of racism.

An important consideration seldom mentioned by antiracist advocates is what should be accepted as evidence of a decrease in racist attitudes. One review of anti-racist teaching studies (McGregor, 1993) found positive change in attitudes as a frequent outcome measure. Others include a decrease in ethnocentrism and a decrease in expressions of empathy for victims of discrimination. People who are racists have a high need to simplify causation. One simplification is to attribute a groups' social situation, e.g., low status, to the personality of the group rather than societal forces (Kehoe, 1984, p. 76). A greater willingness to attribute lack of success to societal attitudes and policies rather than to group characteristics would be an indication of a decrease in racist attitudes.

Review of the Literature

There have been three recent meta-analysis studies which have reviewed the literature and compared the effectiveness of race relations approaches and multicultural approaches with high school students, teachers, and police officers. McGregor (1993) examined the effectiveness of role playing and anti-racist teaching to reduce the racial prejudice of students. The results indicated that role playing and antiracist teaching significantly reduced racial prejudice, and they did not differ from each other in their effectiveness. Ungerleider and McGregor (1992), in a meta-analysis, compared antiracist training and intercultural training with police officers and military personnel. Programs using an intercultural approach were more effective than those using a race relations approach. McGregor and Ungerleider (1993) conducted a meta-analysis comparing multicultural and racism awareness programs for teachers. Programs using a race awareness approach were more effective than programs using a multicultural approach.

A number of pilot studies have examined the effectiveness of antiracist approaches on empathy and attitudes using belief in a just world as a dependent or independent variable. Lerner (1980) has shown that people who have a high belief the world is a just place are more likely to blame victims of misfortunes because they consider the world to be a place where people get what they deserve. Students who believe the world is just may perceive situations where minorities are denied equality of opportunity as the fault of the minorities rather than the institutions. If that is the case, then educators might have to help students who believe the world is just to reconstruct their world vision before teaching them about social inequalities or injustice.
Kehoe (1994) pretested grade 10 students with the Belief in a Just World Scale (Rubin and Peplau, 1975) and then investigated the effects of three different curricula on their beliefs about First Nations People. The control group studied the textbook presentations of the Red River and North West Rebellions and the treaties. The anti-racist group studied excerpts from The Dispossessed by Geoffrey York and Reservations Are for Indians by Heather Robertson. They studied substandard housing, chronic unemployment, violence, alcoholism, prostitution, infant mortality, imprisonment, and government policy and decision making procedures that ensure dependency. The multicultural group studied successful Native businesses, e.g., Peace Hills Trust, Northern Resources Trucking, and successful Native individuals, e.g., a lawyer, a classical conductor and a power plant manager. They viewed a videotape Ready for Take Off which provided examples of successful, attractive, well-dressed, articulate Native people. There was no significant interaction between the scores on the Belief in a Just World Scale, the treatments and the outcome measures. The multicultural group evaluated Native Indians significantly more positively on a semantic differential. There were no significant differences among the three groups on a measure of empathy and a measure of attribution of blame to either government policies or Native Indians.

Two other quasi-experimental studies attempted to reduce Belief in a Just World scores by teaching anti-racist units. Segawa (1993) pretested subjects with the Belief in a Just World Scale and a measure of empathy towards Canadians of Japanese ancestry who were interned during World War II. The grade 11 students then studied a unit on the internment of the Japanese during World War II (Beardsley, et al., 1992). The unit was taught for approximately 9 hours of class time. The students were post-tested and the results showed a significant positive change in empathy for the Japanese who had been interned. There was no significant change on the measure of Belief in a Just World. In an essay written at the end of the unit, the overwhelming majority of students argued the Japanese were treated unfairly. In a post hoc discussion of the results most students seemed to suggest that the world is essentially fair but there will be instances when unfairness will take place. Alexander (1993) pretested grade 10 students with the Belief in a Just World Scale and then taught them From Wooden Ploughs to Welfare by Helen Buckley. Buckley describes the plight of First Nations people, explains how Canadian attitudes and government policies are responsible for their situation, and provides examples of successes when they are given opportunities. The students were post-tested with the Belief in a Just World Scale and a measure of their willingness to attribute blame to government policies or to First Nations people. Two other grade 10 classes in the school were given the attribution of blame measure. There was no significant difference from pretest to post-test on the Belief in a Just World measure. The results of the blame measure are unscientific but the students who studied From Wooden Ploughs to Welfare were significantly more likely to attribute blame to Canadian attitudes and government policies than to First Nations people.

The lack of interaction between the Belief in a Just World measure and the treatments and the outcomes in the Kehoe study, and the inability of the treatments in the Segawa and Alexander studies to reduce student belief in a just world are disappointing. The results of the Segawa and Alexander studies tentatively suggest students should be presented with multiple examples of injustice in the contemporary world. The improvement in empathy in the Segawa study and the attribution of blame to Canadian attitudes and government policies in the Alexander study are encouraging results.

The research on anti-racist teaching and multicultural teaching has not shown the effects anticipated by their advocates. Both approaches have had mixed effects and where they are positive, the relationships are weak. Gage (1978) argues that low effect sizes are useful. He compares this research with medical research where small effect sizes lead to significant changes in treatment. He suggests that effect sizes do not need to be large to be important. The implication of research on practice depends not on the size of effects but on the costs and benefits of any change in practice.

The arguments for anti-racist teaching are compelling. It just doesn't seem right to omit or play down the Komagata Maru incident, the Chinese head tax and the internment of the Japanese. The exclusionary treatment of the Chinese in Canada and the appalling and racist treatment of First Nations people cannot be ignored. Also, the study of these issues should result in less racism, as indicated by more positive evaluations, more empathy and a greater willingness not to blame the victims of discrimination. The treatments in the Kehoe, Alexander and Segawa studies were detailed and explicit, and they were taught by sympathetic teachers who were teaching for a specific outcome. Much more research is needed on anti-racist teaching. It is important to study different treatments with different populations and interacting, independent variables such as willingness to blame the victims. We should and we must teach about racism to increase empathy for victims; to increase the ability to recognize injustice; and to find cause and increase support for change.

Research Questions

The following questions were considered for the purposes of this study.

1. Is there a significant difference between pre- and post-test scores on The Empathy Toward First Nations Canadian Scale (Kehoe and Echols, 1983) among...
students who receive either a multicultural treatment or an anti-racist treatment?

2. Is there a significant difference between pre- and post-test scores on the Attribution of Blame Scale (Kehoe, 1993) among students who receive either a multicultural treatment or an anti-racist treatment?

3. Is there a significant difference between pre- and post-test scores on the Semantic Differential on First Nations Canadian Scale (Osgood, 1958) among students who receive either a multicultural treatment or an anti-racist treatment?

4. Are there interactions among the treatments, subjects' gender, ethnicity and individual scores on the Just World Scale (Rubin and Peplau, 1975) in relation to change scores on the three affective scales?

Methodology and Subjects

The research design for this study was quasi-experimental with a control group. The experimental group comprised six classrooms (three for multicultural instruction and three for anti-racist instruction) and the control group comprised three classrooms. Both treatments lasted for three hours of class time.

Participants in this study were 251 grade 11 students enrolled in Social Studies courses at two secondary schools in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia. One hundred and sixty-nine students participated fully in the study (see Table 1 for detail). Four classrooms (two experimental and two control groups) in school A and five classrooms (four experimental and one control groups) in school B were randomly assigned to each treatment (multicultural, anti-racist, and no treatment = control). Students' ethnic backgrounds were classified as either Asian or European (See Table 2).

Procedure

The study was conducted for approximately one month in November 1993 (Oct. 29th - Nov. 24th). Because of different school schedules, the study at school A was conducted about 10 days earlier than at school B. Approximately one week prior to the beginning of the treatment, all students who participated in the study were asked to complete a questionnaire booklet which contained four different scales. Those scales were the Empathy Toward First Nations Canadian Scale, the Attribution of Blame Scale, and the Semantic Differential on First Nations Canadian Scale, and the Just World Scale. It took about 25 minutes to administer the questionnaire. Each item in the questionnaire was read one by one so that each student was able to have an opportunity to fully understand what the items meant.

After the administration of the pre-test, students in the experimental groups participated in two different programs about First Nations people in Canada. The total treatment time was three hours of class time (75 minutes x 3 days). All the experimental groups (both the multicultural program and anti-racist program) were taught by the same instructor who was an experienced Social Studies teacher and university professor. The students in both experimental groups wrote a knowledge test designed to help them review what they had learned during the three sessions. It took students about 40 minutes to complete the test. Approximately one week after the end of the treatment, all students were again asked to complete the questionnaire which included the three attitudinal scales. It took approximately 15 minutes to administer the questionnaire.

Instrumentation

1. The Sympathy Toward First Nations Canadian Scale

This scale consists of ten statements which indicate various feelings toward First Nations Canadians regarding the way they have been treated in Canada. Kehoe and Echols (1983) originally developed the empathy scale to measure students' feelings toward minority groups such as Japanese Canadians, Chinese Canadians, and East Indian Canadians. In this study, the scale was slightly revised. The scale consists of items mainly related to the affective and behavioral components of attitude. It includes statements like "I feel bad when I hear about the treatment of First Nations people in Canada", "I think that the land owned by the government in each province should be given to the First Nations people", and "I would sign a petition supporting First Nations self-government".

In terms of the definition of "empathy", various researchers have different definitions and no consistent
definition was found (e.g., Eisenberg, 1987; Goldstein, 1985; Katz, 1963; Smith, 1989). However, empathy is generally perceived as the following, as defined by Katz (1963). “When we experience empathy, we feel as if we are experiencing someone else’s feelings as their own. We see, we feel, we respond, and we understand as if we were, in fact, the other person (p. 3”). In order to feel empathy, people need to have the ability to put their own feelings aside and imagine themselves having a type of experience that others are experiencing. Katz elaborates on the definition of empathy by comparing it to a definition of sympathy. When people feel sympathy for others, they feel sorry for them. People observe another person’s behaviour from their own viewpoints. They react to another person’s situation according to their own feelings. It seems from this explanation that the items on the empathy scale developed by Kehoe and Echols is more consistent with the definition of sympathy. Positive responses to the items on their scale seem to be an indication of a sympathetic response to the situation of the minority group. Therefore, the Kehoe and Echols’ measure of empathy will be used to assess sympathy for First Nations people.

Students indicated their responses on a six-point continuum (strongly agree — moderately agree — slightly agree — slightly disagree — moderately disagree — strongly disagree). The score range of the scale is from 10 to 60 and higher scores indicate more sympathy toward First Nations people. A pilot study of this scale, employing grade 10 students as subjects, obtained a reliability (Cronbach’s Alpha) estimate of .84. In the present study, the reliability coefficient for the sympathy scale was .86 and its test-retest reliability was .79 (p < .001).

2. The Attribution of Blame Scale
This scale consists of fifteen statements which either blame First Nations people for their disadvantaged situation in society or blame other Canadians’ attitudes and government policies. No literature exists on the attribution of blame which may provide a theoretical explanation of responses to the scale. The scale contains items such as: “First Nations Canadians simply aren’t willing to work hard; they wouldn’t be poor if they really tried not to be” and “First Nations Canadians are born without the talent to get ahead”. The items on this scale are based on some knowledge of historical and contemporary relationships between First Nations people and the Canadian government. In other words, the attribution scale attempts to measure the cognitive component of attitude. Students indicated their responses on a six-point continuum which was the same as the one for the sympathy scale. The score range of this scale is 15 to 90. Low scores indicate respondents’ tendencies to put blame on First Nations people; high scores correspond to one’s disposition to blame the government and other Canadians for problems that First Nations people have faced. A pilot study using attribution of blame measure with grade 10 students yielded a reliability coefficient of .82. In this study, the reliability coefficient for the attribution scale was .73. The test-retest reliability of this scale was .81 (p < .001).

3. The Semantic Differential on First Nations Canadian Scale
This scale contains ten sets of adjectives (e.g., weak/strong, clean/dirty, and friendly/unfriendly). This scale originally developed by Osgood (1958) has been extensively used to measure individual attitude. Students indicated their responses on a seven-point continuum. The scores were assigned as [positive adjective e.g., ‘good’] 7-6-5-4-3-2-1 [negative adjective e.g., ‘bad’]. “Random polarity” of 10 sets of adjectives were ensured so that all the positive or negative responses did not fall on one side of the scale (c.f., Henerson, et al., 1978). The score range is 10 to 70 and higher scores indicate that respondents hold more positive evaluations of First Nations people in general. A pilot study using the ten item version with 127 grade 10 students yielded a reliability coefficient of .88. In this study, the reliability coefficient for the semantic differential scale was .82 and the test-retest reliability was .85 (p < .001).

4. The Just World Scale
Rubin and Peplau’s study (1973, 1975) developed The Just World Scale to measure individual belief in a just world where people get what they deserve and deserve what they get. Rubin and Peplau’s study (1973) which comprised a sample of 180 undergraduate students at Boston University, and Merrifield and Timpe’s study reported in Rubin and Peplau (1973) which comprised a sample of 62 students at Oklahoma State University, showed that the scale had high internal consistency in both samples (KR-20 = .80 and .81, respectively; Rubin and Peplau, 1975, p. 70). The findings of Rubin and Peplau’s study, concerned with the national draft lottery, also contributes to the predictive validity of the Just World Scale. In this study, subjects with high belief in a just world showed less empathy toward those who had draftable low numbers in the lottery (i.e., victims of unfortunate sufferings) than subjects with low belief in a just world. The result supported the just world hypothesis. Furnham and Procter (1989) have conducted an extensive review and critique of the literature. They pointed out that belief in a just world as measured by the scale has been correlated with authoritarianism, religiousness, belief in the Protestant work ethic, internal locus control beliefs, tendency to admire political leaders and social institutions, and a tendency to have negative attitudes toward the disadvantaged. In the present study the reliability coefficient of the scale was only .58, which raised a question about the reliability of the scale with this population.

Treatment

1. Multicultural program
Fifty-three students (25 female, 28 male) in three classrooms participated in the multicultural program on the First Nations people in Canada. The program consisted
of three sessions which were a) a lecture on the current First Nations situation in Canada, b) peer-teaching on successful First Nations individuals and companies, c) video viewing and review of the program. The main objective of this program was to help students understand that First Nations people are taking charge of their own affairs and can be successful in life. The program emphasized current economic development among First Nations people. The curriculum is consistent with definitions of multicultural education because it emphasizes positive achievements.

a) Day 1: Lecture on the current First Nations situation in Canada

On the first day, the instructor gave students a lecture on the current situation of First Nations people in Canada. At the beginning of the session, the instructor asked each class what they knew about First Nations people in Canada. Since students had already studied some historical events related to First Nations people such as the fur trade and the Northwest Rebellion in grade 10. This strategy enhanced students' interest in the program. This question was also useful in helping students see the First Nations in an historical and contemporary context. The lecture described First Nations bands who were taking charge of their own services and adapting them to their own cultures, providing statistics on band business and economic development. The main theme of the lecture was change and First Nations people, and how they are taking charge of their own affairs.

b) Day 2: Peer-teaching on successful First Nations individuals and companies

The instructor divided the students into two groups and distributed 10 different work sheets to each group. On each sheet there was a brief description of First Nations persons such as Harry Laforme, Margaret Cozry and Sheila Bonspille, or companies run by First Nations people such as Peace Hills Trust, Great Northern Trucking, and The Pas shopping centre. Students taught other members of the group about the person or the company described on their work sheet. The instructor told students not to simply read aloud but to tell other students about the examples in their own words. During this activity, the instructor walked around the classroom and made sure that students took notes. Afterwards, the instructor distributed magazine articles on Roger Gruben and Susan Aglukark who are also successful First Nations individuals. The instructor asked students to find 5Ws (Who What Where When Why) for each article. Students were engaged individually in this activity until the end of the session.

c) Day 3: Video viewing and review of the program

On Day 3, students watched two videos “Ready for Take Off” (Wolfwalker Communication, 1988) and “Rebuilding the Aboriginal Economy” (Industry, Science, and Technology, Canada; 1991) which provided detailed information on the current business situation among First Nations people in Canada. The programs mentioned that there were 5,000 successful First Nations businesses in Canada. For example, Sumas Clay Products made bricks and chimney flues, and Proshred was a mobile document shredding company. The videos also presented clear visual images of First Nations people who were well-dressed and capable of developing economic systems for their people. Students were asked to take notes about the content of each video for the preparation of a viewers’ guide. This activity lasted for about 45 minutes. Then the instructor reviewed the content of the program and gave students some advice regarding the knowledge test.

2. Anti-Racist Program

Sixty-three students (27 female, 36 male) in three classrooms participated in the anti-racist program on First Nations in Canada. The program consisted of two sessions which were a) a lecture on the current First Nations situation in Canada and b) an examination of the historical and contemporary relationship between First Nations people and the Canadian government. The lecture was given on Day 1 and students were engaged in the second activity on Days 2 and 3. The main objective was to provide students with an example of unequal power relations and the opportunity to understand the cause and effect of racism and discrimination and identify the agent of injustice.

a) Day 1: Lecture on the current First Nations situation in Canada

The first day’s activity was a lecture on current living conditions among First Nations people in Canada. The instructor first asked students about their images of First Nations people. It was followed by a brief discussion of First Nations people’s lifestyle in the past. Then the instructor asked students if they knew what First Nations’ living conditions were like today. After listening to the students’ answers, the instructor started the lecture. It included statistics and case studies on unemployment, welfare, education, incarceration, child care, housing, suicide, violence, infant mortality and life expectancy. At the end of the session, the instructor gave students a brief description of the next two sessions.

b) Days 2 and 3: Examination of historical and contemporary relationships between First Nations and the Canadian Government

Each student received a two-page question sheet and a reading package for this activity. The reading package consisted mainly of excerpts from Buckley’s From Wooden Ploughs to Welfare. Topics were: land policies which left First Nations people with an inadequate land base and then proceeded to take more of that land base from them; and educational policies that systematically denied native culture and encouraged First Nations to assimilate into the white world which did not accept them after all. The reading package also included materials about farm policies, Superintendent Read, and D.I.A. policies. The question sheets and reading packages were paired, so that
students were able to answer questions by reading sections indicated on the question sheet. During the two remaining sections, the instructor and students read the materials together and then answered the questions. Sometimes further discussion about the questions helped students understand the content of the program. As the last part of this activity, students looked at case studies of discrimination against First Nations people as well as survey results indicating that Canadians tend to blame government policies for the current situation and to show support for land claims and self-government.

There were two significant differences between the antiracist curriculum used in this study and the curriculum used in the Kehoe (1994) study. In this study, the primary teaching source was Buckley's From Wooden Ploughs to Welfare and in the Kehoe (1994) study the primary teaching source was York's The Dispossessed. Buckley's book is much more explicit in describing the current situation and in providing examples of wrong-headed government policies. A second difference was that the teacher in the Kehoe (1994) study did not ask the students to make overt judgements about government policies. In this study, after the students studied farm policy, education policy, etc., they were asked to make explicit judgements about those policies.

**Data Analysis**

Data of those who did not complete either pre-testing or post-testing were rejected. Data of those who attended treatment sessions for fewer than two days were also eliminated. Means and standard deviations of all the data were calculated. The results of the one-way analysis of variance on pre-test scores on the three dependent variables (the empathy scale, the attribution scale, and the semantic differential scale) showed no significant differences among the three groups. Thus, it was decided not to apply ANCOVA but to administer ANOVA and t-tests for further analyses.

**Limitations**

(i) The study was conducted in an ordinary school setting, limiting the number of participants and the amount of time for its implementation.

(ii) Since the post-test was administered only once and shortly after the completion of treatments, the study examined the short-term impact of educational instruction on students' attitudes and beliefs.

(iii) Students may give socially desirable responses (Banks, 1991). In order to reduce this effect as much as possible, students were assured that all questionnaires would be kept confidential and their classroom teachers would not see them. In fact, all data including subjects' identification (i.e., their names) were converted to numerical figures immediately after each testing. Students' identifications were used only for matching their pre- and post-test results.

(iv) There is a concern that 'pre-test sensitization' may occur. In order to avoid influencing the classroom environment and students' attitudes, the pre-test was administered one week prior to the beginning of the program. At the administration of the pre-test, participants received a brief explanation of the purpose of testing. The explanation emphasized that students were simply helping university researchers. McGregor (1993) indicated there was no significant difference in outcomes of the intervention whether or not the study included pre-testing.

(v) A significant limitation of this study was associated with the instructor variable. The classroom teachers were unable to teach the new curricula. Different classroom teachers would also have introduced a further confounding variable. The decision was made to have all treatments taught by the same person. The limitation of that decision was that the individual was a former high school teacher, had considerable knowledge about First Nations issues, had personal contacts with some First Nations people, and was a university professor. It could be assumed that the implementation process may have been different if the classroom teachers had taught the programs. Further investigations will be required before the results of this study can be confirmed.

(vi) Natural setting research is unpredictable. The three hours of treatment were done over twelve days in one school and three days in the second school. In the first anti-racist class, the students were rather quiet and the instructor had a difficult time getting them to respond. In the second and third anti-racist classes, a number of students immediately asked questions about the current situation. For example: "Why is their situation so bad?" and "What can we do about it?" On the last day with the second class, a student stated, "No one has ever told me about successful First Nations people. Are there any successful First Nations people?" On the first day in the first multicultural class the students did not appear to be interested in the topic and a few students disrupted the class. On the second day, many students appeared bored with the peer teaching and either disrupted the peer teachers or simply took their notes and copied them. Due to unforeseen circumstances, the videos could not be shown on the third day and were shown the following day by the regular classroom teacher. In the second and third classes, the multicultural curriculum was taught with only a few minor disruptions.

**Results**

A. Sympathy
Pre- and post-test group means and standard deviations on the empathy scale are shown in Table 3. The result of the analysis of variance on change scores between pre- and post-test showed a significant difference among the three
Table 3: Pre- and Post-test Means and Standard Deviations on the Sympathy Scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Pre-test Mean</th>
<th>Pre-test S.D.</th>
<th>Post-test Mean</th>
<th>Post-test S.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Multicultural</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>35.47</td>
<td>(10.81)</td>
<td>34.53</td>
<td>(10.16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-racist</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>35.73</td>
<td>( 9.05)</td>
<td>38.84</td>
<td>( 9.75)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>35.66</td>
<td>(10.31)</td>
<td>35.57</td>
<td>(10.20)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The result of the multiple range test indicated that students in the anti-racist group significantly increased their sympathy scores after the treatment compared to the other two groups (p < .05). In other words, students who studied the anti-racist program felt more sympathy toward First Nations people as a result of the program. Students in the multicultural group had no significant increase on their sympathy scores after taking part in the program. Regarding interactions among the independent variables, no interactions were found between the treatment and gender, ethnic background, or scores on the just world scale.

Table 4: Analysis of Variance Sympathy Scale by Treatment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of variance</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Sum of squares</th>
<th>Mean square</th>
<th>F-ratio</th>
<th>F prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>837.4370</td>
<td>418.7185</td>
<td>9.2533</td>
<td>.0002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>7511.5807</td>
<td>45.2505</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>8349.0718</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Pre- and Post-test Means and Standard Deviations on the Attribution Scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Pre-test Mean</th>
<th>Pre-test S.D.</th>
<th>Post-test Mean</th>
<th>Post-test S.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Multicultural</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>55.85</td>
<td>(10.26)</td>
<td>55.34</td>
<td>( 7.73)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-racist</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>55.95</td>
<td>(10.13)</td>
<td>60.08</td>
<td>(10.12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>56.79</td>
<td>(10.42)</td>
<td>55.91</td>
<td>(10.85)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The result of the multiple range test determined that students in the anti-racist group significantly increased their attribution scores compared to the other two groups (p < .05). This result indicated that students who studied the anti-racist program put more blame on government policies and other Canadians for the current situation among First Nations people. Students in the multicultural group did not show any significant change on their attribution scores after the program. No interactions were found between the treatment and gender, ethnic background, or scores on the just world scale.

Table 6: Analysis of Variance Attribution Scale by Treatment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>df</th>
<th>Sum of Squares</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F-ratio</th>
<th>F prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>923.7398</td>
<td>416.8699</td>
<td>6.4616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>11865.5502</td>
<td>71.4792</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>12789.2899</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Pre- and Post-test Means and Standard Deviations on the Semantic Differential Scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Pre-test Mean</th>
<th>Pre-test S.D.</th>
<th>Post-test Mean</th>
<th>Post-test S.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Multicultural</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>34.57</td>
<td>( 9.74)</td>
<td>42.21</td>
<td>(13.30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-racist</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>33.29</td>
<td>(10.12)</td>
<td>32.02</td>
<td>( 9.69)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>34.40</td>
<td>(10.23)</td>
<td>34.81</td>
<td>(11.68)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The result of two-way ANOVA found no interactions between the treatment and gender, ethnic background, or scores on the just world scale.

D: The Just World Hypotheses

The study also attempted to test the Just World hypotheses by examining interactions between the treatment and individual scores on the Just World Scale. The results of a two way ANOVA showed no interaction between the belief in a just world and the anti-racist or multicultural treatment. One possible explanation for the lack of interaction was the low reliability of the Just World Scale. In addition, Furnham and Procter (1989) have suggested the Belief in a Just World Scale is multidimensional. They
provide evidence to indicate the scale taps unjust world, just world, and random world. They also suggest it taps spheres of control, including personal, interpersonal and political. It may be that the treatments may have interacted with one or more of these dimensions of the scale.

**Discussion**

According to the findings, it is clear that both the multicultural and anti-racist programs yielded statistically significant effects on the outcome measures in different ways. The multicultural program had a highly positive effect on the semantic differential scale which attempted to measure students' general images of First Nations people. As the program contained many examples of successful First Nations people and provided positive visual images with the video materials, the result was understandable. The students in this group did not show significant change on the other two scales. These results were likely due to the way in which First Nations people were described in the program. First Nations people were not presented as an oppressed, powerless and helpless individuals who need to be supported by others. Those individuals who appeared in the multicultural program were well dressed, competent, and active people who work enthusiastically for the development and independence of their communities. Thus, the students in the multicultural program did not necessarily feel sorry for First Nations people or blame one side (either First Nations people or the rest of the society, especially the government) in particular.

The anti-racist program had positive effects on the attribution of blame scale and the sympathy scale. The students who studied this program showed significant increase on their scores on the two measures; they demonstrated more sympathy toward First Nations people and put more blame on the government and other Canadians' attitudes as a result of the treatment. In the anti-racist program, First Nations people were presented as a disadvantaged group in Canadian history that has suffered as a result of government policies. The program encouraged students to perceive First Nations people as victims of racism and discrimination; therefore, the students in this group were more sympathetic towards First Nations people and less likely to blame them after studying the program. The students did not significantly change their general images or beliefs about First Nations people, probably because they studied statistical information on First Nations people which showed them to be poor and unsuccessful. In other words, students in both groups changed their responses in the outcome measures in accordance with the characteristics of the two unique approaches. Although neither of the programs had effects on all the outcome scales, the impact was positive. Thus, the study supports the efficacy of both approaches on modification of different aspects of attitudes towards and beliefs about First Nations people. Further interventions should investigate the effects of teaching the antiracist curriculum and the multicultural curriculum in sequence. Such a program would explore the current situation, how it got that way, and indicate that it does not have to be that way because First Nations people can be successful when they have the opportunity.

**Bibliography**


Developing Skills for Social-Cultural Competence

Marvin J. Westwood, Department of Counselling Psychology, University of British Columbia

Introduction and Rationale

Immigrants, international students, refugees and all newcomers to a society require specific knowledge and skills to effectively adapt and solve problems. In other words, they need to acquire new competencies, such as learning to play new social roles.

Whether the area of functioning is related to learning and education, accessing services, or finding a job and adjustment to employment, newcomers are at a distinct disadvantage as they tend to operate from a culturally conditioned basis in which certain behaviours in another culture were effective, but in the new cultural context often lead to lack of success, or in extreme cases, failure. Certain role-related behaviours (e.g. confronting others, speaking up, asking questions, volunteering opinions, etc) are more prevalent in Western culture than Asian cultures, for example. Asian newcomers, to name but one group, unfamiliar with these conventions, are inconvenienced and often at a disadvantage.

Frequently, individuals possess the knowledge or understanding of a particular situation but do not have the behavioural repertoire to maneuver in the new cultural context. A new “cultural map” is what is needed as a first step in achieving competence. Practice in how to use the map is the next step. Further, cultural maps and the critical competencies to use these maps are not typically made available to these individuals in such a way that allows them to acquire effective ways of coping. Without this behavioural skill repertoire and a chance to practice it, they often experience poor adjustment. When individuals, new to a culture, feel incompetent and defeated they often retreat or become resistant to participation, whether it is in the classroom, the community or the workplace.

Learning new roles in an intercultural social competencies training program does enable immigrants to be more effective in mainstream situations and helps break negative stereotypes that employers, colleagues, supervisors and classmates may hold.

The purpose of this cultural competency program is to provide a means for teaching newcomers behaviour and understanding so they can be more successful in reaching their individual goals. It should be noted as Mak, Westwood and Ishiyama (1994) point out, that this program does not attempt to substitute competencies, rather to augment competencies. In this way, people protect their original cultural identities while acquiring a dual identity — one for the new context and one for the self. The same authors conclude that by using a role-based social competencies training approach, “Individuals choosing to be bicultural can expand their repertoire of social competencies to accommodate the host culture's different interpersonal communication styles without giving up or devaluing their own cultural styles.” (1994).

Program Description of Role-Based Social Competencies Training

A program developed by the author to teach effective competencies for coping and adapting to their new context gives students a “cultural competencies approach to learning.” The goal is to teach strategies or skills for problem-solving in order to achieve individual goals and increase their chances for success. The approach is preventive rather than remedial. The focus in this approach is on developing “culturally appropriate” behaviours which have been shown to bring about more positive interactions and outcomes. These cannot be taught by information only, but must be explained, seen in action (modeled) and incorporated into the individual’s own social behaviour (practiced). This is a social learning approach that stresses the acquisition of critical role behaviours. Another way of looking at the program is to consider it somewhat analogous to learning a new sport in which practice, feedback and opportunity to make mistakes are all possible.

This project was completed with the assistance of the Canadian Association of Second Language Teacher's "Multicultural Education: The State of the Art" project.
Advantages

The advantage of learning these critical skills is that it equips people to challenge and make changes on a personal level as they move about in social and work contexts of the new society. By developing a greater degree of self sufficiency, they can also take the credit for being successful and, as a result, begin to develop a greater sense of self confidence and a feeling of being more in control. In this way, they are not dependent on the helper or counsellor or other persons to solve their problems or intervene for them as is too often the case. The helper is seen more as a coach and/or teacher whose job it is to transfer knowledge and skills so as to prepare the client and reduce the need for dependency. A type of self sufficiency emerges when people are more confident. In order to increase the degree of self confidence, the program helps participants set action plans with follow-up. Creating a safe context where learning and practice can occur, permits participants to avoid one-shot trial learning where the consequences are frequently too costly, such as failing exams, not being prepared for the employment interview, etc.

The Learning Process

The program begins with:

(a) Identification of the major areas where individuals tend to encounter difficulties in the personal-social aspects of their lives or in their jobs, i.e. making requests, conducting job interviews, asking for help, asserting themselves, speaking up, etc.

(b) The instructor then clarifies what typically happens and what tends to be more or less appropriate and effective in these situations. A brief cultural explanation is usually provided to explain why things tend to be done the way they are and these explanations are discussed in respect to the cultural context of the learner, looking for similarities and differences. A practice scenario is constructed to approximate or replicate the situation encountered. For example, if the situation is one in which the learner has trouble disagreeing with points in a board meeting, this is simulated within the group context.

(c) Modelling of the scenario by the instructor follows (b) with the learners observing the interaction. The instructor then asks for feedback and reactions to the simulation. The goal here is cognitive assimilation of the new learning into their personal behavioural repertoire.

(d) Once all of the questions have been asked and explanations given, the participants are invited to practice the same exchange, preferably in pairs with a third person as observer. This can also be done by a pair in front of the whole group with the leader coaching and giving feedback and mini demonstrations of how to change the approach. This process gives students more confidence by first watching and then practising.

(e) Feedback is given after the first attempt at practice is completed. The leader may repeat the exercise a second and third time with practice sessions in between. The goal here is to have participants acquire skills through practice until they feel comfortable.

(f) Repeated trials are followed by a contract to apply learning in a real situation. Learners are helped to create realistic action plans. These are then presented to the group or the instructor for clarification and refinement.

The advantage of a group setting is that it provides support and encouragement from peers. Once the leader is satisfied that enough practice has occurred, members are encouraged to set goals for practicing outside these sessions and in actual situations. It is recommended that links are made for follow-up so members can report back and receive further support if needed.

Variations

It is possible to make alterations to this process to some extent and the pace may need to be changed according the cultural characteristics of the groups and familiarity with the new culture. Videotaping and playing back the sessions is also a good way to perfect the competencies.

How To

There is a 12-step approach that teaches such competencies. Since its focus is skill development, it is strongly recommended that people interested in using this program first attend one of the training workshops on how to use microskill teaching and coaching. For information on training programs contact the author at: The Department of Counselling Psychology, University of British Columbia, 2125 Main Mall, Vancouver, British Columbia, V6T 1Z4.

References

Self-Esteem and Ethnic Identity among South Asian-Canadian and European-Canadian Female University Students: Implications for Education

Sarita Sahay, Department of Applied Psychology, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto

Introduction

The present study sought to compare the self-esteem of South Asian-Canadian and European-Canadian women, as well as the self-esteem of South Asian-Canadians categorized as light, medium and dark skinned. The role of ethnic identity as a mediating factor in the self-esteem of visible minority individuals and the implications for education were also considered.

Theoretical Background

A number of personality theorists have asserted that an individual’s attitudes toward him or herself are acquired from “significant others.” Sullivan (1947), for instance, states that the self is made up of reflected appraisals. This principle that people come to view themselves as others view them has been clearly supported by empirical research (Rosenberg, 1973; Sherwood, 1965). Reflected appraisals are comprised of three related ideas — direct reflections, the “looking-glass self” and the “generalized other.” “Direct reflections” refers to the process in which the self is shaped by the responses of others. The “looking-glass self”, a term coined by Cooley in 1902, suggests a more active view of the self in that it is our perception of the other person’s appraisal of us that produces either pride or shame in us (Franks and Gecas, 1992). Finally, the notion of the “generalized other” refers to the process in which the self is shaped by the responses of others. The “looking-glass self”, a term coined by Cooley in 1902, suggests a more active view of the self in that it is our perception of the other person’s appraisal of us that produces either pride or shame in us (Franks and Gecas, 1992). Although theorists disagree about how best to define the self, one characteristic described by all writers is that the self is both subject and object of a person’s knowledge and evaluation. When one reflects on and assigns value to the self, it represents a kind of self-awareness or self-consciousness (Fitts et al., 1971; Offer, Ostrov and Howard, 1981; Kelly, 1963). The self as object is referred to as the self-concept and is defined as the totality of the individual’s thoughts and feelings having reference to him or herself as an object (Rosenberg, 1979a). The self-concept is said to play an important, even pivotal, role in several personality theories (Wylie, 1974). Through the course of development, an individual receives consistent evaluations from others about aspects of him or herself, producing a stable self-concept (Morse and Gergen, 1970). The notion of the self-concept as fixed and stable is also evidenced by the clinical observation that much therapeutic intervention is needed to produce slight shifts in the self-concept (Morse and Gergen, 1970; Rogers, 1961). Kaplan (1975) and Rosenberg (1979a) note that although the self-concept is a cognitive structure the affective aspects are so interrelated that it is difficult to draw operational distinction between them. In fact, Gecas (1982) and Wells and Marwell (1976) state that most research on the self-concept focuses on self-evaluation so that the self-concept is sometimes equated with self-esteem. Self-esteem, therefore, is defined as a personal judgment of worthiness that is expressed in the positive or negative feelings an individual has about him or herself (Smith, Burlew, and Lundgren, 1991; Juhasz, 1989; Coopersmith, 1967).

The principle of social comparison is also fundamental to self-conception. The basic tenet is that people learn about themselves by comparing themselves to others (Festinger, 1954). Rosenberg (1979a) and Pettigrew (1967) add that such evaluation leads to an affectively charged response to the self, relative to the standards of the persons used for comparison, that is, relative to “referred individuals” or to the “reference group.” By way of reflected appraisals and social comparison, therefore, the development of the self is largely said to be through social interactions (Fitts, Adams, Radford, Richard, Thomas and Thomas, 1971).
Wylie (1974) points out that the individual interacts with the world through his or her self-concept. Several studies have shown that self-esteem is positively related to psychosocial adjustment and negatively related to psychopathology (Dore and Eisner, 1993; Neighbors, Forehand and McVicar, 1993; Kendler, MacLean, Neale and Kessler, 1991). In addition, high levels of self-concept or self-esteem have similarly been related to academic achievement (Jibril, 1993; Keltikangas, 1992; Cervantes, 1988). Studies have also shown this relationship for visible minority groups (Caplin, 1969; Martin, 1972).

Self-Esteem and Visible Minority Groups

A visibility factor, such as a different skin colour, creates a social contrast effect and may precipitate both interracial and intraracial discrimination (Russel, Wilson and Hall, 1992; Hughes and Hertel, 1990; Allport, 1958). If a group is devalued in society, then the principle of reflected appraisals would suggest that members of that group come to see themselves accordingly. It is believed that in a predominantly White society, non-White individuals are incapable of rejecting the negative images of them held by Whites (Hare and Castnell Jr., 1985; Rosenberg, 1979b). Levin and Leong (1973) note that as assimilation into the dominant White society increases, minority groups are, in fact, more likely to accept the values of the dominant group and select European-Americans as a comparison group for self-evaluation. Thus, since White society is assumed to be used as a basis for comparison, minority members are, thereby, believed to internalize its disdain for them—a process which leads to self-hatred (Rosenberg, 1979b; Brown-Collins and Sussewell, 1986; Bradley and Stewart, 1982).

As was shown in the Clark and Clark study in 1947 and in other studies extending for two decades, Black children were, in fact, found to have lower self-esteem than White children. Clark and Clark used dolls to measure African-American children's self-concept and, upon finding they preferred white dolls, inferred that Black children have damaged self-esteem. A proliferation of studies followed, mostly involving children, which confirmed Clark and Clark's finding (Adam, 1978; Hare and Castnell Jr., 1985; Rosenberg, 1985; Edwards, 1974; Porter, 1971). It seemed that both Black and White children learned very early to associate black with "dirty", "bad", and "ugly" and white with "clean", "good", and "nice" (Bradley and Stewart, 1982; Goodman, 1972). Similar findings of lower self-esteem were also presented for other discriminated against groups, such as Mexican-Americans, Puerto Rican-Americans and American Indians (Rosenberg, 1979b). Of the few empirical studies that exist within a Canadian context, some have suggested that visible minorities have low self-esteem compared to White Canadians while others have produced mixed or opposite results (Bogner, 1981; Fry, 1985; George and Hoppe, 1979; Adam, 1978).

Within American society, the 1970s overturned this tradition. That is, demonstrations of differences in Black and White self-esteem were found to have changed to demonstrations of no significant differences (Brown-Collins and Sussewell, 1986; Rosenberg, 1985; Hare and Castnell Jr., 1985; Adam, 1978; Wylie, 1979) or that Blacks have slightly higher self-esteem than Whites (Gecas, 1982; Hughes and Demo, 1989). Porter and Washington (1979) emphasized, however, that this was not a universal finding across the United States. Studies using dolls in the late eighties, for instance, still showed that nearly two-thirds of African-American children preferred white dolls (Russel, et al., 1992). Nonetheless, such findings appeared to contradict the theoretical principles of reflected appraisals and social comparison.

Writers such as Rosenberg (1979b) and Rosenberg and Simmons (1972) suggested that it had been incorrectly assumed that White majority society was being used as the visible minority's reference group for comparison. That is, what seemed to be overlooked was the notion that such individuals may be using members of their own group, rather than the majority group, for comparison. Kelly (1952) noted that a reference group is said to serve as a standard or comparison against which an individual can evaluate him or herself. Rosenberg (1977) argued that individuals tend to compare themselves with people in their immediate environment. In fact, Morse and Gergen (1970) and Rosenberg (1965) reported that high school students from minority groups actually have lower self-esteem when living in ethnically mixed neighbourhoods than in homogeneous ones. In addition, Clark and Clark's study, cited above, found that Black children attending integrated, northern American schools showed more self-hatred than those attending segregated southern schools. Bachman (1970) stated that other studies also demonstrated the negative consequences of school integration on the self-esteem of Black children. Smith (1985) concluded that the minority college student on predominantly White campuses, where there is greater likelihood of choosing European-Americans as his or her reference group for determining self-worth, may, thus, be at risk.

The role of ethnic identity, however, may mediate the personal and emotional meaning of skin colour in that one's own group may become the reference group for comparison (Helms, 1990b; Hughes and Hertel, 1990). Ethnic identity refers to the degree to which a person identifies with the ethnic group with which s/he is generally assumed to share an ethnic and perhaps racial heritage (Helms, 1990a). Various studies have been found to support the hypothesis that a heightened sense of personhood correlates with a more positive self-concept or greater self-esteem (Hughes and Demo, 1989; Bradley and Stewart, 1982; Porter and Washington, 1979; Rosenberg and Simmons, 1972). Brown-Collins and Sussewell (1986) and Myers (1980) add that Black women who compared
themselves to other Black women had a positive self-concept. A stronger sense of ethnic identity among African-Americans and the tendency to compare oneself to one's own group is believed to have been precipitated by the Black is Beautiful Movement in the 1970s and other Black nationalist ideologies.

In contrast to the American experience in which minority groups are expected to assimilate into majority society, Canadian society has adopted a model of multiculturalism and greater integration of diverse ethnic groups. In American society, where majority-minority distinction is made clear, the promotion of ethnic identity through various civil rights movements helped to bolster the self-esteem of visible minorities as discussed. Visible minorities within American society faced the dilemma of choosing between two sets of values: a positive valuation of their own group versus passing in White society (Wade, 1987). This conflict may account for the fact that, even after the Black rights movements, higher self-esteem was still found within a predominantly segregated versus desegregated setting — although levels were now adequate within both contexts (Backman and Adams, 1991; Smith et al., 1991). Although there have not been such movements within Canadian society per se, the adoption of multiculturalism and multicultural education has perhaps also worked to similarly promote ethnic identity and, hence, self-esteem among minority groups. That is, given that the ethnic mixture of Canada has become increasingly varied — a trend that continues today (Statistics Canada, 1992) — multicultural education is seen as a force for promoting integration rather than assimilation (Ontario Teachers’ Federation, 1988). Rather than asking individuals to reject aspects of the self, interethnic contact is encouraged in order to promote acceptance and appreciation of both the self and other (Ziegler, 1979; Kehoe, 1985; Bloodsworth and Fitzgerald, 1993). Berry (1991) examined the psychological construct, contact, used to study multiculturalism in Canada and reported that empirical findings suggest that acculturative stress can be reduced if both participation in the larger society as well as maintenance of one’s heritage are welcomed by the larger society. Various educational approaches to facilitate such contact have been developed including cooperative learning, an exploration of cultural similarities and differences, and the development of empathy through role-playing (Ziegler, 1979; Haughton, 1987; Kehoe, 1985). By valuing each student’s unique ethnic identity, such activities have been found to strengthen self-esteem and activate positive ethnic and racial attitudes (Aboud, 1993; Allan and Nairne, 1981). Educators may, thus, want to refer to Canfield (1986) for specific activities designed to promote self-esteem within the classroom.

Multicultural education essentially incorporates the concept of a politics of location: the recognition that people come from different positions of gender, class, race and ethnicity and that these experiences infuse their relations with others (Pettman, 1991; Ontario Teachers’ Federation, 1988). Individuals, therefore, deal with others based on their own unique background. A study by Edwards and Chisholm (1987) further showed that much variability in ethnic self-descriptions exists, suggesting that ethnicity itself is dynamic and is negotiated across time and social situations, rather than solely from group membership. Individuals may, thus, value their own heritage but continually negotiate this aspect of the self based on contact with and knowledge of others.

Humanist psychologists, theorizing about the self-concept, support a multicultural approach in that a commitment to diversity is really a commitment to respect the individual, encouraging him/her to redefine the image of the self to include pride in their heritage (Fitzgerald and Bloodsworth, 1993; Ackerly, 1993; Abi-Nader, 1990). Based on a review of school factors related to underachievement among Black students in Canada between 1963 and 1987, Haughton (1987) concluded that racial intolerance among teachers and White students contributed to poor academic success. The advent of multicultural education and, hence, multiethnic contact appears to have promoted both ethnic identity and a positive self-concept (Demetriou, 1992; Bagley and Young, 1988; Golden, 1988; National Institute of Education, 1982; Akoodie, 1980) and strengthens the positive correlation between self-concept and school achievement (Bloodsworth and Fitzgerald, 1993).

This investigation aimed to examine inter- and intra-ethnic differences with respect to self-esteem. Studies have produced contradictory results with respect to self-esteem among visible minorities and suggest that ethnic identity, precipitated by multiculturalism or civil rights movements, may neutralize the negative effects of marginality due to skin colour. Few studies examining self-esteem and the role of ethnic identity, as a way to mediate the significance of skin colour, exist within the Canadian context and none exist among a South Asian population even though skin colour is said to stand out as the major distinguishing characteristic from European-North Americans (Encyclopedia Americana, 1983). Examining these variables for this ethnic group may help to clarify the link between self-esteem and ethnic identity.

Method

Subjects

The subjects consisted of a total of 200 women drawn the undergraduate student population at the University of Toronto. Of these 200 subjects, 100 were South Asian-Canadian students and 100 were European-Canadian students. The criteria for being included in the study was that the subjects’ parents were of either European-North American or South Asian (i.e. Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan or Bangladeshi) descent and that the subject was either born in Canada or immigrated here before the age of nine. The cutoff point was arbitrarily set at age nine so as to give
individuals adequate chance of being included in the sample while ensuring that they had completed the majority of their education in Canadian schools. Subjects ranged from 18 to 24 years of age (M_South Asian-Canadian = 20.3, SD = 1.4; M_European-Canadian = 20.3, SD = 1.3). Of the 100 South Asian-Canadian subjects 22 perceived themselves to be dark (M = 94.6 mm, SD = 4.6), 53 medium (M = 70.8 mm, SD = 9.2), and 25 light skinned (M = 42.7 mm, SD = 9.9), respectively. The procedure used for determining skin colour categories is described in detail below. European-Canadian subjects were not subdivided into skin colour categories. The study was conducted, individually, with each subject, who volunteered, at a location and time of their choice after signing a consent form. Subjects received a payment of $10 for their participation.

**Measures**

**Visual Analogue Scale (VAS).** The VAS (Aitken, 1969) is typically a 100 mm, horizontal line, anchored by terms that represent the extremes of a subjective phenomenon. Subjects are instructed to make a mark through the line at the point that best represents their subjective feeling. Responses are scored, with a ruler, by measuring the distance from the left end of the line to the subject's mark. Two such scales were constructed for the present study. They were each 120 mm in length with the words, 'white', and 'dark brown' at the left (0 mm end) and right anchor points (120 mm end), respectively. Scores were obtained by measuring the scale from the 0 mm end to the point where the subject marked. Two continuous scores were obtained: a score for subjective skin colour and a score to indicate the researcher's rating of the subject's skin colour. The subjective skin colour continuum was divided into 4 equal categories: 0 mm to 30 mm, 30 mm to 60 mm, 60 mm to 90 mm, 90 mm to 120 mm, and classified as white, light, medium and dark skinned, respectively, in order to perform analyses on skin colour subgroups. Since none of the South Asian-Canadian subjects marked themselves in the range of white skin, the light, medium and dark skinned categories referred strictly to South Asian-Canadians. Analyses were performed on all 100 European-Canadians as a group. The correlation between the researcher's rating of South Asian-Canadian skin colour in millimetres and South Asian-Canadians subjective skin colour rating in millimetres was .74 in the present investigation. Thus, researcher and subject were fairly consistent as to the subject's skin colour rating indicating that subjects did not appear to distort how light or dark skinned they perceived themselves to be.

**Global Self-esteem Scale (GSE).** The GSE is a subscale of the Multidimensional Self-Esteem Inventory (O'Brien and Epstein, 1988) and consists of 10 items rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from "completely false" to "completely true" in section 1 and "almost never" to "very often" in section 2. Negatively worded items are reversed and then items are summed and converted to T scores. T scores in the range of 40-59 are considered normal. Scores of 30 through 39, and 60 through 69 indicate moderately low and high global self-esteem, respectively. Scores below 30 or above 70 indicate significantly low and high global self-esteem, respectively.

**Ethnic Identification Scale (EI).** The Group Cohesiveness scale (Sandberg, 1974) was slightly modified by Akoodie (1980) and measures the ethnic identity among South Asian, West Indian and Canadian students. The modified 37 item scale is rated on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." Three items that measure actual participation in group activities, "I attend social events put on by our cultural group", "I belong to clubs relating to our cultural group", and "I take courses pertinent to our cultural group", were added to the scale as participation in group activities is also believed to be an indicator of ethnic identity (Phinney, 1992). To obtain the overall score, negatively worded items are reversed and then items are averaged. High scores suggest a high level of ethnic identity. Cronbach's alpha for the EI scale was .91 for the present sample.

**Results**

The first level of analysis involved a description of the demographic variables, parents' educational level and parents' occupational category, in terms of South Asian-Canadians and European-Canadians. The only significant finding was that the distribution of fathers' education for South Asian-Canadians was different from that of European-Canadians. These results are listed in Table 1.

**Table 1: Percentages of Students in Parent's Educational Level**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>South Asian-Canadian</th>
<th>European-Canadian</th>
<th>X²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mother</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post graduate or</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>professional degree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor's degree</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community College</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School or less</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Father</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post graduate or</td>
<td>43.4</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>professional degree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor's degree</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>14.90**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community College</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School or less</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: df=3, **p<.01*
A greater percentage of South Asian-Canadian fathers had a university education than did European-Canadian fathers. In fact, 43.4% of South Asian-Canadian fathers had a post-graduate or professional degree whereas 40.0% of European-Canadian fathers had a high school education or less. With respect to mothers' education, although the chi square was not significant, South Asian-Canadian mothers also tended to have more university education than did European-Canadian mothers.

Table 2 summarizes group means and univariate comparisons on the variables of global self-esteem and ethnic identity.

A t-test showed that there was no significant difference in the global self-esteem of South Asian-Canadian females and European-Canadian females. In fact, the level of self-esteem for both groups fell within the normal range as defined by the test developers. With respect to the South Asian-Canadian subgroups, a oneway anova showed that the linear trend was significant. That is, there was a significant decrease in the self-esteem of light, medium and dark skinned South Asian-Canadians, respectively — although the level of self-esteem still fell within the normal range for the subgroups.

A t-test indicated that South Asian-Canadian females reported a stronger sense of ethnic identity than did European-Canadian females. No significant differences, with respect to ethnic identity, were found for the South Asian-Canadian subgroups.

Pearson correlations for global self-esteem and ethnic identity were not significant for any of the research groups.

Discussion

The fact that South Asian-Canadian females did not have significantly different global self-esteem than European-Canadian females is consistent with more recent studies which suggest that visible minorities no longer appear to have lower self-esteem than White subjects (Hughes and Demo, 1989; Brown-Collins and Sussewell, 1986; Rosenberg, 1985). It should be noted that this finding might also be reasonably expected given that subjects were all university educated and social class has been associated with self-esteem (Richman, Clark and Brown, 1985; Watkins and Astilla, 1979; Rosenberg and Pearl, 1978). It should be pointed out, however, that although social class may, in part, be buttressing self-esteem, discrimination against minorities in terms of attaining social prestige continues. For instance, although the Canadian teaching force is now more cosmopolitan (Sen and McDiarmid, 1979; Bancroft, 1974) visible minorities with higher educational levels than White Canadians are nonetheless underrepresented in senior teaching positions and do not have the same success rate in being hired and promoted (Cheng, 1987a,b). Findings in the present study similarly revealed that although South Asian-Canadian parents had higher educational levels than European-Canadian parents, there was no difference in occupational status.

The fact that South Asian-Canadians showed greater ethnic identity than European-Canadians is perhaps not surprising as one might expect this issue to be more relevant among visible minority groups. This is reinforced by the finding that visible minority group members do consistently show higher ethnic identity scores than either White or mixed subjects (Phinney, 1992; Phinney and Alipuria, 1990). It appears that visible distinctiveness, perhaps associated with a history of discrimination, makes these groups more likely to have explored ethnicity as an

Table 2: Mean Comparisons Between European-Canadian and South Asian-Canadian Subjects and the South Asian-Canadian Subgroups on Global Self-Esteem and Ethnic Identity Scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent measure</th>
<th>European-Canadian</th>
<th>South Asian-Canadian</th>
<th>tEC-SAC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(N=100)</td>
<td>light (n=25)</td>
<td>medium (n=53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GSE M</td>
<td>50.04</td>
<td>52.96</td>
<td>48.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>10.41</td>
<td>11.11</td>
<td>10.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El M</td>
<td>4.17</td>
<td>4.24</td>
<td>3.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td>.63</td>
<td>.62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:
EC-SAC, European-Canadian/South Asian-Canadian; GSE, Global Self-Esteem; El, Ethnic Identity.
*F(2,97)=4.36; Linear trend, p<.01.
**p<.001.
identity issue and to express a greater sense of it. In addition, conditions indigenous to a locale which promote interracial contact and acceptance have also been suggested as engendering ethnic identity (Hraba and Grant, 1970; Pettigrew, 1967). Between 1981 and 1991 the majority of immigrants to Canada (48%) were from Asian countries and 57% of all immigrants lived in the urban centres of Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver (Statistics Canada, 1992). Many factors, therefore, such as the fact that Toronto has since espoused multiculturalism and spillover effects from the Black is Beautiful Movement, the advent of civil rights movements, racial integration and equal opportunity programs within the U.S. (Akoodie, 1980), may all be bolstering minorities to feel greater pride in their heritage. Furthermore, it has also been noted that many White individuals often assume that the term “ethnic group” refers only to visible minority members and not to themselves (Andrews and Lochner, 1989). However, with the changing demographics, White students may be more likely to become aware of their ethnic heritage as well and express a stronger sense of it.

The finding of greater ethnic identity among South Asian-Canadians also supports the reasoning that visible minorities no longer have lower self-esteem than Whites due to increased ethnic identity. A Pearson correlation, however, showed that although global self-esteem and ethnic identity were positively correlated it was not significant. Thus, ethnic identity does not appear to be mediating global self-esteem per se. As discussed, endorsing greater ethnic identity may be the consequence of multicultural education whereby South Asian-Canadians need not reject their own group in response to having that group’s supposed undesirability reflected back on themselves, but, instead, upon feeling accepted, can embrace their group as part of the self. In this sense, South Asian-Canadians may be using other South Asian-Canadians for comparison and, thus, evaluate themselves relative to one another and not relative to Whites. (Rosenberg and Simmons, 1972). That is, their own group has, perhaps, become their “comparison reference group” (Kelly, 1952). By using more appropriate comparisons, the distribution and level of global self-esteem, on average, may, thus, be comparable for both groups. In addition, since people are also motivated to try to preserve esteem, visible minority members may succeed in maintaining their self-esteem by redefining the significance skin colour has for the self (Rosenberg and Simmons, 1972). Global self-esteem consists of a multiplicity of components and one can decide that other components, that have little to do with skin colour, such as intelligence, academic achievement, morality, competence and being nice are what really count and have value. Rosenberg and Simmons argue that a particular quality will have a detrimental effect on a person’s global feeling of self-worth only if the individual values that characteristic. A protective mechanism, therefore, for both groups, may be that an individual maintains self-esteem by selecting his or her self-values in a rewarding fashion. Hence, this may also account for the finding that the mean and distribution of global self-esteem was similar for these two groups.

Although the level of self-esteem was adequate for all groups, it was found to be progressively lower the darker the skin colour among South Asian-Canadians. Furthermore, ethnic identity was neither significantly different for the subgroups nor significantly correlated with global self-esteem. Perhaps those who are very dark cannot escape the fact that they are dark even if they may try to selectively choose self-values. This may be due to the fact that the very dark are more blatantly discriminated against both within majority society and within their own ethnic group. For instance, individuals of lighter complexion, as opposed to darker complexion, are more likely to be employed in status occupations (Hughes and Hertel, 1990), more likely to be represented in the media (Russel et al., 1992; Chapkis, 1986), and, as a result of internalized cultural norms, are perceived as more desirable for marriage even within their own ethnic or racial group (Neal and Wilson, 1989). Greater discrimination may account for the fact that the darkest skinned group exhibited the lowest self-esteem of all the groups.

Overall, the results of the study indicate that there is no significant difference in the self-esteem of European-Canadian and South Asian-Canadian females as a group, but that ethnic identity is greater among South Asian-Canadian females. This is congruent with the notion that ethnic identity bolsters self-esteem. That is, greater ethnic identity, precipitated by multiculturalism and various civil rights movements may promote minority groups to have an in-group rather than an out-group reference orientation.

With respect to the implications for education, since ethnic identity may bolster self-esteem and self-esteem has been linked to achievement, appreciating one’s cultural identity may be an important factor in achievement. Various writers, for instance, have identified the importance of having visible minority groups’ experiences represented in the educational process, in books by and about minorities, and having teachers and professionals who can serve as role models (Bishop, 1990; Rodriguez, 1989; Haughton, 1987; Kehoe, 1985). In addition, Sanders (1987) added that a clash of values has been shown to contribute to the development of a negative self-image and the failure to achieve academically and, thus, educators need to address such cultural conflicts among school-aged children. Multiculturalism, institutionalized through educational policy curriculum, appears to promote a tolerance for difference and contribute to cultural identity, self-esteem and, hence, academic success.

The finding of progressively lower self-esteem the darker the skin colour suggests, however, that efforts to date have not been completely successful. In fact, Mock and Masemann (1990) and Diakaw and Burnham (1987) noted
that school boards want further direction in the implementation of multicultural policy. It appears that attention needs to be paid to within-group differences even if overall differences may have equalized. The darkest skinned students, or students with more pronounced racial characteristics, may still be at higher risk for academic underachievement. They may, for instance, experience greater alienation from other students, and teachers may hold negative attitudes toward these more culturally different students (Jones and Watson, 1990; Ontario Ministry of Education, 1983). Thus, inservice education for teachers and effective minority programming and activities designed to foster human relations and increase awareness and sensitivity of these further differences are indicated.

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Notes

1 Research reported in this article was part of the author's doctoral dissertation.

2 Canfield offers an array of activities grounded in psychological precursors (a sense of connectedness, belonging, feeling worthwhile etc.) to self-esteem. Although there are no activities addressing racial/ethnic intolerance per se, given activities may be modified to deal with this aspect of relating. One note of caution, in general, however, is that some of the exercises involve touch — that is, hugs and shoulder massage. Given the unfortunate reality of abuse — sexual and otherwise — and the subsequent difficulty individuals may have negotiating their boundaries and interpreting physical contact — teachers should be cognizant of the inherent difficulties and exercise judgment when employing such activities.

3 Porto-Pineo classification system was used (Pineo, Porter, McRoberts, 1977).

4 High school and less than high school were collapsed as minimum expected frequency < 5.
Choice of Friends and of Identity among Minority Youth: A Case Study of Francophone Adolescents

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Abstract

Does the choice of friends and of schools reflect a search for and a questioning of self? Do school and friends contribute to the formation of identity in adolescents in an urban minority context? In order to explore these questions, we examined networks of friends among grade seven students at a Francophone urban minority school (1991-1992). The sociograms were analyzed in several dimensions: spatial organization; gender relations; social structure; number of friends; choice of school of their friends; and respondent's identification of the identity of their friends. The data was placed in the context of our overall case study which explored code switching between the minority language (French) and the majority language (English), as well as reasons motivating students to transfer to other schools. The results are supported by our research on social differences among the students, especially between the sexes. These are compatible with studies of typical English-speaking North American youth. In spite of its social equity mandate, the Francophone urban minority school has little impact and contributes to the disequilibrium in gender relations as well as in the domination of the English language and culture. The Francophone youth, however, consider themselves to be projects of transformation — sensitive to their context, to its times and its spaces. This life-long project of self-composition permits them a sense of stability and continuity in their search for and narration of their identity in a world in constant flux.

Introduction

"I needed a breather, to distance myself. It bothered me to always be with the same people every day. Nothing ever happened. The group was too small... Now I have the opportunity to choose my friends. Nobody at my new school knows me so I can start all over. I can change things about me. The students and the teachers don't have any prejudices against me."

A former student at a secondary Francophone school in an urban minority context, 1992, translated from the original, in French.

ME and OTHER... Who to choose as a friend and why? Who am I becoming and why? The choice of other as friend takes on major significance for Francophone youth in an urban minority context. Not only is it necessary for these youth to live through their adolescence which, in a North-American context can be difficult, but they must also create for themselves a reality with respect to their social status as members of a minority that is often considered inferior. Must they accept that they are different from the majority of youth around them and an inferiority due to the simple fact of inheriting a particular language? Must they try to blend and reblend themselves among the others? Or is it possible to avoid making the choice of being one or the other and to be both?

In this study, the following questions are addressed: How does the choice of friends and of schools in a minority context reflect this search for and questioning of SELF typical of North American adolescence? Is it indicative of agency on the part of the adolescent with respect to identity formation in a minority context? Is the adolescent's identity patterned by social and school environments? Why is identity formation especially significant for minority youth? To explore these questions, methodological perspectives are detailed, followed by a review of the philosophical literature on friendship, as well as the developmental literature on friendship in childhood and pre-adolescence. Then, the data is examined, including the drawings of friendship networks sketched by grade seven students at a Francophone minority school in an urban context in the Canadian West. The girls' and boys' sociograms are analyzed in several dimensions: spatial organization, gender relations, social structure, number of friends, choice of school of their friends, respondent's identification of the identity of the friends.

In addition to these sociographic results, a social and discursive analysis of previously analyzed data is reviewed. This information was collected as part of the same case study, and from the same subjects (Hébert et Grenier, 1992, 1993), as well as prior studies of the characteristics of such students (Grenier 1988). Drawing upon recent psychological views of identity formation for our interpretation as well as philosophical and
developmental research, we further explored the links of the data to the choice of identity for these Francophone youths in a minority context. Since this data was collected at a Francophone urban minority school, we then considered the role of the school in identity formation of minority youth.

We conclude that our youth consider themselves as part of a transformational project, sensitive to their context, its times and its spaces. Their project gives them a sense of stability and the opportunity to experience continuity in their life-long search for identity as narrated within a complex world.

**Research Methodology: Blended Paradigms**

The research paradigm in this study of Francophone adolescents in a minority urban school is a blended one and draws from various traditions within qualitative, philosophical and psychological research paradigms. Our case study sits within the qualitative tradition of "ethnography of communication" which sees culture as central to understanding human behaviour (Wilcox, 1982; Jacobs, 1988). It is assumed that both verbal and non-verbal communication are culturally patterned even though the persons communicating may not be aware of this patterning (Erickson and Mohatt, 1982; Bauman and Sherzer, 1974; Philips, 1983). As ethnographers of communication, we are interested in focussing on patterns of social interaction among members of a cultural group, and among members of different cultural groups, then in understanding how these micro patterns relate to macro issues of cultural and social organization (Jacobs, 1988).

Recognizing that members of a cultural group may not be aware of the influence of socio-cultural organization and that individuals are agents, we also draw on the symbolic interactionist tradition, also within the qualitative paradigm. According to this tradition, meanings arise through social interaction; however, an individual’s use of meanings is not automatic (Blumer, 1969; Jacobs, 1988). The individual makes choices and acts consciously in response to the meaning those objects have for them. Society is seen as consisting of acting people and social life as consisting of their actions. From this perspective, we are interested in understanding the processes involved in how individuals understand another’s perspective and determine meanings and symbols in concrete instances of interaction (Jacobs, 1988; Denzin, 1978; Ritzer, 1983).

Within yet another research tradition, Gohier (1993) notes that the notion of identity is complex and multidimensional. From this empirical, psychological perspective, a person is both an individual and a social being, with this duality at the source of a paradox between singularity and collectivity, between individualization and socialization. To deal with paradigmatic obstacles to the study of self and of identity (Aboud and Doyle, 1993), psychologists use research techniques that call for verbal descriptions of subjective experiences, memory recall and problem-solving. Moreover, to facilitate the study of one’s own thoughts, a distinction is made between the self-as-knower and the self-as-known. And finally, with respect to ethnicity, attention is given to the possibility of links between the representation of self and of identity, and ethnic attitudes, although none has yet been demonstrated for young children (Aboud and Doyle, 1993).

Not being hampered by such paradigmatic limitations, philosophers have examined the essence of personal identity, morality, responsibility and liberty, by means of argumentation and logic. Of particular interest to our topic of inquiry is the post-modern philosophical approach which allows for a non-distinction between what is rational and what is irrational and non-systematic. Thus, in order to deal with dimensions that are variously social and cultural, psycho-affective and cognitive, that are not just either-or choices, we find ourselves spreading beyond our basic research traditions to draw on philosophical traditions.

We learn from post-modernism, which seeks the demise of the duality inherent in the Cartesian duo subject/object, of an epistemological subject and the objective world, of a knowing subject, and of forming true representations of an objective, determinate reality (Madison, 1988; Ricoeur, 1990). What is considered truth from this perspective is that there is no such thing as truth; it would be better adverbially to speak of 'being in the truth' or 'being in the untruth' since we create ourselves through action and language (Madison, 1988). Thus, "we are in the truth when we are true to ourselves" (Madison, 1998: 169).

Since our Francophone youth are seeking to create a unified self, drawing from apparent disparate dimensions of life and seeking to be integral within life, perhaps our apparently free blending of paradigms and research traditions approximates the minority person’s quest for identity. "For what we most truly are in our own most inner self is a conversation" (Madison, 1988: 169).

**Friendship, Ipseity and Alterity**

The adolescent succeeds in individualizing himself or in identifying himself, according to Ricoeur (1987, 1990), by imputing to another those aspects and value-objects of self which he desires to appropriate for himself and which he

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1 Whenever possible, an expression of neutral gender has been utilized; however, where this is difficult, as in the philosophical discussion, (pro)nominal masculine gender has been used. While one normally claims that the masculine includes the feminine, it is not entirely clear to me that the philosophical literature discussed here does so, since as one sees later on in the paper, there are fundamental differences in friendship between males and females.
sees in himself. Having friends is ordinarily considered to be the greatest of treasures even though friendships are subject to the fragility inherent in the good quality of human action and speech. The search for and gaining of friends implies a recognition of the absence of and the need for friends. With this absence and need, the fact of being self, ipseity, and the fact of being other, alterity, are brought to light. The good and happy being has need of friends and friendship is an activity which can be described as “becoming”. Under the guise of need, a link is knotted between activity and life, and between happiness and pleasure, where friendship converges.

The definition of self, of the individual, and of self and of other, is thus primary to the creation of friendship, for adults as well as for youth. In order to sketch the components of friendship in relationship to the being-me and the being-other, we make use of a few philosophical notions without daring to consider ourselves philosophers or to present a definitive discussion! As Aboud and Doyle (1993) note, philosophers have freely explored the concept of friendship without being limited by the behavioural constraints of psychology which examine internal workings of individuals. As inspiration, we call upon the work of Ricoeur and his discussions of other thinkers such as Aristotle, Husserl, Heidegger, D. Franck, Maine de Biran and E. Lévinas. We present here only those few philosophical notions of relevance to our topic, friendship among youth during a critical time (Brunel, 1993) of identity formation.

Friendship implies a relationship situated between the me and the other, based upon a respect for oneself and mutual reciprocity. Respecting oneself allows one to aim for the true life and for the other within just institutions and communities. Self-esteem lies in what is likeable in each one; it is the very best of self, the thinking part but also the affective part. The solicitude for self and other lies in a dialectic dimension between speakers and actors. Self-esteem and solicitude cannot be lived and thought without each another.

Friendship is, however, an equivocal notion that can be interpreted several ways. Friendship can be good, useful and agreeable, like the reflection of a wish to live well. A mutual relationship can go as far as a creation of the commonality — that is a “life together”. But good friendship, which desires the best for the other, which supports the suffering of the other as well as the pleasure, has primacy over utilitarian and pleasurable friendship, by the mutuality of the sentiment of altruism. This object-motif of friendship calls upon not only the intellect and thought, according to an Aristotelian perspective for which friendship is an intellectual virtue, but also, as proposes Ricoeur (1990), upon affectivity and solicitude, upon reciprocity and justice. Thus is interpreted the old adage, “amitié-égalité” or friendship-equality. As for equality, Aristotle puts “friendship upon the road to justice where the sharing of life between a small number of persons concedes a place to the distribution of parts in a plurality of the scale of a community” (translated from Ricoeur, 1990: 220).

Friendship results from the play between passivity and activity where first, self sees other as patient, i.e., a passive being who receives the action and the speech of self. The passivity can go further, “even to forms of non-esteem of self and detestation of other, where suffering exceeds physical pain” (translated from Ricoeur, 1990: 370). In an acting self and his complement, a passive self, three increasing degrees of passivity may be perceived, according to Maine de Biron (in G. Romeyer-Dherbey, 1974). A first degree of passivity is designated by the other as resistance to effort. The comings and goings of capricious humour represent a second degree of passivity. The third degree is marked by a resistance to exterior matters. By these variable degrees of passivity, the other reveals himself as “the mediator between intimacy of self and the exteriority of the world” (translated from Ricoeur, 1990: 372). However, a second notion, that of activity accorded to the other, represents the other as an agent who, as himself, possesses the power and will to be in a relationship of friends. Power and will imply becoming, moving, speaking and acting as friend.

In making a place for an other, a me recognizes in himself a capacity for power and action. The friend, in that he is another self, an alter ego who resembles us, has a role to enable that which we are unable to procure by ourselves. Alterity and ipseity rest upon a conception of person as agent or actor (the one who acts) and as patient (the one who receives the action of an other). The other is a speaker and an actor and not only a patient of the action of oneself. The transfer of the meaning-ego towards an other who also wears the meaning-ego is a movement towards the alter ego by which the other may become similar to me, that is, someone who, like me, says “I”. Like me, the other thinks, wants, enjoys, suffers, moves, speaks and acts. The analogous movement of Self towards other is also made in opposite direction, from other to myself.

The other as a friend is seen as the subject of thought, of affectivity. The interplay that is friendship brings us to act together with greater power. Together, we target the world as a common nature. Together, we build communities that can act in turn upon the scene of contemporary life. The other becomes the source of help, of gathering, of affirmation, of the maintenance of one’s identity. The other becomes my conscience, he attests to my actions and my words, and in doing so, joins in my identity. We are therefore affected; the other is no longer a passive patient, but by his activity, is an attached being who is part of me. Thus, alterity is structurally joined to ipseity.
From this philosophical discussion, we retain the notions of absence and of need in the good and happy person, of mutuality, of sharing, of life-together, of being actor and speaker, of being agent and patient even on to passivity and of contribution to identity formation — all relevant of friendship.

Friendship in childhood and in pre-adolescence

Systematic differences between men and women with respect to the nature of friendship and of the resulting conversational strategies are strongly distinguished in childhood and in pre-adolescence (Maltz and Borker, 1982). The conceptualization of female and male subcultures holds explanatory power since it explains why boys and girls are socialized differently. They learn in early childhood to speak and to act appropriately, according to their gender, by society.

Play for girls is more cooperative and non-competitive than that seen in boys (Goodwin, 1980b). By the age of 8-10 years, the social world of girls is defined in terms of proximity to other girls. Friendship for girls implies intimacy, equality, mutual commitment and loyalty. A best friend is central to the girl. Relationships between girls are somewhat in opposition to one another and new friendships are formed at the expense of former ones. Friendship, developed through talk, is exclusive, some girls being particularly close to one another in a small group. The rupturing of friendships thus has a tendency to be very emotional and conflictual between girl friends and is very difficult to experience and to resolve (Brooks-Gunn and Matthews, 1979; Lever, 1976). The non-hierarchical framework of girls provides fertile ground for processes of alliance formation between equals against another group (Goodwin, 1980a). With their discursive formation, girls learn to accomplish three social goals:

(i) to create and maintain intimate and equal relationships;
(ii) to criticize the others in socially acceptable ways; and
(iii) to interpret correctly the talk of other girls (Maltz and Borker, 1982).

The world of boys is larger and more hierarchical than that of girls. By means of peer interactions, boys attempt to manipulate their relative status in a hierarchy that is constantly fluctuating. Since these hierarchies vary temporally, each boy has the occasion of being victimized, must learn to accept it and to attempt to victimize others. Non-dominant boys are not excluded from play but are clearly held to their place of inferiority. Posturing preoccupies boys who constantly seek to adjust their position, one against the other, in order to assume and maintain a good position. With their discursive formation, boys learn to accomplish their social goals:

(i) to maintain their assertion of a position of dominance;
(ii) to attract and maintain an audience and
(iii) to impose themselves when other speakers have a turn at talk (Maltz and Borker, 1982).

According to Lever (1976), the differences in play between female and male children suggest that this differentiation contributes to the preservation in our society of gender-specific role divisions. Lever identifies six specific differences in the play of boys and girls:

(i) boys play outside more often than girls;
(ii) boys play in large groups whereas girls play in small groups;
(iii) boys' play groups are heterogeneous with respect to age and skills while girls' play groups are homogeneous with respect to age;
(iv) girls will play 'masculine' games more often than boys will play 'feminine' games;
(v) boys play competitive games whereas girls play games that are more cooperative; and finally,
(vi) the play of boys lasts longer than the play of girls.

Thus, girls and boys learn in childhood and in pre-adolescence to master the organization of their social world which is particular to their gender — a cooperative, friendly organization for girls or a hierarchical and competitive organization for boys. The task is to soften and nuance this social organization for a more successful later adolescent and adult life.

Searching for self in adolescence

Adolescence North-American style is considered to be an identity crisis, a necessary turning point, a crucial moment when development must advance one way or another, requiring resources for growth, for recovery and fine differentiation (Erikson, 1968; Brunel, 1993). Dimensions of adolescent identity are found in a process at the very heart of the individual, but also at the core of the community's culture. In psychological terms, identity formation employs a process that is simultaneously one of reflection and of observation, a process that occurs on all levels of mental functioning, by which an individual judges himself in comparison to others according to a typology that is significant to him. And he judges how others judge in the light of his perceptions of them and of relevant types.

The youth goes through a non-conformism that is in reality a cry for confirmation from others. In grouping and regrouping themselves, adolescents over-identify temporarily with heroes and heroines, with cliques and crowds to the point of an apparent and complete loss of individualism. Young people demonstrate a cruel intolerance towards those who seem "different" from themselves, be it by the colour of their skin, their culture, their talents and their tastes, even to tiny details of attire marking group membership. In principle, this intolerance is a temporary defense against a sense of loss of identity at a time of life when there are many changes: the body
Adolescents are sometimes preoccupied in a curious and even lugubrious way with their appearance in the eyes of others and in terms of their own definition of self. This constitutes a search for meaning in continuity and in belonging. Youth seek out persons and ideas in which they can have faith; attempt to exercise free will; have confidence and give free rein to unfettered imagination; and ponder the choice of an occupation which offers both success and satisfaction.

Searching for fidelity, adolescents see themselves in the pursuit of a variety of behaviours more or less approved by society. Rapid combinations and re-combinations of devotion, friendships and perversity exemplify this pursuit. Youth must often push to extremes before choosing a deliberate path. This extremism, at a moment of ideological confusion and of marginality of identity, may bring forth rebellious, deviant, delinquent and self-destructive tendencies. However, all this may also serve as a moratorium during which the validity of a truth may be evaluated before committing oneself, body and soul, to an existing or future social order.

Fidelity, a force of disciplined devotion, develops through the commitment of youth to all sorts of experiences but only if these reveal the essence of the era of which the youth is a part. They may be beneficiaries and guardians of a tradition, innovators of a moral and ethical force or rebels devoted to the destruction of the past. This is the potential of youth in psycho-social evolution.

Adolescents go through an identification process with significant peers and friends, rather than with their parents. Adolescents also identify with ideological forces which take hold of the juvenile heart. By living through their youth, individuals confirm their identity and societies are regenerated.

The Triple-ME: Components and Adolescent Crises

Francophone youth in a minority context experience a triple identity crisis: that of adolescence, that of gender and sexual differences, and that of the person of minority status (Hébert and Grenier, 1993). In adolescence, the youth searches for his personhood, for self as an individual. The youth also continues the search for self as a male or a female, i.e., the physical aspects of identity. The minority youth also searches for self in terms of the social roles accorded to maleness and femaleness, not only generally but also within the minority collective. According to Aboud and Doyle (1993:46), minority children who are racially different from the white majority in North America experience more difficulty in constructing their identity since their starting experiences are as members of the white majority and as members of a minority ethnic group. For minority children who are not visibly different, but audibly or linguistically different, we propose that this search for self as members of majority and minority groups is more nuanced and subtle, albeit even more difficult.

While exploring and discovering his/her place in North-American society, the youth in this study also searches for self as a member of a Francophone minority collectivity in Western Canada, and as a member of Canadian society generally. (S)he also searches for self in terms of a social role as a member of the female or male sex, i.e., gender generally, and as a member of this same collectivity. These youth participate in a process of identity formation according to the “Triple-ME”, be it the individual aspects of their identity, the social aspects i.e., their social gender attached to their physical maleness or femaleness, i.e., their sex, as well as the socio-cultural aspects of their collective identity. This search for the Triple-ME occurs at the very heart of the individual, his culture and his community.

The search of a Triple-ME brings about great upsets in the lives of adolescents. Not only are they experiencing major physical changes, but they also seeking a psychological self. In trying to create an identity for themselves, adolescents may reject the constraints and the rules of their parents, throwing themselves into extreme actions and reactions. The dominant anglophone society attracts them though the pull of its popularity and power: adolescents seek to become part of this society. Finally, the prescribed social and psychological characteristics assigned by Western society according to sex, i.e., gender, are intertwined with the formation of self as an adolescent member of a Francophone minority.

Friendship networks of participating youth

In January 1992, grade seven students at an urban Francophone school in Western Canada responded to our invitation to draw friendship networks. To do so, the adolescents were instructed as follows: (i) start by placing their name or ME on the page; (ii) place the names of their friends on this same page according to the proximity of the friendship; (iii) group together groups of friends; (iv) indicate according to an established code, (a) the dominant language of the friends (Francophone friend, Anglophone friend, bilingual friend), (b) their school (same Francophone school, bilingual/immersion school, English school, Francophone school elsewhere), (c) the family link, if any, and (d) the frequency of contact (daily, monthly, irregularly). Thirteen girls and five boys, all in grade seven, participated in this part of the study.

In this data, an attachment to gender is accorded a fundamental importance. For the girls, the representation of friends tend to take a concentric or spiral shape around
Figure 1: A prototype of friendships among francophone minority female adolescents

The most important friends encircle the ME while the lesser friends form a more distant circle. The friends identified as being bilingual are part of the girl's closest circle of friends but the Francophone friends are part of both the closest and the most distant circles. Anglophone friends are part of the most distant circle from ME. Most of the Francophone and bilingual friends come from the school studied; very few friends come from elsewhere. The girls indicated that they have an average of twenty friends each.

For the five grade seven boys, the representation of friends around the ME tends to be hierarchical, i.e., the ME is placed at the top of a pyramid-like drawing, then the friends are placed identified in order of importance to ME. Again, figure two offers a prototypical representation of the boys' friendship networks; while it is a composite, very similar drawings also occur in the data.

Figure 2: A prototypical representation of friendships among francophone minority male adolescents

The boys' bilingual and anglophone friends are those which are closest to ME. They attend mostly English-language schools and also bilingual/immersion schools. The Francophone friends are most distant from ME. The boys indicated that they have an average of twenty-six friends.

Within these two tendencies, either concentric or hierarchical according to sex, the few exceptions are remarkable. A boy, of affectionate and sensitive nature, offers a concentric network much like the girls' preferred pattern. Also, two girls offer up a hierarchical network similar to the boys. According to the social behaviours observed during the data collection, these three adolescents are slightly different from the others of their own kind. They are fairly sure of themselves and are less susceptible of determining their actions and their talk in consequence of other members of their school class.

In terms of social groupings within the class, as reported in Hébert and Grenier (1992), neither of these three are found within the "cools", i.e., the social leaders most oriented to the dominant external anglophone culture. The boy and one of the two girls are part of the "lames" social grouping and the other girl is part of the "intermediate" grouping.
Social groupings within the classroom, as cools, intermediates or lames, be these latter ones wise or lame with respect to the external cultural forces, is not limitative of the friendship networks. All respondents include friends from all three social groups, as determined upon the basis of code-switching (French-English) and of social behaviours (Hébert and Grenier, 1992). Within the cools, whether these are female or male, the friendship network is characteristically very large and among the most numerous; no “cool” kid has few friends. For the “intermediates” and the “marginal” ones, the network is variable in number and social scope, but may include as many friends as the “cools”. Thus, the social fact of being oriented or not towards the popular English-language culture influences but is not the determining factor of the scope of friendships among these adolescent Francophones in a minority urban context.

The “cool-girls”, however, have daily contacts with a greater number of friends than certain “intermediates” and the “marginal” ones. The “cool-girl’s” friends come from essentially two groups — those perceived and identified as Francophones, or bilinguals. The “cool-boy” seeks his friends, all bilinguals and Anglophones, from outside the confines of the Francophone school whereas the “cool-girls” seek their friends, of whom 25% are Francophones, mostly from within the school. Thus the “cool-boys” occupy greater social territory than do the “cool-girls”.

The networks of these adolescents reflect the philosophical notion of mutuality. Among the boys, 80% mutually name each other. Among the girls identified by their schoolmates as close friends, i.e., placed close to the ME, all mutually name each other. The inclusivity of friends of the same sex is strong but variable. Of the girls, 77% include boys in their network of friends but 40% of these place them in extreme opposite corners of the page as symbolic of social space. However, 60% of the boys include girls and 33% pushed them back to the very corners of the page. A single respondent (6%) of the eighteen respondents, a boy, names all the members of the class. The exclusivity of gender is also demonstrated: 27% of girls name only girls and 40% of the boys do likewise and name only boys. A newly arrived student named all the boys and several girls but is not included in return. The prolonging of exclusion is perhaps typical of the process of being accepted in a new membership group.

This differentiation of friends according to gender is part of the search for identity, of this Triple-ME, among minority adolescents. Enormous conflicts and problems flow from the perturbations of physical and psychological development, the development of sexual self and image, as well as from the importance placed upon their commitment to their minority culture by the family, the school and the Francophone community.

Discursive manifestations of friendship

The friendship data discussed above is supported by the analysis of other relevant social, discursive and demolinguistic data dealing with the same Francophone community and school in a minority urban context (Hébert and Grenier, 1992; Hébert, 1991, 1992; Grenier, 1988; Hébert and Stebbins, 1993).

To our sociographic results, we added our analysis of social and discursive data collected at the same time from adolescents in seventh and eighth grade, including the same ones in seventh grade (Hébert and Grenier, 1992). The social behaviours observed among the “cools” and the other two social groupings of students in the classroom, i.e., the “lames” and the “intermediates”, as well as the discursive patterns particular to each grouping, demonstrate the adolescents’ attraction towards the OTHER and a sensitivity towards the features distinguishing this OTHER. Code-switching, i.e., alternating uses of the two linguistic codes, French and English, demonstrates both an attraction towards English and an attachment to French. English has a ludic function as well as an expressive function of distancing of self whereas French is the language of work and holds an expressive function of “rapprochement” or bonding between similar beings.

An incident among the grade seven girls and its absence among the boys reveals the female-male differences in acting as friends. During gym, a girl accidentally jabbed another girl in the eye with her finger. The volition of the act was seriously questioned by close friends of the injured girl. The male teacher insisted that it was an accident and told the girls to carry on with their drills. The row simmered on and erupted again in the girls’ change room, a space where adults do not enter. As friendships were reaffirmed and others ruptured in the heat of the battle, a cry of anguish was heard, crashing through the door, “Mange d’la crotte!” (which may be translated as ‘Eat droppings!’) It took several emotional days of talk and rapprochement before the row subsided and friendships resumed. By comparison, no such emotional eruptions characterized the boys’ friendships; jabblings, quick remarks and other forms of put-downs are accepted by the boys as normal and returnable!

This incident among the girls reveals that friendship for them is supposed to be equal, mutual and consensual and that non-aggression and cooperation is the norm. Its absence among the boys reveals that competition and aggression is reversible and is the norm. The hurled insult, in French, illustrates the importance of the French language to the formation and maintenance of friendships and of bonds within the collective, rather than English, which serves to distance self from topics of conversations (Hébert and Grenier, 1992).
Acting According to Gender

Boys and girls acting typically as members of their gender, as observed in the participating school, and the responses given by school leavers, reflect the constancy of the power relations between the sexes and between the Anglophone and Francophone collectivities in Canadian society.

A preference for friends of the same gender as part of adolescent life and a predilection for males is seen in our study and is supported by the socializing action of teachers. Membership in sub-cultures according to gender was often observed in class in the choice of relations between the sexes and between the Anglophone and Francophone collectivities in Canadian society.

Thus, in spite of complaints including the loud ones from a young girl and his sensitivity to this criticism, the male teacher continued his practice of social differentiation between the sexes with the seventh and eighth grades students observed.

The preference of male teachers for boys is also evident at this school in subjects taught by beginning male teachers who tend to ask questions only of the boys and to ignore the girls who know how to look busy. Generally, the girls take up a more restrained social and physical space with respect to their possessions, their extremities and their voice. The boys however spread their school bags in the aisles as well as their arms and legs, and send their voice widely and loudly, all of this with the tacit approval of the male teachers. Two female teachers, albeit more experienced, ask questions of all the students but nevertheless permit the boys somewhat more physical and discursive space than the girls.

Code-switching and Reasons for Leaving the School

With the beginning of adolescence, a search to identify with icons and markers of the current popular culture occurs, i.e., the dominant Anglophone culture of Western Canada and North America. This coincides, at the participating school, with the marked decline of the student population, starting in grade five and accelerating in grade eight, with only a handful left in senior high school (Hébert, 1991; Tardif, 1993). Increasingly, the students leave the Francophone school to register in Anglophone secondary schools, which includes immersion programmes where French is taught as a second language, not as a mother tongue.
The students who are school leavers are also those who utilize code-switching the most; these are the “cools”. The “lames”, however, do very little code-switching. As can be expected, the “intermediates” vary considerably in terms of code-switching. For example, upon leaving the English Language Arts classroom at the end of the period for the French Language Arts classroom, the grade seven “cools” maintain their English until they reach the next class and switch only upon the French teacher’s insistence. The “lames” stand up in the English Language Arts class to leave and immediately switch to French. The “intermediates” switch variably anytime between the two classes, but most characteristically in the intervening hallway. These functional discursive patterns revealing social values and interpersonal feelings are indicative of the complexity of socio-cultural aspects of identity-formation.

According to our interview data of school leavers (Hébert and Grenier, 1992), the contradictory nature of the school’s ambiance provides security for students while choking the adolescent who is attracted to both the dominant society and to the Francophone collectivity. The adolescents consider themselves to be members of a large family but they also lack independence and individuality. The reasons given by the Francophone school leavers, with respect to their choice of school between 1987 and 1991 in a series of taped interviews, are the smallness of the school in its academic, sports and social dimensions.

It was more intimate. You develop a sort of relationship with the world. It becomes like a small family.

What I liked was that everybody knew everybody else, that we were a group together.

It was a secure environment. It was French. It was different than all the others.

It was too small, and because it was too small, it couldn’t offer the same things as the other secondary school could offer, like options for courses, for activities.

After a while, the classes are too small and you get sick and tired of being with the same persons and never meeting new people.

Once gone, the school leavers do not maintain their friendships with those who have similarly departed unless, as sometimes occurs, friends relocate at the same Anglophone secondary school. Contact with old friends who stayed at the Francophone school, is irregular. The school leavers experience a gradual gap in their interests, needs and talents with those who still attend the Francophone school.

It seems to me that they (the friends who stayed at the Francophone school) have a small life and school is the only thing they do.

Those who left for other schools seem to have a better sense of responsibility. Those who stayed at the school rely on the teachers to give them chances.

I compare myself to those who stayed at the Francophone school. It seems to me that they are not very sociable. They don’t seem to have friends outside of the school. Everything is centered on the school.

According to this interview data as well as Tardif’s (1993) questionnaire data at three Francophone schools in Alberta, the school leavers acknowledge their great attraction to the dominant English-language society. They see this belonging as facilitating their progress in the future, i.e. with university studies, especially in mathematics and sciences. The school leavers consider themselves bilingual and bicultural citizens, members of both the Francophone and the Anglophone communities of their city. Like chameleons, they take on the language and culture of their environment. These minority students need to be part of the majority but also appreciate the warmth and intimacy of la Francophonie to which they also belong.

Social space, collective identity, social equity and schooling

Obtaining and holding social space is an integral part of the socialization of children and juveniles, at school and elsewhere. The choice of friends, their identifying characteristics as Francophones, bilinguals or Anglophones, as well as the extent of the friendship network, all tend to be greater for the boys than for the girls. The collection of these features is linked to the choice of identity these Francophone youths in a minority urban context wish for themselves. They may be seen as persons who wish to be part of the Francophonie, i.e., the worldwide Francophone collective, but who also wish to be part of the majority group and reject a forced choice between two group memberships to create for themselves a dual belonging—bilingual and bicultural. They use their languages and their actions as manifestations of their collective identity and thus, demonstrate a flexibility with respect to communication, and the choice of languages and bilingualism. They define themselves in action and through language with others.

Although the feminist movement has worked to liberate women from the constraints and expectations imposed by society and an awareness of this is part of the explicit curriculum, the socio-educational restrictions imposed on women still influence the psychological development of girls (Lewis and Simon, 1986; Maltz and Borker, 1982; West and Zimmerman, 1977). Given the marked preference for the same gender in friendship networks and school groupings, it is possible to conclude that the Francophone minority urban school contributes to the socialization of youngsters according to gender, without bringing them to lend nuance to their behaviours or membership in male and female subcultures.
Identity is thus created, as is culture, within time and space. Here, school space is labeled formally as Francophone social space and is the only place where these youngsters are guaranteed a common life as Francophones (Grenier, 1988). But the youths consider themselves and their friends as bilinguals. The "cools" are more anglophone than the "intermediates" and the "lames" but all of them retain and maintain an identity that is partially or wholly Francophone (Hébert and Grenier, 1992). The discourse and the actions of the SELF attracted to another of the same gender and towards that which is English, while holding an affective bond for that which is French, permit a nuanced view of the identity question of youths in a minority situation. These minority youths seek to create themselves, in conversations with others, in an integral, blended fashion, so as to be true to themselves and their realities.

Conclusion

The incorporation of gender, of two languages and two cultures, including a socio-cultural competence at code-switching between them, of the choice of school and friends, all within a single human being aiming for adulthood, in interaction and in conversation with others, seems to be, like friendship, a long-term process of negotiation of choices for the creation of a SELF and of an OTHER. These youths consider themselves to be a transformational project, sensitive to context, to its times and its spaces, to all its facets. The self, reflected in the making of friends and in being true to oneself, demonstrates flexibility in communication, language choices and bilingualism.

The presence of an other nourishes the perception of self, the creation of one's own collective and individual and sexual and gender/social identity; the "je" or "I" is composed of mine with the help of yours. The transformation of self is a life project: consciously having such a project of auto-composition permits one a form of stability, of continuity, in the search for and the narration of identity in a world in constant flux. The being, like friendship, is always becoming.

References


*Legacy* is one of the outcomes of a study prepared for the Alberta Department of Education by a research group from the Faculty of Education at the University of Alberta in 1981. The study’s mandate was to determine how Native people were portrayed, and the way Native-related issues were dealt with in the Province’s Social Studies curriculum. The group’s report, “Native People in the Curriculum” (Decore et al., 1981), evaluated 342 prescribed and recommended books, films and other materials in Alberta’s grade 1 to 12 social studies programs. A major conclusion of the study was that of the titles reviewed, 46.6 per cent were problematic either in terms of the resource’s content, or in the context of its use. Problems in these titles were found to be serious enough to require specific remediation, either by revision or by direction to teachers in a teacher’s guide. The report also concluded that 16.5 per cent of titles which specifically addressed Native issues were so seriously deficient that they had no place in the curriculum.

In a June 1982 news release, David King, Alberta’s minister of education, summed up the conclusions of “Native People in the Curriculum”: “Sixty-three per cent of social studies books and other materials used in Alberta schools fail to portray native people accurately” (p. 1). Mr. King went on to state: “The situation will be rectified. The books and materials in our schools must depict our native community with sensitivity, respect and accuracy.” This led to a program within the Department to ensure, as the Minister put it, “that faulty materials are rewritten, phased out, etc.” (p. 2). Since the Minister’s announcement, a notable achievement concerning this matter has been the addition of at least 27 Native-related, provincially-sponsored basic and support learning materials to the list of Social Studies resources (see Appendix 1). The latest basic resource in this series is *Legacy: Indian Treaty Relationships*, which is one of the texts for the unit on citizenship in Social Studies 10. A discussion of the content and themes of this text and its use by one of the authors of this study in a present day classroom is given below.

Description of Class

The 22 students involved in the teaching unit were members of a grade ten honours class. The students were high academic achievers and most were active participants in class. Discussion of issues was usually done with little or no difficulty. The reading level of Price’s textbook was satisfactory for this group. Instructional time assigned to the unit consisted of five 80-minute classes per week over a month.

Procedure

It was considered appropriate to divide the unit into three parts: (1) a pre-test; (2) an instructional component; and (3) a post-test.

I. The Pre-test

The pre-test was divided into four sections. The students were told that there was a possibility that the results of parts of the test would be used for evaluation purposes. It was felt that this would provide some motivation for students to do their best.

The first two sections involved ten true and false questions and fifteen multiple choice questions. Both sections were designed to test the students’ factual knowledge. Questions were based on factual information contained within the textbook. The class average on the 25 factual knowledge questions was 48.7 per cent. Realizing the opportunity for guessing created some advantage for the students, it is nonetheless believed that the pre-test responses validly reflect the students’ prior knowledge of the textbook’s content.
The third section consisted of questions that allowed the students to express their opinions on five topics. Evaluation of the students' responses was based on how reasonable their answers were and how well they expressed themselves. The class average on this section was 67.8 per cent. This indicated that the class was reasonably capable of responding to questions involving Indian-related topics of a general nature.

The fourth section was an opinion survey. Many of the 20 statements presented were controversial in nature, such as familiar Indian stereotypes that were held in the past and are possibly still held in the present. Students were to respond to the statements by circling a number that most likely corresponded to their opinion. No attempt was made to clarify meanings, and students completed this exercise without assistance. They were not given the opportunity to register whether they were undecided about the statement, nor were any marks given for the exercise. The opinion survey was designed to give some indication of what student attitudes toward Indian people were like.

Areas of Agreement
The majority of students strongly agreed with the following statements:

- Indian children should attend the same schools as everyone else.
- All Canadians must be treated equally.
- Indian people have often been the victims of discrimination.

The majority of students agreed with the following statements:

- Indian groups are becoming too powerful in Canada.
- Indian people must accept the same rights and responsibilities as all other Canadians.
- Self-government for Indian people would seriously hurt the cause for Canadian unity.
- Treaties exist to help solve problems between people within a nation.
- Indian people must do more to blend in with their non-Indian neighbours.
- Year round hunting, fishing, and trapping rights should not be granted to Indian people.
- Indian treaties are an important way to help preserve Indian culture.
- Indians have been treated fairly by the Government of Canada.
- The Metis people should be given the same status that treaty Indians have.

Conclusions
The students agreed with statements that involved fair treatment for Indian people, but only in the sense that all Canadians should be treated fairly. Special arrangements for Indians such as self-government, advancement of interest groups, and distinct rights and responsibilities were not given much support.

The area of agreement based on the statements provided indicated that the students preferred to see Indian people as equal partners rather than members of a distinct group.

Areas of Disagreement
The statements that the majority of students strongly disagreed with were:

- Education is wasted on Indian peoples.
- Indian issues are not really important.
- All Indian peoples are basically the same.
- Pow Wow and tribal dancing make Indian people look foolish.

The statements that the majority of students disagreed with were:

- An Indian's place is on an Indian Reserve.
- Indians who are unemployed are likely to be lazy.
- Indian hairstyles, such as men with braided hair, should not be tolerated in the RCMP.
- Members of the Indian community are more likely to be guilty of alcohol abuse.

Conclusions
The students strongly disagreed with statements that suggested that Indian people were not important to them. Their opinions strongly supported educational opportunities for Indian peoples and reflected issues involving their welfare. The participants recognized the diversity of Indian cultures and supported the practice of Indian cultural activities. They also supported the expression of Indian cultural traits in today's society.

Observations
It was interesting to note that there was very strong support in the survey for equal treatment for all Canadians and for Indian people to refrain from pursuing self-government because it would seriously hurt Canadian unity. Any statements that implied any separate status or political distinctiveness for Indian people were not supported. The integration of Indian peoples into mainstream Canadian society was given support.

At the same time, statements that supported tolerance and understanding for Indian culture were endorsed. Indian treaties were considered to be important and the expression of Indian customs and languages was also supported.

It was surprising to see such strong support for statements that favoured integration or assimilation (terms which tended to be used synonymously) of Indian people into the mainstream Canadian culture, and yet significant support for the preservation of Indian culture.
Conclusion

The opinion survey was primarily designed to consider student attitudes. As a class, it would be reasonable to conclude that the students showed a positive and tolerant response to Indian people and their cultures. Their response to statements that involved Canadian unity and questions of increased Indian sovereignty were less positive.

II. The Instructional Component

A. The Opener

A film from the National Film Board of Canada called the Ballad of Crowfoot (1968) was shown to the students. It consisted of an excellent collection of still photographs accompanied with words and music from Willie Dunn, a Micmac ballad singer. The film dealt with the opening of the Canadian west and stressed the sad role assigned Indian people during that period. The often bitter lyrics helped establish a mood in the class that was sympathetic toward First Nations people and this unpropitious period in their history. Because of the strong impact the film had on the students there was no need to inspire discussion. Some students thought that the film was too negative, and that the film’s producers could have included photographs that portrayed the Indians in happier circumstances.

Sympathy for Indian people was a factor in early treaty relationships. It was appropriate that the initial approach to the unit promoted a sympathetic response in the participants.

The Text

The text is divided into two sections. The first comprises three chapters on the historical background of Indian-White relationships in Canada with particular reference to the western treaties. The second section deals with contemporary First Nations issues in three chapters. Each chapter consists of three to five units:

“Each unit begins with a focus question, which is followed by key issues and concrete examples. The goal of each unit is to ensure the students have a clear grasp of what is at stake, especially the perspectives of aboriginal peoples, and the view of the federal/provincial governments or other interested parties. Discussion questions on the content of each unit and analysis questions for further research are included at the end of each unit.” (Price, iii)

The Text in the Classroom: A Teacher’s Experience

In order to describe how the text was used it was decided to provide some commentary on content contained in the chapters. Emphasis is placed on Learning Activities. Reference will be made to guest speakers and a field trip. An analysis of a post-test is included.
Having studied the information in Unit II, the students were able to identify areas where Indians and Europeans enjoyed beneficial relationships.

This left the class with a positive idea of what the early relationship between Indians and Europeans was like. Some critics would argue that the relationship was both exploitative and devastating because of trading practices and the spread of European diseases. The text does little to support this conclusion preferring to emphasize more harmonious relationships.

Unit III
In Unit III a complication that caused Indian-European relationships to deteriorate is introduced. Participants of the 1840s expansionist movement from Ontario felt it was their right to transform the prairies into farmland and that Indian concerns were of little significance. The term ‘ethnocentrism’ is introduced. A short comparison with the United States policy of Indian wars is presented. The geographical difficulties of developing the prairies are dealt with. The political problems associated with American expansionism (i.e. Manifest Destiny) are not mentioned. This is a regrettable oversight as it was a significant factor in the development of the prairies. The fear of American expansionism caused the British government to secure its sovereignty over the west.

Learning Activity
A class discussion on the significance of ‘ethnocentrism’ and how it applied to the Ontario expansionist movement was carried out. From this discussion the issue of how the prairies might have been more appropriately developed was considered. As a result of feedback from group discussions, it was generally felt that an ethnocentric approach to prairie development was wrong and that Ontario’s expansionism should have been based on more equitable principles.

Table 1: Benefits in Indian-European relationships

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indians</th>
<th>Europeans</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Treaty Sacred Pipe Ceremony</td>
<td>exchange of gifts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceremonies Symbol of Truth and friendship/speeches</td>
<td>handshake speeches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Aspects European goods kettles, guns, powder, the horse</td>
<td>furs, fish, game transportation methods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Aspects syllabics Christianity</td>
<td>clothing and environmental knowledge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unit IV
In Unit IV the consequence of expansionism is dealt with. By the mid 1870s negotiations for Treaties Six and Seven had begun.

The unit outlines the concerns of the Indians. British and Indian views of land transactions are compared. The language problems and differing cultural viewpoints between the British and Indian negotiators at the time of the signing of treaties are emphasized.

Learning Activity
Students were asked to gather information from the unit on issues raised by Indian leaders before and during negotiations for Treaties Six and Seven. They were asked to concentrate on their survival concerns, and on how the British and Indian negotiators viewed the question of land transactions.

The information was gathered in group discussions. An assigned group leader was given the responsibility of writing a short report advising Queen Victoria and the British government of the problems Indian leaders were experiencing in negotiating with representatives of the Canadian government. It was hoped that the students would fully grasp the Indian dilemma and not only provide a review of their survival concerns but also deal with differing cultural views toward land transactions.

Chapter II: Northern Treaties — Treaty Eight Case Study

Chapter II is divided into three units. The focus questions for each unit are as follows:

Unit I: How were the northern tribes different from the prairie ones?
Unit II: How did the government finally negotiate Treaty Eight?
Unit III: Did each side get what it wanted from the treaties?

This chapter is ideal for assignment of an independent study project.

Treaty Eight represents a significant aspect of Alberta’s history. This chapter deals with the northern tribes, emphasizing their differences from those in the south. References to the fur trade and the role missionaries played in this period are presented. The need for Canada to assert sovereignty in the area because of the discovery of mineral resources resulting in the Klondike gold rush and is stressed. The chapter also describes the problems associated with negotiations for Treaty Eight. Most of the leading Indian negotiators were from areas that became part of the province of Alberta, making this chapter particularly interesting to Albertans.
Learning Activity
Students were asked to write a report based on all the units in chapter II. The report was assigned as homework and they were given one week to complete it. The topic of the report dealt with the significance of Treaty Eight. An outline to help the students structure their report was distributed. The students were asked to emphasize the following:

1. Historical Background
   a) Cree expansion in the early 1800s
   b) The Fur Trade and the Hudson’s Bay Company
   c) The Metis
   d) The Missionaries
   e) The discovery of profitable resources
   f) The need for law and order
   g) The development of transportation

2. Indian and Government Concerns
   a) The Metis and the Script Commission
   b) Family Reserves
   c) Maintenance of a traditional way of life
   d) Hunting, fishing, and trapping rights
   e) Educational needs for Indian children
   f) Medical care for Indians
   g) Duration of the treaty

3. Maps
   The students were asked to include a map of either: Trading Posts in Early Canada; or Treaty Eight Area (pre 1899). Both these maps are included in this chapter.

4. A defense of a position taken on whether or not Treaty Eight was a fair settlement. Students presented arguments for and against the acceptance of Treaty Eight by the government of Canada and Indian negotiators.

CHAPTER III: Historical Overview

Chapter III is divided into five units. The focus questions for each unit are as follows:

Unit I: How did each side understand the treaties?
Unit II: Did the Indian treaties turn out the way the negotiators expected?
Unit III: What did the government impose on the Indians?
Unit IV: How did the provincial governments get involved in treaty negotiations?
UNIT V: How did the Indians react to government neglect of treaties?

This chapter continues on with the history of Indian treaties following Treaty Eight.

Unit I
In Unit I a review of how Indian and government negotiators had different goals is offered. The unit contains an excellent map of the “Indian Treaties and Agreements in Canada” (Ibid, p. 52), and a review in chart form of all the written treaty promises made up until the signing of Treaty Eleven in 1921. Because there was some repetition from the previous chapters, no extra emphasis was given to this unit and the students were asked to read it through.

Unit II
Unit II deals with how government financial restraint in the 1880s prevented the treaty terms from being realized. Discussion with the class focused on how starvation was a factor in bringing about the acceptance of Treaty Six by Chief Big Bear in 1882. Reference to a previous unit on the Riel Rebellions was made. It is unfortunate that Price’s text does not give these events more emphasis. Indian people did play a role in the rebellions and some Indian bands in Alberta and Saskatchewan resisted the Canadian militia in the second confrontation. As with Unit I no specific learning activity was attempted.

Unit III
Unit III emphasizes the government’s desire to set up Indian reserves as ‘training grounds’ whereby Indian people would be prepared for citizenship and taught Canadian culture and social values. This approach was based on the Indian Act of 1876, and resulted in further legislation which prompted the federal government to act as guardian in education and other aspects of Indian life.

Learning Activity: Units II and III
Students were selected to participate in a debate. The resolution was:

Be it Resolved that the Government of Canada Should do more to Promote Canadian Unity by Outlawing the Expression of the Culture, Language, and Traditions of Minority Groups.

This resolution opened up an area which not only included what had been studied in Units II and III, but also the whole question of the future of multiculturalism. The government’s arguments were based primarily on the desirability of efforts to increase Canadian unity so that Canada could survive as a nation. Opposing arguments were based on the advantages of continuing current multicultural policies. It was suggested that the opposition could use early Indian Act policies to help to provide evidence. After the debate, the class was asked to offer comments on the issue.

There was a general consensus in the class that attempts by government to control or limit the culture, language, and traditions of minority groups was wrong. The government lost the debate.

Unit IV
This unit explains how provincial governments eventually became more involved in matters concerning the Indian people. This was a short unit and students were asked to read through it quickly.
This unit concerns the development of Indian resistance and the creation of Indian organizations that presented issues regarding treaty rights. This also was a short unit and students were asked to list the organizations and their significance.

Section II: Contemporary Situation

Chapter IV: Policy Changes and Land Claims

Chapter IV is divided into three units. The focus questions for each unit are as follows:

Unit I: What key events of the 1970s made changes in Indian policy possible?

Unit II: Did the James Bay and Northern Quebec agreement of 1975 indicate a change in policy?

Unit III: Why are there still outstanding land claims in areas which have treaties?

This chapter focuses on changes in government policies in the 1970s and examines the issue of land claims.

Unit I

Unit I contrasts Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau's "White Paper on Indian Policy" with a response from the Indian Chiefs of Alberta called "Citizens Plus," usually referred to as the 'Red Paper'. The consequence of these two very different viewpoints led to a Supreme Court decision in 1973 that reaffirmed the legal basis of aboriginal rights.

Learning Activity

Students were asked to prepare two paragraphs. One paragraph would consist of a summary of the ten basic points contained in the "White Paper." These points are presented in a comparison chart in the text (Ibid, pp. 80-81).

The other paragraph was to consist of a summary of the Indian response (the "Red Paper"). This proved to be a more difficult task as some of the Indian positions were somewhat complicated and many students needed assistance with their interpretation.

Attention was given to the Supreme Court decision on the aboriginal rights claim of the Nishga Indians of British Columbia and the government's "Claims Policy Statement" of 1973. Students were asked to write a paragraph summarizing the significance of these two events. This was not a difficult task as the information needed is clearly outlined in the unit.

Unit II

Unit II examines the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement of 1975. The victorious struggle of the eight Cree communities and their Inuit neighbours in the James Bay area in Northern Quebec provides an excellent case study of a major Aboriginal land claim involving the province of Quebec and the federal government of Canada.

The unit goes on to comment on subsequent treaties involving land claims with northern aboriginal people.

Learning Activity

Students were asked to use their imaginations and present a political cartoon that highlighted the James Bay hydroelectric development and the concerns of Indian and Inuit communities. As with any misunderstandings involving government policy, the opportunity for humorous satirical comment is usually not too difficult. After some encouragement and a few discussions involving possibilities, most students were able to lend their creative tendencies to the production of an entertaining cartoon.

Unit III

The issue of land claims continues in Unit III. A case study involving the Fort Chipewyan Cree band in northeastern Alberta and their struggles to acquire reserve land that had already been promised in a treaty is given.

Learning Activity

Students studied the land entitlement claim of the Fort Chipewyan Cree. They were asked to pretend they were Indian leaders representing the Fort Chipewyan Cree band, and were instructed to write a letter to the major newspapers in the province of Alberta outlining why their claim to land entitlement was valid. In their letter the students were to explain how circumstances had changed since the Treaty Eight negotiations of 1899 and that their requests were reasonable in light of the changes that have occurred since that time.

Chapter V: Current Controversies

Chapter V is divided into four units. The focus questions for each unit are as follows:

Unit I: How did the Constitution Act of 1982 affect aboriginal and treaty rights?

Unit II: Is Indian self-government a treaty right?

Unit III: Why is Indian control of Indian education important?

Unit IV: Is post-secondary education a treaty right?

This chapter emphasizes the significance of the Constitution Act for Indian people and then places even greater emphasis on the issue of Indian self-government. The status of education rights for Indian people is also dealt with.

Unit I

The Constitution Act of 1982 included two additional sections dealing with Indian people. Unit I explains these
sections and then goes on to explain how circumstances led to changes to the Indian Act in 1985. The role Indian leaders played in the defeat of the Meech Lake Accord is also discussed.

**Learning Activity**

After studying the unit, students were asked to complete an activity sheet shown in Table 2.

Group reactions were generally sympathetic to the reactions of the Indian leaders. During class discussion, some students commented on whether it was fair to develop membership codes (Bill C-31) so that band memberships could be more easily controlled.

**Unit II**

This unit deals with Indian self-government and the different approaches taken towards increased self-determination for aboriginal peoples. Unit II is heavy with content and explains the differing viewpoints on the issue of self-government. The concept of Indian nationhood is difficult to fully understand. The unit emphasizes all the developments associated with First Nations issues from the early 1980s to the early 1990s.

**Learning Activity**

Students were given more teacher assistance in Unit II. In order to emphasize the content, students were asked to complete a two- or three-sentence glossary for each of the following Unit II names and terms: self-determination, Indian Act, Department of Indian Affairs, Nation, First Nations, Assembly of First Nations (AFN), Prairie Treaty Nations Alliance, Royal Proclamation of 1763, Inherent Rights, Delegated Rights, The Queen, Penner Report, The Cree Naskapi of Quebec Act, The Sechelt Act and North of 60.

Units III and IV

Both units emphasize the significance of Indian education issues. Unit III briefly explains how the number of band-operated schools have increased. Because of a lack of specific legislation in the Indian Act and attempts by the federal government to reduce its deficit, however, funding for Indian-controlled schools has been reduced. Unit IV presents an issue on the question of whether post-secondary education for Indian students should be a treaty right. Due to the presence of more Indian post-secondary students (over two-thirds are female), many Indian bands argue that federal funding should not only apply to elementary and secondary education, but to post-secondary education as well. The Department of Indian Affairs disagrees with this position.

**Learning Activity**

After reading Units III and IV, students were asked to discuss in groups one of the following two topics:

---

**Table 2: Activity Sheet**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legislation</th>
<th>Provisions</th>
<th>Reaction from Indian leaders</th>
<th>Group Reaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constitution Act</td>
<td>• guarantee of aboriginal land treaty rights</td>
<td>• progress recognized,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of 1982</td>
<td>• confirms Royal</td>
<td>leaders were disappointed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proclamation of 1763</td>
<td>because there was no</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 25</td>
<td>• aboriginal to include Inuit</td>
<td>consideration of self-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 35</td>
<td>Metis, and Indians</td>
<td>government</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 35.1</td>
<td>• constitutional conference needed before any</td>
<td>• content to have</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>amendments</td>
<td>constitutional status</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bill C-31 1985</td>
<td>• provisions of equality for men and women</td>
<td>• 40,000 have Indian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• restoration of status</td>
<td>status returned</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• band control over band membership</td>
<td>• increased pressure on</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>housing etc. on reserves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• new membership codes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>to regulate numbers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meech Lake Accord 1987</td>
<td>• constitutional agreement for Quebec</td>
<td>• rejected by Elijah Harper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• distinct society status for Quebec</td>
<td>because of no distinct</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• protection for treaty</td>
<td>society status for aboriginal peoples and no</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>provision for Indian self-government</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---
1. Why is Indian control of education important?

2. Is post-secondary education a treaty right?

Group leaders reported their observations to the class. General class discussion of both topics followed.

Chapter VI: Treaty Relationship Renewal

The focus questions for Unit VI are as follows:

Unit I: How will treaty and aboriginal rights issues be resolved in Canada?

Unit II: What negotiating approaches have been effective, and what values and relationships must be considered?

Unit III: Why does Canada need a Royal Commission on Native issues?

This chapter consists of three very short units that collectively consider the present status and issues associated with Indian treaty relationships.

Unit I and Unit II

Unit I outlines the common processes used by federal and provincial governments in their attempt to deal with the concerns of Indian First Nations. Reference is made to Canadian Indians and the involvement of the United Nations. Both units present methods that have been used to influence public opinion.

Learning Activity

Students were asked to play the role of an Indian leader who wanted to promote greater public awareness for Indian concerns, such as self-government or Indian education. In a short paragraph, the students were to explain what method they proposed to use in order to increase public awareness of a particular issue, and to give reasons for their choices.

Unit III

This unit examines the need for a Royal Commission on aboriginal concerns so that a less adversarial relationship could develop between Indians and non-Indians.

The unit concludes the chapter by hoping for an increased understanding by Canadians of the implications of Indian treaty commitments through the promotion of greater knowledge of the history of aboriginal/non-aboriginal relations.

Learning Activity

Classroom discussion was held on the following issue:

Does Canada need a Royal Commission on Native issues?

Discussion focused on the desirability of a more cooperative approach to improving relationships between aboriginal peoples and other Canadians.

Guest Speakers and Field Trip

Two guest speakers were invited to the class. The first speaker is employed by the school district as a Native liaison and education officer. He alluded to his Native ancestry and spoke about the problems encountered by minority groups when confronted with prejudice and discrimination. Among the concerns dealt with by the speaker were student comments about how their Indian colleagues were sometimes hard to make friends with.

The other speaker is a graduate of the school who is a treaty Indian and lives on a nearby reserve. This speaker's presentation consisted of a question and answer session. Many misconceptions about life on an Indian reserve were discussed.

The same guest speaker subsequently acted as a guide on a class field trip to an Indian reserve. The students were fortunate enough to witness a meeting of the band chief and council. The class was given a tour of the administration building, sports complex, recreation area, residential neighborhood, social services facility and a business operation involving a golf course. The students were impressed with their experience in a First Nations community.

The use of effective guest speakers and the field trip stimulated student interest and understanding of the text.

III. The Post-Test

The post-test used the same 25 factual knowledge questions given in the pre-test. The class average improved from 48.7 per cent on the pre-test to 75.8 per cent on the post-test. It should be remembered that the students were members of a grade 10 honours class and that academic success was important to them.

In order to learn if there had been any changes in the students' opinions and or attitudes, it was decided to assign an in-class essay rather than repeat the opinion survey that was given with the pre-test. It was felt that an essay would allow the students to express their ideas, arguments, and feelings under less controlled circumstances.

The essay topic essentially asked the students to explain how relationships between Indian and non-Indian peoples could be improved. In the instructions the students were encouraged to make reference to areas involving: Canadian unity, Native self-government, education, the problems of prejudice and discrimination, historical events and current issues that they thought to be significant.

The essays showed that all the students supported improved relationships with Indian people. Many argued in favour of more self-government for First Nations people.
This showed a moderate change in thinking as compared to some responses in the pre-test opinion survey where self government was generally seen to be a threat to Canadian unity.

There were no arguments that endorsed a separate political status or recognition of distinct society status for Indian people. Many of the essays strongly favoured more tolerance and understanding between Indian and non-Indian people. Students were sympathetic to the problems Indian people have experienced in the past and the problems they are facing today. Nevertheless, none of the essays argued in favour of total self-government or distinct national territories.

The Text and the Grade Ten Curriculum

Legacy: Indian Treaty Relationships, was developed with input from Native education specialists for use in Grade Ten, Topic B, "Citizenship in Canada, Theme III, Rights and Responsibilities" of the Alberta Social Studies Curriculum. As a basic resource, the text was also used effectively in teaching Topic A, "Canada in the 20th Century, Theme III: Identity".

Observations and Concerns

It was helpful to be able to provide a copy of the text to each student since so much of the content related to the Province of Alberta and was therefore relevant to their own experience. Overall, the presentation of maps and illustrations was quite good, and the use of colour throughout added to the text's attractiveness as a teaching resource. There were errors in some of the maps including the references to the Palliser Triangle (p. 7), the trading post symbols (p. 30) and the location of Cree and Dogrib groups (pp. 44-45). Further information on several of the illustrations would have better linked them to the narrative. For instance, the text describing the picture of Billy Diamond signing the James Bay Agreement (p. 87) does not identify some of the other principal signatories, including Judd Buchanan and Robert Bourassa. There are several chronological errors. The date of the signing of Treaty Eight is 1899, not 1891 (p. 42), and the missionaries "began entering the north" in the 1840s, not the 1860s (p. 49). Some key words are not adequately explained, such as "integration" (p. 26) and "expansionists" who are described as "members of a political organization in Ontario" (p. 18).

The reading level of the text is appropriate for Grade Ten students. As noted below, however, the content and organization of the material presented some difficulties. Otherwise the honours class students found the text to be a reasonably effective and interesting document.

The discussion and analysis questions at the end of each unit were satisfactory, but greater emphasis should have been given to group participation activities and to suggested references in the chapters and the bibliography. The inclusion of such material would have enabled students to more fully address the proposed learning activities on pages 14, 18, 46 and elsewhere. A Social Studies 10 Resource Guide (1994), produced by the Edmonton Roman Catholic Separate School District, contains some interesting supplementary material related to Topic B, but the Guide's lack of documentation and answer keys lessen its value considerably. Although Native Library Resources (1992), published by Alberta Education's Native Education Project, is an excellent reference overall, it lists few print or audio-visual resources related to the history and continuing significance of aboriginal claims and treaties. Given the above observations, it is clear that a teacher's guide to accompany the text is needed.

Little attention is given in the text to pre-contact or the early history of North American aboriginal peoples. In contrast, much is made of the initial periods of interdependence between newcomers and aborigines. But little is said about some of the devastating outcomes of sustained interaction such as that experienced by the Beothuk of Newfoundland. While references are made to Euro-Canadian expansion into the West, the consequences of this encroachment, particularly in terms of the impoverization and resistance of the Metis and Indians, are not sufficiently examined. Although government regulations concerning pass laws and potlatches are quite properly referred to, the limited extent and effect of such restrictive policies is not described.

Similar generalizations can be found in the remarks on residential schools (pp. 66-68). Statements such as "children attending Indian residential schools were stripped of their culture, language and religion" (p. 67) would appear to be based on a film recommended by Price. His description of Where the Spirit Lives (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation [CBC], 1991) as a "documentary" (p. 68) contrasts with the position taken by the film's producers who call it "a work of fiction" (CBC, 1991). It is not surprising, therefore, that no mention is made in the text that attendance at residential schools was largely voluntary. Nor is any hint given that many who went to such institutions did so because of the Christian affiliation of their parents or because they were sick, destitute or orphan children. An excerpt from a documentary film, Powwow at Duck Lake (National Film Board, 1967) was used for class purposes instead of the CBC production. In capturing a live encounter between a residential school principal and several former students, Powwow, among other things, is a good illustration of what is meant by the term "documentary".

Many of the above problems with the text can be resolved by teachers and students who adhere to the "program rationale" and the "general learner expectations" outlined
in the course of studies (Alberta Education, Social Studies 10-20-30, 1990, pp. 1-5). For this to occur will partly depend on the extent to which students have access to Native studies topics in social studies units in earlier grades (see Appendix 1). There is yet a more basic and largely unresolved problem reflected in the text. This concerns the complex nature of aboriginal rights and claims advanced by Indian organizations, like the Assembly of First Nations, and which continue to confound provincial and federal governments. Legacy is a well-intentioned attempt to increase the knowledge of First Nations people and their experiences among other Canadians. It can be faulted, on the other hand, for sanitizing certain events, like the Oka crisis, and for backing away from other highly controversial issues. Whether or not a better understanding of such matters as sub-surface rights, national independence and territorial sovereignty will eventually result in conclusions satisfactory to all parties is far from apparent. This is especially obvious after reading Price’s text. Asking students to explain such questions as "... what is meant by the spirit and intent of treaties?” (p. 132) without giving them sufficient information to respond indicates that much needs to be done in developing a comprehensive Native-referenced curriculum.

Conclusion

The acknowledgment and foreword of Legacy indicate that the text was supported by and developed with input from Native elders and organizations, including the Indian Association of Alberta, and the Native Education Project, Alberta Department of Education. The impetus for the latter group’s creation goes back to September 1981, when Native People in the Curriculum was submitted to the Department, and to the Minister’s news release concerning it in June 1992. A reference to the study’s recommendations in the Annual Report of the Department for 1982/83 indicates they had been adopted by the Curriculum Branch’s Social Studies Section as a basis for “analyzing social studies learning resources for treatment of native people and culture” (p. 12). The Department’s Annual Report for 1983/84 states the Section had been given responsibility “for developing departmental policies to implement the recommendations from the report Native People in the Curriculum, including procedures for deauthorization of deficient learning resources” (p. 8).

These events led to the establishment of the Native Education Project (NEP) as a separate unit in the Department of Education in December 1984. The project was given two mandates: the formulation of a Native Education policy for the Province (announced in March 1987); and the development of “learning resources for and about Native people for the social studies program” (Annual Report, 1984/85, p. 17). As noted earlier, the latter mandate has led to the production, reissue or approval of some 27 Native-oriented Social Studies learning resources, including Price’s text.

As shown in Appendix 1, two of the Native Education Project titles have been translated into languages other than English: Billy’s World (Grade 1) into Cree syllabics and Sarcee World: An Indian Community (Grade 2) into French and Ukrainian. Five of the other Native-referenced resources in the Appendix were funded by the Alberta Heritage Learning Resources Project. This undertaking was initiated in November 1977, when the Alberta Legislature allocated $8,387,000 from the Alberta Heritage Fund “to provide Canadian content learning resources for social studies, language arts and science curricula of Alberta” (Alberta Education. Annual Report, 1977/78, p. 24). The Heritage Learning Resources Project had ended by the time the Native Education Project began operating in late 1984.

Within a year, the NEP had taken on the task of reviewing existing books “for and about Native people that could be of interest to teachers and students,” when it established a Native Teacher Resource Review Committee: “to carry out a Native content analysis and a tolerance and understanding audit of each book” (Alberta Education, Annual Report, 1985-86, p. 20). Composed of aboriginal teachers from across the Province, the Committee meets biennially to recommend the adoption and the development of new print and non-print Native resources in the curriculum. Some of the Committee’s tasks are performed on an ongoing basis by two Native members of the project’s staff. They along with their colleagues also act as consultants to school jurisdictions, Indian bands, Metis settlements and Native organizations. Despite concerns about some aspects of the material produced, such as parts of Price’s text, the project’s staff, teachers’ committee and others involved in making Native-referenced social studies resources available are to be commended for what has been accomplished over the past decade.

One might reasonably assume that Native resources are widely used in provincial schools, that they are sequential in nature and related to an overall learning framework. According to Section 25, sub-section 1(a) of the Alberta School Act, the Minister of Education may “prescribe courses, including the amount of instructional time, and authorize education programs and instructional materials for use in schools” (Alberta Education, 1988, p. 19). Another clause, 1 (c), in the same section gives the minister prohibitory powers with respect to those in sub-section 1(a). Section 44, sub-section 2(a), of the Act enables school boards “to develop and offer courses, programs, or instructional materials for use in programs or schools” (p. 29). These sections, along with the definition of Basic Learning Resources (see Appendix 2) in the Senior High School Social Studies Teacher Resource Manual (Alberta Education, 1990, p. 297) would lead one to believe that Legacy and other basic resources are being used universally in provincial schools. Such is not the case.

Although Legacy is a basic resource for Topic 10-B, “Citizenship in Canada,” it is not a required textbook for
this or other topics in the Social Studies curriculum. Insofar as Topic 10-B is concerned, two other basic resources, Kirbyson’s Discovering Canada: Shaping an Identity (1984) and/or Scully’s Canada in the World: Choosing a Role (1985) can be used for this topic rather than Price’s Legacy. As Kirbyson’s and Scully’s texts are listed as basic resources for the entire Social Studies 10 course, they are more likely to be chosen. Given the paucity of references to Native content in either text, or the corresponding teachers’ guides (1985, 1989), such a choice would make it difficult for teachers to treat this subject area adequately.

When the above concern was raised with Department of Education officials, it was contended that the Program of Studies and the Teacher Resource Manual for Social Studies 10 provided sufficient flexibility and enough guidance for aboriginal issues to be taught without the use of a Native referenced, basic resource. An examination of these documents, however, found both wanting in this regard. Neither would be of much help in teaching the themes of identity and rights and responsibilities, where the principal focus would be on generalizations, concepts and content related to the Native experience. Although the Program of Studies refers to “first peoples” (identity) “Natives” and “aboriginal rights” (rights and responsibilities), all are listed under the lowest level knowledge category of “related facts and content” (see Table 3).

Table 3: Social Studies 10 Knowledge Objectives Native Content References

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generalizations and Key Understandings</th>
<th>Concepts</th>
<th>Related Facts and Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Topic A., Theme III: Identity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Bilingualism and multiculturalism are fundamental to the Canadian identity</td>
<td>bilingualism</td>
<td>Briefly review why Canada is a bilingual and multicultural country by referring to our historical background in order to understand our official policies: • first peoples • two founding peoples • other cultural groups • bilingual policies • multicultural policies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>multiculturalism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic B, Theme III: Rights and Responsibilities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. There are basic human that need to be protected</td>
<td>human rights</td>
<td>Develop an understanding of human rights and the need to protect them by briefly examining the following: Universal Declaration of Human Rights • organizations dedicated to the protection of human rights e.g., Amnesty International, Red Cross • examples of situations where human rights were not protected: eg., Natives, Japanese internment, women, children, Holocaust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>discrimination</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>prejudice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. There are various means that help to protect and preserve rights in Canada.</td>
<td>entrenchment of rights</td>
<td>Explain how the following help to protect human rights: • Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, 1982 • Aboriginal Right • Official Languages Act • Individual Rights Protection Act • Human Rights Commissions • Ombudsman, Courts, Media</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>safeguarding rights</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The content reference in Topic A (III-c) to “First peoples” should read “First Nations.” More importantly, neither “bilingualism” nor “multiculturalism,” the concepts presently associated with “first peoples,” adequately describe the concept-content relationship. A third concept is needed to synthesize what is meant by “existing aboriginal and treaty rights” in Section 35 of the “Constitution Act” (Government of Canada, 1992, pp. 22-23). Moreover, as the reference to “Natives” in Topic B (III-b) is among five teaching choices, it could be excluded in examining the concepts of “human rights, discrimination and prejudice.” The “related fact” reference to “aboriginal rights” in Topic B (III-c) is more promising than the two just mentioned, as it is associated with the concepts of “entrenchment of rights [and] safeguarding rights.” But in this instance unfortunately, neither concept is thoroughly examined or explained in any of the three basic resources.

The sole aboriginal reference in the Teacher Resource Manual of relevance to either of the unit themes taught involves a case study exercise on apartheid in South Africa and aboriginal rights in Canada (pp. 132-133). The related facts for this understanding are based on a South African diplomat’s visit in 1987 to a reserve in Manitoba. Students are asked to compare the situation of the two aboriginal peoples under such headings as health, education and economic conditions. As nothing about this event is contained in any of the course’s basic resources, it is difficult to conceive what concepts and generalizations might arise from this exercise.

The combination of the deficiencies in the basic resources, the Program of Studies and the Teacher Resource Manual made it difficult to achieve some of the knowledge objectives essential to understanding the themes of Native identity and rights and responsibilities. As noted earlier, Legacy: Indian Treaty Relationships has a number of problems, but most, if not all, of these could be resolved by revisions to the text and by the development of a teacher’s guide. The knowledge objectives in the Program of Studies and the models and exercises in the Teacher Resource Manual need to be updated and expanded. Attention should also be given to the scope and sequence of pre-Grade 10 Native-referenced social studies units and resources. In the final analysis, however, desirable learning outcomes for the unit discussed in this paper will ultimately depend on informed, committed and effective teaching, and on the industry, motivation and creativity of students. These attributes were evident throughout the teaching and learning activities in the class involved in this study. This has led to an expectation by those who participated that the unit should and will be taught in future Grade 10 Social Studies classes.

Appendix 1: Native Learning Resources — Alberta Social Studies¹

Grade 1

Topic 1C: “Other Canadian Families,” Basic Resources.
(Text also available in Cree syllabics).

Topic 1C: Support Resources

Grade 2

Topic 2B: “People in Canada,” Basic Resources
Manywounds, Muriel; Schulz, Dolores; Soderberg, Wendy; et al. (1987). Sarcee Reserve: An Indian Community,* Edmonton: Reidmore Books. (French and Ukrainian language versions also available)

Topic 2B: Support Resources

Grade 3

Topic 3C: “Special Communities,” Basic Resources.
Quilty, Joyce; Fox, Leo; Littlechild, Ruby; et al. (1986). The Land of the Bloods,* Edmonton: Plains Publishing Inc.

Topic 3C: Support Resources

Grade 4


Topic 4B: Support Resources
Mackwood, Gae, (1990) Alberta’s Metis: People of the
Western Prairie Teacher’s Resource* Edmonton: Reidmore Books.

Grade 5
Topic 5B: “Early Canada: Exploration and Settlement” -
Basic Resources

Topic 5B: Support Resources

Grade 6

Topic 6A: Support Resources

Grade 7
Topic 7C: “Canada: A Bilingual and Multicultural Country,” Basic Resources

Topic 7C: Support Resources

Grade 10
Topic 10B: “Citizenship in Canada,” Basic Resources

Note

Appendix 2

Learning Resources1

Definitions
In terms of provincial policy, learning resources are those print, non-print and electronic software materials used by teachers or students to facilitate teaching and learning.

Basic Learning Resources are those student learning resources authorized by Alberta Education as the most appropriate for addressing the majority of learner expectations of course(s), substantial components of course(s), or the most appropriate for meeting general learner expectations across two or more grade levels, subject areas or programs as outlined in provincial Programs of Study. These may include any resource format: e.g., print, computer software, manipulatives or video.

Support Learning Resources are those student learning resources authorized by Alberta Education to assist in addressing some of the learner expectations of course(s) or components of course(s); or assist in meeting the learner expectations across two or more grade levels, subject areas or programs as outlined in the provincial Programs of Study.


Acknowledgements

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National Film Board (1968). The Ballad of Crowfoot, 106B 0168 147. 16mm/VHS video, 10:18 minutes.


Many Worlds: Multicultural Literature in Senior High School Classes

Ingrid Johnston, Department of Secondary Education, University of Alberta

A multicultural perspective initiates a cultural re-vision, so that everyone involved comes not only to understand another person's point of view, but to see her or his culture from the outsider's perspective.


As English teachers in North America approach the twenty-first century, we will be challenged to prepare all our students to become citizens of a world culture. Reading multicultural fiction offers students possibilities to travel imaginatively among other selves, other identities, other varieties of the human adventure. As we strive in our modern world to achieve mutual understanding, we look to literature to help us move towards "a joint discovery of self and other through reconciliation, mutuality, recognition, creation interaction" (Said quoted in Gates, 1992, xv).

For the past two years I have been engaged in a collaborative research study, working with Marie, an experienced English teacher in a large multi-ethnic urban high school in Western Canada. The school draws its student population from the lowest socio-economic population of the city. Many of the students' families have emigrated from China, Vietnam, the Middle East, the West Indies and Africa, and there are significant numbers of E.S.L. students integrated into regular classes. Marie and I created a reading list drawing from a range of multicultural texts for students in all three grades of high school. I was a participant-observer in these classes; following the teaching of the literature, I audio-taped interviews with individual students about their responses to the texts.

This study offers insights into the tensions involved in a Canadian English teacher's attempts to expand the canon of literature being taught within the context of a multi-ethnic school. Working in increasingly heterogeneous classrooms, teachers seek ways to combat racism and to help students to acknowledge the value of diverse cultural experiences. Such data may help to increase our understanding of the complexities of multicultural education.

Multicultural Education in Canada

The currents of racism in Canadian society run deep, they run smooth, lulling white Canadians into a complacency that will see racism anywhere else but in Canada.


Canada, in common with other Western countries, is striving to acknowledge the claims of indigenous inhabitants and to promote multicultural education for increasingly pluralistic societies.

Consistent with ideals of multicultural education, a pluralistic approach to the teaching of literature suggests a move away from dichotomies of the us/them, West/Rest type, towards a view of culture as a socially plural construct. Teachers of literature who value cultural pluralism are arguing for additions to the canon of literature taught in school not in the name of "tolerance" for other cultures, but because they envisage dialogue as being realized in literature and in life. Multicultural education is viewed as being in opposition to monoculturalism and to notions of Western cultural homogeneity.

The issue of enlarging the canon of literature being taught in Canadian societies raises fundamental questions about teaching and power relations that relate to political and cultural concerns such as race, class, gender, ethnicity and nationalism. The ways that students engage with texts and critically examine knowledge and assumptions become as important as the selection of books they read. We live in societies that are increasingly hybridized and intercultural. The multicultural voices that are currently being published are highly articulate versions of all our voices: displaced, fragmented, off-centred, yet attempting to achieve wholeness and completeness. In modern Western societies, many teachers and students are beginning to acknowledge and to celebrate aspects of world experience which move between cultures. As Salman Rushdie has said in response to criticism from both Muslims and Westerners against The Satanic Verses:
What is being expressed is a discomfort with a plural identity. And what I am saying to you — and saying in the novel — is that we have got to come to terms with this. We are increasingly becoming a world of migrants, made up of bits and fragments from here, there. We are here. And we have never left anywhere we have been (quoted in Burton, 1992, 122).

Such a plural identity is not confined to immigrants in our modern world. Westerners, too, are more likely than ever before to be fragmented, to have lived "elsewhere."

Literature Teaching in Canada

Literary study is a pluralistic encounter of individual minds. Thus we have only the choice of engaging other minds or practicing advanced self-delusion and convincing ourselves that a select number of other people see the world through our biases.


Many Canadian English teachers have been reluctant to move beyond teaching the canonized British, American and Canadian texts with which they are most familiar. A study of the literature taught in Ontario high schools (Galloway, 1980) found that the majority of teachers were still teaching the same canonized texts that had been taught for the past twenty years. She explains:

Teachers have an enormous commitment to literary works they have prepared and taught, and the longer they have taught, the greater is their commitment. Many teachers are likely to accept minor changes without difficulty, but major changes in literature will meet profound resistance. If the new literature is totally unfamiliar, and if there is no university acceptance and promotion for it, some teachers will feel genuinely unable to cope (108).

During the 1980s, classroom demographics in Canada began to change as a result of increasing immigration from Asia, Africa and the Middle East. In line with the development of multicultural educational strategies, both at the federal and provincial levels, English teachers were encouraged to incorporate more international literature into their curricula and to develop teaching strategies more conducive to heterogeneity. The influence of feminist literary theorists also encouraged teachers to select more texts written by women, many of which had previously been ignored or marginalized.

Changes in the school system, however, are slow; there is a built-up force of inertia in most educational institutions that favours the status quo. Although there have been major changes in many schools, particularly in the area of children’s literature in elementary schools, these changes have been minimal in many high school English classes. The current budget constraints faced by most school boards, the “back to basics” demands by a large segment of the population, and government demands for teacher accountability and increased standardized testing have made it difficult for English teachers to be innovative in their teaching strategies and text selections.

These difficulties are highlighted by recent studies of literature teaching in high schools in the United States (Applebee, 1989, 1990) which confirm that the teaching of literature is still a predominantly traditional affair with literature classes organized around whole-group discussions of a teacher-selected text, and teachers guiding students to predetermined interpretations. Teachers’ text selections are still dominated by traditional British and American literature with only token attention to contemporary literature and to literature by women and minorities. Despite dramatic changes within academic literary departments, where the status of African-American and other minority texts has been elevated to new heights, and where the feminist movement has inspired the renaissance of previously marginalized texts by both white and black women writers, comparable changes are not yet evident in American schools. Teachers in Applebee’s studies commented on lack of familiarity with texts outside the canon of American and British literature; they expressed doubts about the literary quality of much of the available international material, and were concerned about community reaction to unfamiliar texts.

Applebee believes that if the canon is really to be broadened, such problems and concerns will have to be confronted more directly.

English teachers in Canada are also being challenged to consider the relevance of the literature they teach for an increasingly diverse multi-ethnic student population, and they express similar concerns about their own unfamiliarity with multicultural literature. The literature recommended in most Canadian provincial curricula continues to reflect a predominantly Eurocentric tradition which stresses the perennial themes of love, hate, coming of age, cycles of nature, birth and death, but ignores the themes of history: conquest and subjugation, racism, sexism and class conflict. Such a curriculum, Mukherjee (1988) contends, “is so chosen as to exclude or ghettoise dissonant discourses” (4). Enlarging the canon of literature we teach to include such dissonant voices is no simple matter. As my study suggests, such efforts are fraught with dilemmas for teachers, and may have far-reaching consequences for both Caucasian and for immigrant students.

Details of the Study

We need to reform our entire notion of core curricula to account for the comparable eloquence of the African, the Asian, the Latin...
In 1992, I met Marie, an experienced high school English teacher on study leave from a multi-ethnic Edmonton high school. Marie’s concerns about her literature teaching paralleled many of my own. She wanted to help her immigrant students to feel that their cultural experiences were valued in the classroom by reading literature which reflected diverse cultures. She wanted all her students to become more empathetic and respectful of other cultures through the “virtual” experience of reading about the lives of characters around the globe. She had concerns about which texts she should select, about the availability of the texts, and their perceived literary merits.

In January, 1993, as Marie prepared for a new school term, her continuing interest in expanding her selection of literature coincided with my research interests. She welcomed me into her classroom to observe and participate in the teaching of international literature. She reinforced my idea of having individual conversations with students by suggesting they might be more open to confiding their responses to me as an “outsider”, rather than to her as their classroom teacher and evaluator.

We jointly discussed the selection of a number of multicultural short stories and poems which were available in school anthologies. In early March, 1993, I began a pilot study by observing a grade twelve class as Marie taught this multicultural literature unit. I read students’ responses to the literature and audio-taped interviews with fourteen student volunteers from a variety of cultural backgrounds. Several of these students were first-generation Canadians; a few spoke English as a second language, and two students were Native Canadians.

A number of Caucasian students commented that reading cross-cultural literature challenged them to consider their own cultural identities in new ways and encouraged them to learn more about other cultures. Only one student questioned the need to read what he termed “anti-racist literature.” Most immigrant, first-generation and Native Canadian students in this class spoke positively about the range of texts taught and the value of reading literature with fictional characters who shared some of their own experiences. Although some of these students indicated their reluctance to discuss texts which reflected their own cultural backgrounds in a whole-class context, most felt comfortable commenting on the literature with peers in small groups, and in their writing.

Students’ generally positive responses in this pilot study encouraged Marie to expand her teaching of multicultural literature to other grade levels in the school. During the 1993-1994 school year, Marie and I selected and taught a range of multicultural texts in two further classes of final-year grade twelve students in an Advanced Placement eleventh grade class, and in three grade ten classes. This literature included novels, short stories, essays and poetry. Some of these texts were available in existing school anthologies or in school novel sets, and Marie’s English department head agreed to the additional purchase of a new multicultural anthology (Applebee and Langer, 1993) and a number of contemporary multicultural novels. In most cases we limited text selection to internationally-renowned and award-winning writers, such as Nadine Gordimer, Gabriel García Márquez, Amy Tan, V.S. Naipaul, Abioseh Nicol, Yukio Mishima and Maya Angelou, who write in English or whose texts are available in translation. We tried to offer a gender balance in selection of authors, and we included a number of Canadian writers such as Joy Kogawa and Michael Ondaatje. Students were offered some choice of texts to read in the classroom; the literature was discussed in a combination of small-group and whole-class settings and students wrote both personal and critical responses to the texts.

My data sources for the study included field notes taken during the collaborative text selection process and during the teaching of the literature, Marie’s unit plans and classroom materials, students’ personal and critical written responses to the texts, and audio-taped personal interviews with student volunteers from each class. In addition, audio-taped interviews with the school’s English department head and the teacher-librarian provided contextual information.

Results of the Study

Student Perspectives

Yeah, it’s more interesting reading stories from around the world. It keeps me wanting to come to class all the time.

Grade 12 student

From the perspective of most students in the classes, the expansion of the traditional literary canon to include more contemporary multicultural texts seemed to be a positive change. The students I interviewed were enthusiastic about the contemporary nature of the texts and many commented that the literature dealt with issues of personal interest to them. These issues included prejudice, injustice, racism, gender discrimination, freedom of choice, family relationships, social responsibilities and culture clash. The literature challenged many of the Caucasian students to reflect on their own beliefs and values, and to question their own roles in the hierarchies of power. Here is Colin, a grade twelve student,
responding to his reading of García Márquez’s story, “A Very Old Man with Enormous Wings”:

I really liked that one, yeah. It’s based on discrimination, and I know I’m like that kind of person who, I don’t like to say it, but I’m a little bit racist. I think it’s because of my parents, you know. So when I read stories like this, it changes some of my points of views, and I like that because it can just make me a better person.

Karen, a Caucasian student in the grade eleven advanced placement class, was particularly affected by her reading of Joy Kogawa’s novel Obasan. She told me the novel had challenged her to look more closely at racism in Canada:

Racism runs really deep, you know, it’s like umh, it passes on from one generation through to the next, and you know it’s wrong and sometimes even when people do know, it’s still really hard to change attitudes.

A small minority of these students, however, commented that the “multicultural literature has nothing to do with me. It’s all about other cultures,” and a few students questioned why they were “just reading stories about racism.” Here is Jeff, a Caucasian student in grade ten, commenting on reading multicultural literature in Marie’s class:

All this racial discrimination stuff, it doesn’t interest me. I mean, I have a concern towards it, but I don’t need an English unit on it.

For immigrant and minority students, reading these multicultural texts was overwhelmingly positive. Although a number of students struggled with the complex style of some texts, most of them valued reading about characters they could relate to, who shared similar experiences to their own. Here, Sarah, a grade twelve student whose parents had emigrated from China, comments on her in-class reading of an excerpt from Amy Tan’s novel The Joy Luck Club:

Oh, I liked that one. I guess it’s really easy for me to relate to... I think it’s so easy for me to understand because, like, the situations with her mother, it’s so, it’s like my mum, she’s really, it’s like reading a story about myself. I like that, yeah, it’s more interesting.

Kien, a grade twelve student who came to Canada as a refugee from Vietnam in 1979, reflects on his reading of Amy Tan’s story:

That story, it’s sort of like in a way relates to how my lifestyle is, because you know, the majority of Oriental people are like that. They want their kids to get a good education and go to a post-secondary, preferably university and stuff, and this sort of relates to that story cause how her mother always pressured her into doing what she wanted to do, so it sort of relates to me because, I know right now my parents are trying to push me to go to post-secondary and to try to get into university. I can say it relates to my life.

Later in the interview, in response to his reading of stories by Nadine Gordimer and García Márquez, Kien said,

I think it’s really important to read, like, from other parts of the world, because before, I didn’t know that much about them, so that’s good, that you read from other parts, not just Canadian fiction and stuff like that.

Many immigrant students told me they found it difficult to speak about their own culture in the context of a whole-class discussion. They particularly valued Marie’s teaching strategies of allowing students to discuss the literature in small-group settings, as they felt much more comfortable in sharing ideas and personal responses to the texts with a small number of their peers. In addition, a majority of students I interviewed commented favourably on Marie’s willingness to listen to individual interpretations of the texts and to value students’ opinions. Here, Nina, a grade twelve Native-Canadian student, comments on Marie’s teaching:

English class is pretty good. I’m happy to have Mrs. P. as a teacher. She treats us as if we’re real people with opinions that matter. She really listens to us - she doesn’t expect us to be there just to learn from her.

Marie’s teaching strategy of allowing students to come to their own interpretation of texts supports a view of readers as active meaning-makers. This process is described by Rosenblatt (1978) as a “transaction,” a literary experience which represents a middle road between the New Critics’ view of the text as an autonomous object and the subjectivist views of such reader-response theorists as Holland and Bleich. Rosenblatt’s position take account of the reading situation, the continually changing contexts that affect how and what we read, and the consequent instability of meaning. She uses the term “evocation” to refer to the “lived through process of building up the work under the guidance of the text” (p. 69). She reminds us that readers are individualistic in their past histories as readers and that they differ in their strategies for making sense of literature.

Rosenblatt’s view of reading brings into question the role of teachers as authorized readers who are often unaware of the extent to which their authority directs and subverts student inquiry. Dias (1992) points out that in a typical classroom setting, students are expected to have ready-made answers to questions on the text they have been reading; there is hardly any time allowed for students to
reflect on their reading. A large group format, he suggests, is inhospitable to deeply felt personal experiences with reading or to reflective and considered responses to literature. His research into response-centred teaching practice supports the notion that students who are encouraged to read and discuss literature in small groups with their peers without the direct intervention of the teacher are able to articulate and develop their own responses to the literature and to accept full responsibility for the meanings they make. Such dynamic meaning-making, Dias believes, may be reinforced or reconsidered with newer readings and the contributions of other readers. This classroom practice reduces “the gap between school reading and real reading” (140) and allows students to try out and formulate their own ideas and responses.

Dias explains why he believes this kind of classroom organization is so valuable for students:

It respects the individuality of readers and affords them opportunity to negotiate their own understandings. It allows the teacher to shed the mantle of the expert, the role of final mediator between the reader and the text, a role which I believe is the most powerful inhibitor of students' taking ownership of their own reading and thereby becoming more responsive and responsible readers (159).

This dynamic view of reading may be of particular significance in classrooms where teachers and students are reading multicultural literature which falls outside the literary and linguistic traditions of many Western readers. As Dasenbrock (1992) suggests, allowing students opportunities to consider and articulate meanings for themselves may be a way for teachers to acknowledge that they do not always need to be the “already informed interpreter” of all the texts they read in school (36). This relinquishing of the role of final arbitrator and authority may be difficult for some teachers.

**Teaching Perspectives**

It was a really good experience. It rejuvenated me. The idea of trying new things was wonderful. I'm very keen to get back into it again. It was work, but not exhausting. I think perhaps the interest will always take that exhaustion away. The enthusiasm is so important.

*Marie (August, 1994)*

From Marie's perspective, her teaching of the multicultural literature was "rejuvenating but demanding." When available resources are inadequate, selecting unfamiliar international texts of literary merit which are accessible to a range of high school readers requires hours of preliminary reading. Researching background material on authors and on the literature adds to the work load. Although I assisted Marie with the selection and development of new curricular materials, the day-to-day preparation and lesson planning were Marie's responsibility. She had the support of her department head, principal and the school librarian, but received minimal practical assistance from them in her teaching.

Reflecting on her first year of expanding her traditional canon of literature, Marie focused on lack of time as a primary concern:

I wasn't well enough planned. I found that I was doing a lot of things the night before, and I hadn't thought it through enough. There's no way round that when you're doing something new. It was a really good experience, but it was also a tense experience, thinking, have I got enough done? Is this right? That was probably the most difficult — running in in the morning to make sure I had everything I needed for the day. I could have used more time.

Marie believes that it is important to find multicultural texts with literary merit. In this study, it was the texts by acclaimed writers that seemed to engage students the most. However, in a number of instances, texts in translation appeared problematic in their style and tone. We assumed that the problem arose from the translation.

Asked about her students' responses to the multicultural literature, Marie's reflections confirm my findings from student interviews:

I think the immigrant or international students engaged much more with the literature. They gained more comfort from it perhaps than my Caucasian students did. Although that's certainly not true with everyone . . . They appreciated it more, were happy to see it, and with the numbers of immigrant students we have, who've been shuffled aside so long, it's time they were given some consideration.

When I questioned Marie about the discomfort some of her Canadian students experienced in reading what they termed "anti-racist" literature, she refused to believe this was negative:

Even if there's some discomfort with the literature, I don't think that's a bad thing either. . . . I think that's good to feel that discomfort, that they can really see how they can make a difference. I think they need to know the world is much bigger than Edmonton, Alberta, and the world is much bigger than Canada or America, or Britain, and that good literature comes from other places. I think that's really important.

Marie commented frequently on the support she felt for her innovations both from her department head and from parents of her students:

*My department head was totally supportive, and if*
Marie's experiences as she and her students read and responded to unfamiliar international texts in this particular study may not be as positive for teachers who receive less departmental support and encouragement than Marie was offered, and have no personal resource help from a researcher. Marie's established reputation as a superior teacher and her on-going enthusiasm for professional development all contributed to her ability to make changes. Her graduate work at university, in which she encountered new ideas and read new literature, fuelled her passion for change. Her interactive teaching style was able to accommodate new kinds of reading. Rather than seeing herself as the “expert” in the classroom, who holds the key to all literary insights, Marie considers that she is an experienced reader who can share ideas with her students and help them to develop better reading strategies. Marie explains:

I certainly know I'm the more experienced reader, but I don't see myself as the expert and my students don't either. If I thought I were an expert I wouldn't value my students as much or respect how they're coming to the literature; some of them see so much more than I do, and I'm happy to acknowledge that — that's what makes it really interesting for me. It can be more of a dialogue then, rather than a teaching of the literature, and I would far rather have a dialogue with my students about the literature than think I can hold the answers.

Marie acknowledges that for some students, her approach to teaching literature may be frustrating:

When they ask a question and I say “I don't understand this,” or “Let’s look at this again,” they look at me askance, but I don’t think that lasts for long either. I think the more secure they feel in their own interpretation, the better readers they will become. If they’re going to sit back and wait till someone tells them what this is about, they’re not going to engage.

Teachers with more prescriptive teaching styles may find implementing changes to the canon far more challenging. For many teachers, already burdened with larger class sizes, less marking time, increasing pressures for accountability and additional standardized testing, the extra demands of implementing curriculum changes can seem daunting. Such changes may only be feasible over a period of time with the support of other teachers such as Marie, who have already developed new units and resources and who are comfortable with an interactive teaching style. It is significant that several English teachers at Marie's school have already also started to make changes in their literature selections and teaching strategies; following Marie's lead, they are offering students texts outside the accepted literary canon, and are offering students choices in text selection and in ways of responding to the literature.

Marie has identified two key components that she feels are essential for the expansion of the canon of literature taught in Canadian schools: the development of more university courses on reading international literature to help English teachers to widen their own reading repertoire, and improved literary resources to provide structural support for teaching multicultural literature.

We don't even know about these authors. We just don't. I like to have the background information on the authors for myself. Not that I feel I have to always give it to my students, but I do like to have it. I think publishers are aware that teachers need more variety. It's starting to happen. But certainly more needs to be done. The next few years are going to be difficult to get new resources, difficult to even encourage teachers to try new things. But if more teachers can come back to university and find out about these things and get rejuvenated, that will help.

Final Reflections

From this study I have drawn tentative conclusions about the benefits and limitations of implementing curriculum change in the Canadian high school English classroom to include more diverse texts and more pluralistic reading strategies. Pluralism, Gates (1992) contends, sees culture as “porous, dynamic, and interactive, rather than as the fixed property of particular ethnic groups” (xvi). Bringing this hybrid, variegated view of culture into the classroom can be contentious. For some middle-class Caucasian students, the change may be disturbing as it raises uncomfortable questions of power relations and dominance which often clash with their own world view. Other mainstream Canadian students may welcome the opportunity to move imaginatively into other people’s ways of being, and their reading can help them to combat the racism still lurking beneath the surface of apparent Canadian tolerance of difference.

For most minority students, reading and discussing multicultural literature within the supportive environment of the classroom, may help them to feel that their own diverse cultural heritages are finally being validated in the classroom. Teachers need to be aware, however, of students’ possible discomfort at having their “differences” made the focus of class discussions, and, simultaneously, to beware of considering particular students as “representatives” of their families’ cultures. Stereotyping cultures by subsuming individual differences and
idiosyncratic personal diversity under naive assumptions and sweeping generalizations about any culture can only alienate immigrant and minority students.

For teachers to implement pedagogical strategies of multicultural education similar to those described in the study, several crucial principles appear necessary: an acceptance of cultural pluralism; teacher knowledge and appreciation of literature beyond the Western canon; commitment to international and national contexts of human rights; a willingness to take risks; re-educative approaches to racism and appropriate pedagogical strategies for minimizing prejudice. All these challenges imply fundamental reforms in teacher education and professional development, and major changes in provincial curricula and teacher resources. Only then can we begin to develop truly multicultural education.

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Biography

Ingrid Johnston is a Doctoral Candidate in the Department of Secondary Education at the University of Alberta. She has taught high school English in South Africa and Canada. She is the co-editor of Alberta English, Journal of the English Language Arts Council of Alberta.
The making of a group quilt is a wonderful cooperative activity that produces a durable visible record of achievement. It gives the participants an appreciation of the craft and art of quilt making. The process of making quilts bonds the group and the products provide opportunities to commemorate special events and to make comments on social issues. A Group Quilt is the perfect marriage of product and process and, yet, there is plenty of room for individual creativity within the parameters set by the group.

For the teacher, the making of a group quilt can achieve many specific curriculum goals: In mathematics it can provide relevant mathematics problems in planning, purchasing and cutting fabric; in language arts students can research and write about the history of quilts and their makers, read stories which incorporate quilts, write poems and stories about quilts, look at language and sayings that incorporate quilts, e.g. “Life is a patchwork quilt of treasured memories”; in computer studies they can use one of the Quilt programs to design quilts, e.g. PCQuilt; in science they can find out about the nature and properties of fabric; in social studies they can learn how quilts have affected families and communities, e.g. the AIDS Quilt, the Amish and the Seminole Indians; in French (Quilting = La Courtepointe) by looking at Acadian quilts and how some French quilts use different colors and design from their English counterparts; and in second language teaching quilts provide durable records of vocabulary.

Perhaps the best known present day commemorative quilt is the Names Project. Known as the AIDS quilt, this is the largest on-going community arts project in America. It consists of over 20,000 panels and covers more than 4 hectares. Closer to home, the Quilt for Canada was created by thousands of Canadians who contributed 465 blocks, their quilting skills and creativity. The Quilt for Canada was unveiled in Ottawa on June 30, 1992 and toured throughout the country. In the Halifax/Dartmouth area of Nova Scotia, the Anti-Racist Alphabet Quilt was coordinated and assembled by Rosemary Willett during the Inter-Institutional Conference on Anti-Racist Education held March 3, 4 and 5, 1993 at Dalhousie University. Bachelor of Education students from Dalhousie University, St. Mary's University, Nova Scotia College of Art and Design and Mount Saint Vincent had the opportunity to use fabric crayons, fusible web and fabric markers to create their blocks.

The Multiculturalism — The State of the Art Second Language Teachers’ Welcome Quilt (funded by the Canadian Association of Second Language Teachers) was coordinated and assembled by Rosemary Willett over the winter of 1993/94.

Twenty-two of the central blocks were produced by the students in Beth Renouf’s Grade 4 Class, St. Francis Elementary School, Halifax, Nova Scotia, using fabric crayons and satin acetate. Three blocks were produced by students in the Child and Youth Study Program at Mount Saint Vincent University and one block was created by a Grade 10 student at Halifax West High School. I met with Beth Renouf’s class and brought with me a number of group quilts. I explained that each student would be asked to create a block that contained an image relating to multiculturalism. We began by discussing the meaning of “multiculturalism”. Students readily contributed words and meanings that indicated that they were aware that there was more to culture than diet, dress and dance. The words and phrases were written on the board and included: tradition, language, literature, religion, family, music, minorities and skin color.

Each student then picked an envelope containing a letter and was asked to produce a picture of a word that began with that letter and that had something to do with multiculturalism. It could be something that was shared by many cultures, e.g. people speak different languages but everyone communicates, or it could represent the ideal multicultural society. The children were divided into four groups and shared fabric crayons as they drew their pictures on paper. Some letters were more difficult to connect to a multicultural word. When a child had difficulty thinking of an appropriate word, the group brainstormed. Some of the connections may require a stretch in thinking but no idea was dismissed. These children produced pictures that explore the differences and welcome diversity. The following is an explanation of the pictures.
Animals: Cultures have different animals as pets and as food.

Brotherhood: In the best of all worlds everyone would be brothers.

Clothing: People wear different clothes.

Dreams: The dream is of a society where everyone is equal.

Friendship: The clasped hands represent the friendship between different cultures.

Gifts: The gifts that one culture gives to society include art, music, traditions and food.

Homes: People live in different kinds of houses but they are all homes.

Immigrants: The flags of various countries represent the many cultures that have come to Canada.

Justice: Justice is equality for everyone.

Kaleidoscope: There is an ever changing kaleidoscope of cultures in Canada.

Language: Various languages are represented in this block.

Martin Luther King Jr.: This block represents a man who worked for the equality of cultures.

Neighbour: We really begin to understand a culture when people of that culture live next door.

Origin: This block shows the connection between past cultures and their buildings and today’s culture and buildings.

Peace: The universal symbol of peace is the dove.

Quilts: Many cultures make quilts and they are used to commemorate special events or make a social comment.

Religion: Cultures practice many different religions.

Skin Color: Two skin colors are represented in this block.

Together: Children of different cultures link hands together.

Unity: The jigsaw shape of the world with one piece left to put in place represents the desire for unity.

Vision of Peace: This represents the vision for the future.

Weather: Cultures have developed because of the weather — from the clothes that people wear to the food that they eat.

Xanadu: This is the place of idyllic peace and beauty (from Coleridge’s poem Kubla Khan).

Yes to multiculturalism: This affirms the message of the whole quilt.

Zero tolerance for racism: This combines the international negative symbol with the word racism to send the message that racism is unacceptable.

Three of the remaining four blocks in the central grid are demonstrations of other techniques that can be incorporated into a group quilt. One block shows the basics of making “Little People”. Another shows a circle of hands done using a trapunto technique. Another block contains this brief overview of Group Quilts printed on fabric using a dot matrix printer. The last block is the title/signature block — the contributors’ names are arranged in the shape of a hand and “primitive” quilting outlines the hand. One border was created by alternating “kool-aid” dyed fabric rectangles with fabric rectangles donated by members of the quilting community, students at Mount Saint Vincent and friends. Included in the CRC News, Mount Saint Vincent Staff News, and a number of Quilting Newsletters was the following request:

One of the outside borders (with your help) will be made up of blocks of fabric that represent countries and cultures from around the world. Please send me a 6” square of fabric that represents in design, color or origin a country or culture that is part of the “fabric” of Canada. Include your name and the country or culture your square represents. Your fabric will be “immortalized” in the quilt and I will send you a 6” square of fabric that represents Canada to me — perhaps to start your own “Multicultural Quilt”!

Some of those who submitted fabric also wrote a story about their fabric (the stories are included in the diary). The top Border reads “Multi-culturalism — the state of the art”. On another border fuschia, turquoise and yellow fabric letters spell out “Second Language Teachers Welcome You! and want to include you in everything they do!” Painted outlines of hands decorate a vertical border. Pockets are tied to the back of the Quilt. The pockets contain: the Quilt Diary, Group Quilts — Options and Organization, CRC News and Views, and Lesson Plans.

The specific objective of making this quilt was to commemorate Multiculturalism Education: The State of the Art — a national project of the Canadian Association of Second Language Teachers. When displayed, the quilt is a visual non-confrontational stimulus to discussion.

The general objective was to demonstrate many of the techniques that can be used in making a group quilt and, by doing so, to encourage and motivate everyone to become involved in making group quilts to commemorate events, to make social comments or to give to those in need. Inspired? See Group Quilts — Options and Organization.
Stories behind the Fabric in the Pieced Border

"The fabric was made in Westfalen, which is in Germany. However, it was purchased in St. Moritz, Switzerland by my daughter; she worked one summer and thought of her quilting Mom. The red and white is certainly reflective of Swiss national colors. My Canadian roots go back to 1785, however my husband is Swiss born. Yes, the Canadian story of various ethnic backgrounds is always present."

Adaire Chown-Schlatter
St. Lambert, Quebec

"My parents left Finland in 1924 and settled in what is now Thunder Bay. My first opportunity to visit their birthplace came in 1986 and this square of fabric comes from a larger piece given to me by one of my cousins."

Irja A. Donaghue
St. Catharines, Ontario

"I really like the idea of your quilt so I am sending you two pieces! One is from the Ivory Coast of Africa purchased at a multicultural shop in Ottawa and the other is from Australia. The birds are "galas" a common, noisy bird, brought to me by Morma McMorran of Sydney, Australia — a friend and C.Q.A. member. I have a pretty good collection of fabrics from many countries. Back in '89, I did a wall quilt in black, white and red and I used fabrics from 11 countries. It is called "Well Read" and was on the cover of Canada Quilts Nov. '89."

Barbara Fraser
West Vancouver, British Columbia
The purpose of this article is to look at acculturation in a program designed to provide a realistic, benign and empowering learning environment.

Cultural Bridges Summer Day Camp Program is based on the premise that culture evolves from one’s relationship with the natural environment. Human beings express themselves by identifying with the spirit of their place.

Environmental literature has made inroads into our consumer society, satisfying the profound need to create a balance between the material and non-material world, starting with a relationship with the natural environment.

Campers were taken on trips and tours and recorded their experiences through various art forms: pictures, words, song, dance, etc. The participants were given the freedom to pursue their own particular interests and needs. These outings enhanced their own culture while reinforcing their identity as Canadians.

Since the participants were mostly Canadians of Afro-Caribbean background, tours and trips were designed to help them discover the contributions made by Black settlers.

The history of the Black experience shows that the fugitives, and later, Black pioneer families, were part of a larger history. While slavery and serfdom were being replaced by different forms of exploitation, the new humanist movement encouraged the growth of small ethnic, philosophical and spiritual communities from Great Britain, Europe and North America in Upper Canada. Important contributions were made by individuals from these communities, both to Canada and the Black world.

Excursions included walking tours of historical sites in Hamilton, Ontario; an afternoon at the St. Catharine’s Public Library, which has the largest collection of historical data on the Black fugitives in Canada; and an all-day tour of the newly-opened Niagara Freedom Trail which brought history to life.

By presenting a variety of cultural milieus and various methods of communication, the artists helped the learners adapt to differences as they must do in real life situations. This also enabled both artists and learners to immerse themselves in a project where particular skills could be explored. The opportunity to experiment with each particular medium was an important part of the discovery activity. Sometimes, when an individual’s play encroached on the group purpose, private counselling was implemented out of respect for that person’s feelings. This took time and patience but with the help of five participants from Jobs Ontario Youth, this method of dealing with behavioral problems was possible. Younger participants benefitted from this approach.

The first Group Activity was to prepare a meal. Dining together is a common cultural activity which combines every level of integration. The project was a luncheon for eight people, following Canada’s Food Guide. The illustration below describes this activity, using four Levels of Integration.

1. Sensory
   (a) Viewing Canada’s Food Guide
   (b) Experiencing the sights, sounds, smells and feel of the Hamilton Market
2. Intellectual
   (a) Planning a menu considering budget, time and food preferences
   (b) Learning the nutritional equivalence of fruits and vegetables from one’s background culture
3. Political
   (a) Accepting Canada’s Food Guide
   (b) Applying a multicultural perspective to Canada’s Food Guide
4. Cultural
   (a) Preparing tropical fruits and vegetables from the local market
   (b) Including herbs to promote good health and to define a culture.

A formal method of evaluating the trainees’ progress was required by the JOY program. Knowing that the administrator’s evaluation would be recorded in a weekly progress report helped them take individual counselling
seriously. They began to discover the larger dimensions of
the “self” beyond ego, as they learned to control the
impulse to act out and began to consider the positive
consequences of self discipline and the importance of the
development of a community self.

The Leisure Component

To a society traditionally socialized to regard work as
adult activity and play as childlike activity, it is difficult
for most people to regard leisure as a necessary component
of culture. Leisure helps one discover latent abilities,
which may develop into cultural activities that may be of
economic value.

An important leisure activity in Canada is the festival or
fair. It is a family event and an excellent opportunity for
showcasing food and decorative items and turning them
into cash. Some of the start-up money for Cultural Bridges
came from such a source.

Leisure activities are a good way to extend one’s ethnic
world into a multicultural one by trying different foods,
watching different dances and games, and listening to
music from around the world. The global village becomes
a reality for a few days. The Caribana Festival in Toronto
was discussed as an excellent example of the cultural and
economic value of this form of play. Culturally, it
represents an event of historic and international
significance the celebration of the emancipation from
slavery and serfdom on August 1, 1833.

In 1993, Caribana drew 50,000 masqueraders and one
million spectators. According to the 1990 Decima Research
Report, it injected more than $145 million into the
economy of Metropolitan Toronto. For two weeks,
Caribbean and Canadian cultural activities, exhibits,
shows and balls energize Toronto. This event has also
generated much research on the cultural importance of the
festival. This year at the Ontario Science Centre, the
science and history of the steel drum were showcased.

Through the study of the natural environment, the
participants were introduced to the concept of Ocean as
connecting, rather than separating, land within and
around it. This new way of seeing encourages people to try
new leisure activities, e.g., sailing, flying, snorkeling, etc..
An unexpected outcome of reading about snorkeling in the
Caribbean was the author’s detection of the effects of
industrial pollution on coral and fish life. Suddenly the
awareness that the Caribbean and North American
mainland share this environmental problem reinforced this
new idea of the relationship of ocean and land.

Leisure helps us discover the unseen world, stimulating
creativity, expanding consciousness and ushering us into a
different dimension of acculturation. Eventually we feel
comfortable in our new environment and we have adapted.

Conclusion

This program is a transition between the interpersonal
learning environment of one’s home and family and the
formal environments of school and work. It permits ethnic
and multicultural groups to select their particular cultural
context and construct their own program within a
Canadian setting. It empowers people by redirecting them
onto paths that are both familiar and new. One finds, by
returning to history for guidance, that the journey leads to
a new consciousness and “Everything old is new again.”
Looking at the past with this new perspective enables us to
give a different meaning to events.

In order to integrate the old with the new relational world,
one needs to be aware of these basic guidelines in
Canadian and International research on the global
phenomenon:

1. Diversity, ethnic and cultural, is a fact of life in
modern society. To understand how to live with this
fact in a formal work situation requires a study of the
Multicultural Act of 1988 which clarifies the rights of
individual citizens and the responsibilities of families
and ethnic groups to Canada and Canadian society.
2. Collaboration among dissimilar groups is more
productive than competition.
3. Integrating and balancing the disparities of our
material and non-material worlds is not only possible
but necessary for well-being.

Cultural Bridges Day Camp
Summer Arts Program
July 11–August 30, 1994

Cultural Bridges Day Camp is designed for youth between
the ages of 11 and 16. The program provides a holistic
learning environment through artistic activities.
Workshops are given in the areas of visual art, sculpture,
music, literature and drama. The aim of the program is to
reinforce self esteem through study and by gaining an
awareness of the positive contributions made by artists of
colour in a Canadian context.

Campers participate in a variety of artistic activities such
as drumming workshops; bowl and mask making;
environmental (both rural and urban) sculpture;
storytelling; diverse poetic forms such as performance and
dub poetry; jazz, classical and rap music and voice
instruction; painting and sketching. Workshops are
conducted by a senior artist who works actively in his/her
own particular area.

There is a field trip every Wednesday. We plan to visit the
Botanical Gardens, the Nature Interpretive Centre,
Dundurn Castle and the home of Sir Alan McNabb, who
made Hamilton Canada's foremost industrial city by bringing in the railroad and starting up the steel industry. Other visits include the Woodland Indian Centre, Crawford Lake, a reconstructed Iroquois village, the Niagara Freedom Trails, The Nathaniel Dett Memorial Chapel and the Norval Johnson Heritage Library.

In addition, Cultural Bridges is designed to familiarize day campers with research skills including how to access books, special collections and A/V materials.

Towards Empowerment: The Rationale of Cultural Bridges

1. To share a global perspective of earth as a biosphere and the common home of humankind.
2. To recognize that diversity is a fact of group life; and that, viewed positively, can increase the chances for the survival of humankind.
3. To learn and respect Canada's laws and institutions as a common basis of social order and civic responsibility.
4. To assist people in developing research skills and techniques which reinforce their identity as Canadians of particular ethnocultural backgrounds.
5. To include each participant in sharing the responsibility and pleasure of planning tours, shows, displays and work schedules.
6. To give students opportunities to take part in activities relevant to their own cultural reality.
7. To encourage the appreciation of leisure pursuits and community interaction in order to provide a balance with work and to give meaning to one's existence.

Report on Cultural Bridges Day Camp

The day camp became a training program for the five JOY assistants who could not be placed. Since this program had a different purpose — cultural enrichment — both assistants and artists discovered there was much to learn. For instance, multicultural concepts came in very handy for this program, providing a rational basis for attitudes and behaviors that previously were simply motivated by feelings.

The original vision of the day camp did not materialize because it depended upon fees. The groups we had targeted did not participate because a change was made in the decision-making process, putting the responsibility on the young people to make the decision to attend. No one wished to pay for the program. They felt that it should be like a summer playground and financed by the city.

The field trips and tours were by far the greatest attraction. They encouraged collaboration with other summer programs such as the Black Youth Achievement group and seniors who, while they were working, had never had time to discover these places. 38 people registered for the tours and trips, and many of these individuals attended two or more trips.

Artists made use of these excursions for their particular workshops. Fees collected for bus travel helped to defray our expenses. These activities will be advertised early next year. The intergenerational mix helps the campers to get to know grown-ups through a common experience even though they may have different interests. The more grown-ups the young person meets from the small community, the more they feel a commitment to it, and the more responsibly they act towards others.

The young people found much information in the special collections in St. Catharine's and Niagara Falls libraries. There is a small but good historical collection in Hamilton Public Library; however, it does not include much on minority groups.

In evaluating the day camp, each participant mentioned that the approach had helped them discover much about themselves and about their relationship to this society.

Not getting a "promised computer" limited the ability to record the research. However, each individual took responsibility for organizing and submitting his or her own research to the administrator, who provided copies for each submitter.

Getting Real

The original vision of the program included activities that required a more extensive network and a much larger budget. Since four unemployed adults with artistic skills had worked out the basic learning program and had agreed to accept an honorarium instead of a salary, we decided to go with it.

We focused on strengthening the essential relational changes in making the paradigm shift from a unicultural to a multicultural orientation. We went with a collaborative model, respecting each participant and group as autonomous, and focusing on our common commitment to discover that "hidden" quality in Canada's community life that empowers us as a diverse society to live together in relative peace.

For the pilot study, we focused on these three essential elements:

1. Experiencing those places in Southwestern Ontario, within an hour's radius of Hamilton and designated as Historical Sites depicting the contributions made by Blacks to Canadian history;
2. Empowering the individual to discover those contributions linking him/her to a particular cultural background or interest; and
3. Developing skills in research and communication, all within one's material limits.

Financial Statement

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<td>Fees 465.</td>
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*To be returned upon receipt of final installment

Recommendations

1. The Primary level approach e.g. informal intergenerational and interpersonal, should be the main form of communication in a program designed to provide a holistic learning environment through arts workshops. It is a delightful change from the formal, competitive work environment of the marketplace and it creates an opportunity for interaction between the individual and the community.

2. Encourage active listening: really hear what the other person is saying. This empowers the person to communicate what he/she feels as well as what he/she thinks. It takes time and patience but it also creates a more reciprocal relationship. This is a change from the traditional primary level approach, which is authoritarian.

3. In research, focus more on historical cooperation across traditional formal lines, based on shared respect for human dignity. Much written history exploits the excitement of the battle. Canada’s history is also a record of the Peaceful Alternative. Encourage the study of those small communities that evolved a lifestyle of peaceful coexistence.

4. To improve the organization of the program, the following committees are suggested:
   (a) A Business Advisory Committee: advertising, fundraising, etc.
   (b) An Arts Administrator: to supervise trips, research, speakers.
   (c) An Employee Job Readiness Programmer: to give basic training in time management, work schedules, life skills, conflict resolution, and multicultural concepts which provide alternative, tested ways of solving problems.

5. Begin information sessions about the program during the winter months and invite other community groups to help co-ordinate a variety of activities.

6. Because mainstream libraries do not have many small-community resources, coordinating articles on AfroCanadian contributions in the Arts by lovers of the particular cultural medium is important.

Acknowledgements

Cultural Bridges thanks the Canadian Association of Second Language Teachers, and the following groups and community agencies for their contributions:

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- art supplies and A/V equipment loan

Stewart Memorial Church Trustees
- accommodations

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- Black Community Cultural Fund: short-term loan
- Private cultural collections: books, games, musical instruments, videos
- Sojourners Truth: administration support and materials

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- Yvette Mondesir
- Amnah Small: start-up funds
- Cynthia Taylor
- Laurel Taylor

Artists: The facilitators who planned and delivered the Summer Arts Program
- Joyce Brown
- Christopher Eddy
- Candace Jerranne Malott
- Teresa Simms-Obidi

Speakers and Other Volunteers
- Michael Addison (Charcoal sketches)
- Leslie Douglass (Music)
- Ray Lewis (Olympic athlete senior citizen)
- Brian McHattie (Environmentalist)
- Cecil Boyce (Signatory)
- Ken Douglass (E.S.L. program)
- Trini Salcesda (E.S.L. program)
- Merlie Sauco (E.S.L. program)

Trainees from Jobs Ontario Youth Program
- Streilka Brown (Barbados House)
- Nicole Quildon (Barbados House)
- Analiza Bartheleme (Potpourri)
- Leslie Clark (Potpourri)
- Leroy Osbourne (Potpourri)

We would like to extend a “Special Thanks” to the Black Youth Achievement day campers and to the adults who participated in the weekly tours.
Asian Students’ Education in Canada

JoAnn Phillion, Graduate Student, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

Abstract

This study examined the subjective educational experiences of Asian high school students studying in Canada. Four students from Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Korea were interviewed to obtain first-hand reports of their experiences.

The researcher was a former teacher of the students at an international school in Vancouver. The students and researcher engaged in a dialogue about what it was like to go to school in Canada. The conversations were analyzed in order to understand the issues that the students themselves felt were important. Several themes emerged in the analysis that centered around relationships with family and friends, the impact of language on relationships and education, and differences in education systems.

Issues affecting the education of Asian students are discussed in the context of the literature, and directions for further research are considered. The implications of the findings for teaching practice, both from the literature and from the students’ perspectives, are also considered.

Introduction

Currently Canada accepts about 250,000 immigrants per year, many of them Asians (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1992). There has also been a great increase in the number of Asians entering Canada on student visas (Turner, Macfarlane, and Crawford, 1984). The influx of these immigrants and visa students profoundly affects our education systems.

As an ESL teacher for the past ten years and after teaching for six years in Japan, I began teaching at an international school for visa students in Vancouver. Approximately 60% of the students are from Taiwan, the rest are mainly from Japan, Korea, and Hong Kong.

There are many reasons why these students are in Canada. Some were not successful in their native education systems and their parents hope that their children can achieve more here. Some parents are concerned about the pressure their children are under in Asian schools. Some are here to prevent enforced induction into the military, or due to political changes in their native countries. Some will immigrate here. The majority are here because their parents perceive Canada as having more educational and occupational opportunities. Many of the students arrive in Canada without their parents, some live with relatives, family friends, or in “homestays”, and some live alone. Most have aspirations to go to university, many plan to attend a Canadian one and some expect to return to their native countries.

When I began to teach these affluent, well-educated students, I believed they would have few problems that could not be overcome by learning English. I soon found that the students, no matter how successful, were experiencing difficulties in social, cultural, and educational adjustments, and in relationships with family and friends.

Purpose

Increased immigration necessitates an understanding of particular populations and particular experiences. I wanted to find out from Asian visa students themselves the issues they considered to be meaningful in their education in Canada. Researchers, academics and school officials have had something to say about the education of new immigrants, but there is little opportunity for students to tell us what they think.

Background

A review of the literature made me aware of the lack of research on the educational experiences of Asian students in Canada. However, there is a substantial amount of literature that discusses these students within an Asian and American cultural and educational context. This data has been extrapolated in order to view these students in a Canadian context.

There is a wide diversity in language, culture, customs and religion within the group determined to be Asian. In addition to differing ethnic backgrounds, there are also individual variables. Reasons for immigration, related hopes and aspirations, and real or perceived reception by the host culture affect the educational experiences of students. Differences within groups may be greater than between groups (Kitano and Daniels, 1988).
Given this diversity, researchers recognize that the ideals of Confucianism have a great impact on Asian culture. These strong influences are present in Japan, China, Korea and Vietnam. Confucian ideals that stress the importance of family values and education are an inseparable part of Asian society and thinking (De Bary, Chan, and Watson, 1960; Yao, 1988). Families are seen as the building blocks of society where the good of the family as a whole is the primary goal, achieved through the subordination of individual desires. Each member of the family has a clearly defined role in support of the family structure. To fulfill their role in the family and to demonstrate filial love, children are expected to live up to parental expectations. Proper behaviour is rewarded by strong support of the family and community. Improper behaviour and the failure to fulfill obligations means to the loss of support.

Confucianism emphasizes that the way to succeed in life is through education. Parents pin hopes for the future of the family on their children setting high standards and pressuring them to succeed academically. Children are expected to strive to succeed, to do not only what they ought to do, but to do their utmost at all times. This means working hard in school and doing well even with a limited command of English. Success will come with effort: Confucius says “Being diligent in study means devoting oneself to it for a long time ... one will inevitably succeed if one is diligent and takes delight in study” (Hartman and Askounis, 1989: p. 110). For Asian parents, this may mean the expectation that their children will study to the exclusion of all other activities. It also is an indication of the belief that hard work will overcome any obstacles, from language handicaps to learning disabilities (Lee, 1988).

While encouraging their children to achieve, parents often undergo personal sacrifice for their education. This can be either a source of support or pressure to children. They may feel a sense of obligation to do well in school and be driven to perform in an attempt to repay the debt they feel they owe their parents (Baruth and Manning, 1992; Brand, 1987; Hartman and Askounis, 1989).

The quality of the parent-child relationship can change as a result of Western influence. When they arrive, Asian students face upheaval in relationships with parents, teachers and peers. They have new expectations to conform to in new contexts. They have to make adjustments to a new language, culture and education system. Children begin to assert themselves causing conflict over manners, morals, and discipline. This collision of values can be traumatic.

Learning English is a major problem both academically and socially (Cunningham and Kang, 1990; Nieto, 1992). There are few bilingual programs and academic assessment is not readily available, often resulting in placement in classes that are too difficult (Olsen, 1988). Also, it may not take long to learn basic English, but academic proficiency may require up to seven years of study (Cummins, 1989). In a study in North York, students, teachers and staff, all said lack of fluency in English was the number one problem for Asian visa students (Turner et al., 1984).

There are many factors that influence language learning. Asian students often join groups from similar cultural and linguistic backgrounds and speak and hear English only in class (Yao, 1983). Not only is language a significant factor in school adjustment, but it also relates to social adjustment. Japanese visa students said that finding appropriate topics to discuss was their number one problem. This was directly related to the second highest area of difficulty, making friends with American students (Hartung, 1983; Kitao, 1988).

New relationships and a new language also influence new educational experiences. Asian students must learn to understand the values of their new schools. Different teaching and learning styles, relationships with teachers and educational expectations all affect students’ cognitive and social development. Older Asian children are instilled with learning styles that rely on rote memorization. They must make the demanding adjustment to a style of learning that emphasizes creativity and critical thinking (Yao, 1985). In Asia, classes are teacher-centered and organized in a lecture format; the student is the passive recipient of knowledge. In Canada, students are expected to express opinions and ask questions. New informal relationships with teachers are also perceived as a problem for Japanese high school students (Hartung, 1983). The transition can be difficult and confusing. Asian students find is that culture is bound up with the education system, and that a successful student understands the culture (Upton, 1989). One third of Asian visa students in the North York study reported they had difficulty adjusting to new expectations in school (Turner, et al., 1984).

Asians must also deal with the “model minority” stereotype that portrays them as successful, hard working, well behaved individuals who excel in math or science to the exclusion of other interests (Baruth and Manning, 1992; Divorky, 1988; Hartman and Askounis, 1989; Kitano and Daniels, 1988; Toupin and Son, 1991). It is true that there are many success stories. Asians just becoming fluent in English sometimes outperform native speakers of English and they are being admitted to prestigious universities in unprecedented numbers. However, this is not the total picture; Asians are beginning to drop out of high school in large numbers (Divorky, 1988).

Additional pressure may come from teachers who subscribe to the idea of Asians as a “model minority”, expecting Asians to excel in their new culture, yet retain
their own traditions and values. Conforming to these dual expectations can put a lot of strain on a child. Not all Asians are superior students and individual differences can be ignored by viewing Asians from this narrow perspective. Also, other students may come to resent this image of the Asian student as a "model minority", causing hostility and adding to adjustment difficulties.

Method

Participants
The participants in the study, former students of an international school in Vancouver, included two boys and two girls between sixteen and nineteen years of age. They were from Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Korea. All were originally visa students, and had been in Canada for two to four years.

Two of the students have retained their names from their native countries, two have adopted Western names. I have substituted names that reflect this situation. The participants had sufficient proficiency in English to do an interview. I chose to work with my former students because a rapport and sense of trust had already been established. Feelings of connection helped to create a cooperative environment where we were collaborators in a discovery process. In this caring situation, all participants had a voice, and an opportunity to tell their stories (Connelly and Clandinin, 1990).

Three of the four participants are academically successful. All are in public or private high schools maintaining A to D averages and all plan to attend university. They had attended school in their native countries where three had completed junior high school. Students over 16 years of age were chosen as they were able to think about and articulate their experiences in a more reflective and analytical way than might younger students. They were able to illuminate present experiences in the light of past experiences (Nieto, 1992). This was particularly useful in situations where they were comparing education systems and styles of learning and teaching.

Procedure

First, I attempted to write down my preconceptions based on personal experiences working with Asian students. It was important to reflect on and clarify my own assumptions at the outset of the study (Merriam, 1988; Nieto, 1992; Polkinghorne, 1989). Second, I interviewed the participants for one to two hours. In-depth interviewing is the best way to understand the experiences of others from their own perspective (Mishler, 1989; Seidman, 1991). I told them the purpose of the study and how they were protected by the use of pseudonyms. I used semi-structured questions for demographic data and more open-ended questions for educational experiences. The interviews were conversational. I listened intently and focused on feelings. I also reviewed the literature on this topic after the interviews and in conjunction with data analysis.

Data Analysis

Through a process of "thematization" (the search for the essential structures by identifying the major themes that emerged from the interviews (Merriam, 1988)), I identified what the students consider to be important. The themes overlapped among the students and revolved around issues of language and relationships in their families and in school. This is partially due to the guiding nature of the questions asked, and partly because these are their concerns.

To analyze the data, I listened to the tapes several times, making notes and memos, connections and observations. I then classified the data into major themes retaining quotations to illustrate these themes and to give a sense of the level of the students' English. Their words were clustered according to each theme but may have been used at different points in the conversation. This is indicated with ellipses. The material is presented with fillers like, 'well', and 'you know'. Fillers such as ‘um’ have been deleted.

Results

Yukitaka

Yukitaka is an 18-year-old Japanese male who has lived in Vancouver since he was 15. He is outgoing, bright, humourous and well liked by his peers. He and his family lived in Hong Kong for several years before he came to Canada. He now shares an apartment with a friend. He is in his last semester at a private high school where the enrolment is primarily Canadian. The school accepts a limited number of foreign students based on language ability, standardized tests, grades, and the anecdotal reports of teachers.

Yukitaka is currently taking a full course load; he has accumulated enough credits to graduate with a C+ average. He said that if his mother were there she would push him to study harder, but as he is on his own, he does not spend much time studying. He also feels that after shopping, cooking and cleaning he does not have enough time to do his homework. He studies about two hours per night.

He had planned to attend a Canadian university, but decided not to apply because of his grades. He felt his best chance for success was to return to Japan, study for the entrance exams and hopefully be able to enter a well-known science university. He is encouraged by the fact that since he has lived abroad he is in a special category, and will write special entrance exams. As a kikokushijo, a returnee, he will write exams that place an emphasis on
English. Recently, some Japanese schools and universities have recognized there is a difference between students who have been educated in Japan and those who have not. He also realizes that there are a limited number of places for returnees at universities.

The focus of the conversation was on the two major themes of relationships and language. Yukitaka spoke about his relationship with his parents, teachers, and friends. He spoke about how language directly affects his relationships and learning. The themes were not separate but related, and intricately woven together.

Relationship with Parents and Canadians:

When I talk to my parents on the phone or something, I feel lonely a bit, because they are in Japan and I am in Canada. I want to go back, like, to stay with my family. Ya, the reason I want to go back is that it's been more than three years since we got apart. . . As long as I'm still a student I got a chance to stay with them as a family. After I get more mature, I'm not gonna have a chance to stay with them. I shouldn't miss that chance. . . Like when I go back to Japan it's gonna be some kind of adjustment. Problems are gonna happen with my parents, but I don't care. Anyway, it's last time for me to live with them. . . Even though we are living apart, we still talk. Even though we don't talk, we still feel we are together, not separate, like we always feel we are a family. I think that's important, more important than talking or writing letter. . . We are okay as a family, as long as I'm staying in that family we are gonna be okay. . . I'm always trying to fix them. Like my brother used to be so bad, like he used to be so violent. We had some sorta time we used to be opposed to parents. They always fought, like with my mom, my brother. I talked to my brother, I talked to my mom, I tried to make a connection, a good connection with them again. It starts from this, from my brother to me, my mom to me. It makes like an attached triangle. . . Canadians are friendly and kind, not many of them show racism to me. I think that's a good point. Cause all the Canadians are so mixed up, some from Czech, some from Russia. They don't care who we are, they care how we are when we talk to them. . . They don't bother the other people, everything goes so naturally, including the human relationship. Relationships are easier here.

Language Affecting Relationships:

You know, last year was a really bad year, I had some kinda trouble all the time. Once you make a mistake it's easy to go down and not study. My parents was upset, my brother was always upset at me, my grades are low, really low, like D or something. That was some kinda bad year. . . I didn't make a girlfriend. You know I had that girl, I liked that girl for one year, but she never went along with me. . . If you want to go along with a Canadian, it's kinda hard cause you really have to talk sorta naturally in English with them. If I like some Canadian, then of course she talks in English. Even if I talk a bit of English, it's still not enough. . . I never made it to have a Canadian girlfriend. . . Boys can understand each other pretty easily, we talk a lot. If we have the same sex we can be really good friends each other, even he is Canadian and I am Japanese. Topics might be the reason. We talk a lot about homework, girls, boys, who's going along with who. We have lots of things in common. . . Boys and girls, we can't talk easily. If it's a Japanese girl, I have no difficulty with talking, there is no difficulty with the language, only the topic. We know how to speak each other, we don't need to think about how to say things. But, if I try to go along with a Canadian girl, the problem is doubled. I have to, of course, choose the topic to talk to a Canadian girl. How to speak and what to talk about, ya, so the problem is like doubled. It's so filtered way down, the topic is so narrow, we just can't talk that way.

Language Affecting Education:

Of course, the main problem for me to study in Canada is learning in English, we have to learn everything in English, which is not our first language. Except that, I have no trouble. . . I think those students in Japan are working really hard, harder than I'm doing, but, it's still hard cause I'm doing everything in English. In that case I'm working harder. . . It's hard, harder than you imagine, you always have to push yourself up. . . I found it difficult, everything is based on Canadians, not ESL students. One teacher always says we have trouble cause English is not our first language. He doesn't understand what we are trying to say. He says it's because we don't understand English, but it's not always the reason. Sometimes we just don't understand the lesson. If we are getting low grades he looks at us as ESL students, sometimes that is not the problem. He doesn't teach it. He always considers us ESL students, he always says that.

Karen

Karen is a 17-year-old female from Taiwan. She had completed junior high school when she came to Canada two years ago. The first year she attended the international school, she obtained the highest grades in her class and won awards for outstanding achievement. She is now in grade 11 in a public school. She is taking a full course load in mainstream classes with an emphasis on science. She studies German and plans to add Spanish in grade 12. She has a B+ average and feels she should be doing better. She
spends a minimum of five hours doing homework and studying each night.

Karen plans to study linguistics at a Canadian university. She thinks that with the ever increasing competition to enter university she should have an A average and be a more well-rounded student. She feels that her parents have sacrificed to enable her to go to university. In Taiwan, though Karen was an excellent student, there was no guarantee of this. In the future Karen would like to do something that is of benefit to both her old and new countries. She feels that if she can speak a lot of languages, it will help establish links between people and help her career. She strongly believes that when she has been given so much, she should return something.

Karen is now living with her mother and younger sister, her father remains in Taiwan. Her mother divides her time between both countries. In Karen’s first year in Canada she lived with friends of her parents. Karen was lonely that year and she likes living in her own home, but is concerned about the additional responsibilities this will create when her mother returns to Taiwan.

Karen is a serious, thoughtful girl with a good command of English. In the international school she worked on the newspaper and was in the choir. In the public high school she now attends, her parents insist she devote all her time to her studies, and have forbidden her to belong to any extra-curricular activities. This has caused a dilemma for Karen, as she enjoys these activities and recognizes their value in Canadian culture. She has few friends, to the point where she usually eats her lunch alone. She feels that teachers in the international school could understand her and her culture, where the teachers in the public school do not. They also don’t give her enough time to think so that she can participate in class discussions. She feels that these factors have caused her to become more withdrawn. The themes of Karen’s interview centered around relationships and differences in education systems.

Relationships:

Asian parents will sacrifice a lot, really a lot, for their kids. Is that surprising? My family, like, thinks after I came here I can get a better education, they think that I can go to university here. . . In Taiwan I would, you know, fought a lot with my parents because they tell me to study a lot and maybe I don’t study. But, here I know I should study. If I had stayed in Taiwan I wouldn’t like, maybe, be able to go to university. . . I think I enjoy myself in school, but maybe not as much as the other students because they join more activities. But my mom doesn’t allow me to do that, she thinks that to study is more important. . . In Taiwan, relationships with the students is very close. Maybe that is because every class has the same people, like you have to sit in the same classroom whole day. . . We can know some students very well. Here you don’t have a chance to know so many people. In the lunch room I just eat my lunch, no talking, then after, I do my homework.

Differences In Education:

The classes here are more interesting, the teachers make you think, they make you do other things. Like right now, we have to do an English presentation. I want to do poetry, so I choose a poem about Indians. So I borrowed an Indian dress, we made a teepee and got some music. Well, we’ll never have such an interesting thing in Taiwan. . . Like in Taiwan you don’t have the chance to express yourself or to create something. Because the teachers or the school just tell you what to do and you have to do it, if you don’t do it you will be kick out. They will see you as a bad student because you don’t do what they tell you to do. . . Like students in Taiwan, if you are good at memorize things, so they can go to university. But, here you don’t just have to memorize things, like you can create more. If students are free to create, I think a lot of them are really creative. . . I think exams is much more different in Taiwan. Like I mentioned before, students here don’t have to memorize a lot. But, in Taiwan you do. Like, if I learned something a year ago, they will give you that kind of exam. Here you just learn a chapter and get a test. In Taiwan, one test is they test stuff from three years ago, the exams includes all things, so you have to study every day. . . Students here don’t learn that much. They don’t have to memorize a lot. I find a very serious problem here in Canada, and that’s that the high school student, I see them just hanging around. The Asian student is putting more effort into school. But some Canadian kids are really good, but some are really bad. If you compare, you will find more Canadian students just doing nothing. . . Teachers here treat you more like a friend, they are kind and really nice in the international school. In Taiwan they are just like, very like, they are higher than you. They are truly adult, they are arrogant or something, like parents. . . But in the public school here, teachers don’t understand me or my culture, teachers don’t ask me. . . Teachers can tell students to create something related to cultural background, like poems and stories. Teachers should give students a chance to express something about culture. You can let students in Canada know about culture and other places, but, like, they just focus on English literature.

Steve

Steve is a 19-year-old male from Hong Kong. He has been in Canada four years and spent his first two years in the international school. He now attends a private high school. While his grades at the international school were not high,
teachers felt he had the potential to do better. He has not lived up to this potential, has a D average, does not carry a full course load, and does not have enough credits to graduate this year. Steve quickly acquired good English language skills and thought it would transfer to academics, but he is failing English, science, and social studies. In addition, although the speed of his spoken English and use of colloquialisms has increased, grammatical accuracy has not.

He is frequently truant from school Now that he is a Canadian citizen and is not concerned about the possible revoking of his student visa, he only goes to class when he feels like it. He plans to attend public school next year to accumulate enough credits to graduate. His first dream had been to go to a prestigious Canadian university, the reality is his grades will allow him to go to college. He is thinking of studying in Japan or France. He does not want to take a standard curriculum, but to dabble in a variety of pursuits such as languages, film, advertising, hotel management and finance. Steve says he is really sick of school and is tired of studying. At the same time, he is enthusiastic about the future, and is looking forward to going to another country to continue his education.

Steve’ parents sent him to Canada after junior high school in Hong Kong. They were concerned that with his poor grades he would not be able to enter high school. That would also preclude any possibility of gaining entrance to university, which is very difficult even for excellent students in the competitive education system there. They were also worried about the changes that will happen to Hong Kong in 1997.

During his first year in Canada, Steve lived in a homestay. He had great expectations of improving his English through immersion in the language, but it was an unhappy experience for him. His room was in the basement with other visa students and he was expected to spend most of his time there. The family members were rarely at home, concerned with financial gain rather than cultural exchange. Steve considers the difficulties in homestays to be one of the major problems for visa students in Canada. He now lives with his mother, younger brother and a cousin. His father spends most of his time in Hong Kong taking care of his business interests. Steve has had to assume the role of the oldest male in the household and make major decisions because of his father's absence and his mother’s inability to speak English.

In the interview Steve talked about major themes, focusing on his feelings about relationships, school, and language.

Relationships:
My family is like planned to move to Canada. They send me first, I’m learn the language first, to like, to help the family. And I can help them easy to adapt...

School and Teachers:
I told my mom, you know, I know I study so bad this year. But, I can go back to Hong Kong this summer, take a break, and after that, you know, I'm work really hard... I told her I'm getting so sick of it. I know, I told my mom I know, I maybe waste this year, maybe, but my next year is different. I have try really work on it. If I study really hard in college, then it won't get worst. High school marks won't work after college. So my plan is study one semester in public school, after that go to someplace, go to college in January... My parents really like me to go study anywhere. I told her go to Africa (laugh). I told her I really want to take a break. School is getting really sick... I told her, I'm lazy, that's why I'm too sick of school... I tell my mom I'm just lazy. I don't problems. So many people drop out grade 11 or 12, I can feel that now, also. I can trust that's true. But, I don't want to waste the subjects. I'm so sick of studying, everybody is... But, it's more comfortable to study here. It's easier to learn. In Hong Kong, the first year high school friends don't study now. They are all working. In Canada, I know more people...
who study. Because we don’t like the way we study in Hong Kong. We can find in Canada that it’s more easier and fun to study... That is important thing, that’s why I came to Canada, to learn more than Chinese culture... Teachers in Canada is much better, the way they talk are more easy to accept. They are really, really polite and friendly, it’s good. Their teaching is so kind, lovely. In Hong Kong, the teachers are sick and tired of teaching, maybe 15 years, maybe 1,000 students, they are sick of the kids, naughty, so difficult to control. Every teacher can get mad faced with 40, 50 students. The teacher has to be cool, not polite or they can’t control. Students walk, yell, eat, smoke in the class, so teachers have to be cool... Teachers here are much softer, no one force you to do your job. Too soft, too soft, for a good student it’s good to be soft, but for me there is too much freedom, we can escape easily. We can re-test another day. Teachers should be tougher for bad students... Relationships with teacher is important, it’s easy to build up relationships in the international school. Teachers know about you, they take extra care, they know you are international student, they know you are from Asia. Even they are mad, they smile, say “Hi Steve”... Sometimes I’m afraid to say what I want to say because I’m think he (a teacher in his present school) don’t know what I mean, or he don’t want to spend the time. It’s easier for regular students. They say one sentence, the teacher know exactly what they mean. I have to say two or three sentences. So sometimes I’m afraid to say. Because I don’t want the teacher to say “pardon me? “ in front of the students, the Canadian students... The teacher should take care of the students. Some of the teachers don’t have it in their minds, he’s Steve, he’s an international student, he has problem with English. They don’t spend time to talk to you. They don’t spend time to listen to what you say. They don’t have the mind to wait or to think about what you say. The student find it more easy to learn if the teacher spend more time to listen. Some teachers don’t think we are international students, they think we are same as Canadians... Teachers understand me, but not my culture. They know my culture, not from me, but from the news. It’s not good for them, to learn from the news. The gang, the price of house is up. The best idea is find out the culture from us.

Language:  
It’s not fair for Chinese visa students, sometimes we study really hard, but we can’t go to university. The problem is English. Their English have to be really high, like the TOEFL you know. The main problem for not getting into the university is language. Of course, like Canadians, they study English for 18 years, they can go to university. But, for us, we didn’t study that long. It’s so hard to compare. Maybe the problem is English. It’s not good enough B, you need B+. So college only... In Hong Kong I go to English school, but I never speak English. The teachers do speak both, but they speak English is from book. We only study English, we don’t speak... We learn English in Hong Kong, ya, but we learn our way to speak English, not the regular way, it’s a habit... You don’t have to be perfect, people understand you, but for study, English is a problem. Canadians can look one time, they can memorize. Or they can bullshit in the paper, right, you know what I’m talking about. They can say a lot of things. Teacher like it. They say “Okay, I’ll give you a good mark”. But for us, how can we bullshit like that? We have to think and write. But a Canadian, they don’t have to think.

Sung Min  
At 16, Sung Min is the youngest participant in the study. She is from Korea and has been in Canada for two years. The first year she attended the international school; she is now in a private religious school that has recently begun to accept foreign students. She is leaving this school because the curriculum, altered to meet religious standards, does not fulfill requirements for university entrance. She is enrolled in a public school for grade 11, which has a large number of ESL students.

The ESL students at the religious school are in a separate facility on the same grounds as the regular school. After a week there, Sung Min asked to be transferred to mainstream classes. She wanted to study with Canadians because she felt this was the best way to improve her English. The teachers were concerned that after just one year in Canada she would not have the ability to keep up with the other students both academically and linguistically. Sung Min was placed in grade ten, the only non-native speaker of English.

She quickly went to the top of the class in all subjects except English, and remained there for the year. The school has a system where course work is done at an individual pace; students are taught when they request help. The curriculum has been rewritten in the form of booklets. At the end of the year, Sung Min had completed 103 booklets, the top native speaker 53. In doing over six hours of homework every day, Sung Min had been able to outperform the other students and attain an A average. She is highly competitive and wanted to do more than the other students, also her parents do not like her to waste time and insist that she study every day.

Sung Min plays the violin in an international youth orchestra. It is the passion of her life. She has traveled to Europe twice to perform. She would like to pursue a career in music, but her father insists that she follow a science-oriented curriculum. She agrees that there is a better future.
Sung Min plans to enter a prestigious university in Canada and, if that is not possible, an American university. She studies English and Japanese with private tutors and French at school. She attends part-time Korean school. She has very little time for socializing.

Sung Min came to Canada with her father, mother, and younger sister and brother. Her father gave up his medical practice in Seoul in order to educate his children in Canada. His purpose was two-fold: one was to enable them to speak English, a useful skill to have in Korea; the other was to ensure that the children get a university education, something they could not be sure of in Korea’s competitive system. Both purposes will ensure a good future for the children. For the parents, and for Sung Min, a good future means a good education followed by a professional career.

Her father plans to return to Korea to resume his medical practice when Sung Min enters university. She will then become responsible for the care of the two younger children, including her brother who is now nine years old. She looks forward to the day her father returns to Korea, as he is unemployed now she feels he has too much time to focus on her. Sung Min does not plan to stay in Canada after completion of university but plans to return to Korea where she feels she will have excellent job prospects.

Sung Min is a vivacious, out-going, talkative girl. She has made a lot of friends at both schools she has attended. Even with the severe restrictions placed on her free time, she always has boyfriends. She uses her time in school as an opportunity to socialize. In the international school, she had friends from every culture in the school. She is always willing to initiate a conversation, and is not afraid to speak up in class. She attributes these qualities as being important in her rapid acquisition of English.

The themes of the interview centered around the importance of relationships with parents and teachers, and language issues.

Relationships with Parents:

Ya, there were difficult adjustments, but I wouldn’t say that was school. I’d say that was my family. Because, like my father and my mom, they should sell everything in Korea before we come here. And maybe it was really hard for them, maybe, ya... When I graduate from high school, they are gonna go home. I’m so happy. Like I have a distance, some distance with my father. I can’t do something when my father is like, beside me, watching me. I can’t do that. He keeps yelling “Don’t do it! Don’t do this!” I can’t do whatever I want. I’m not saying that I just wanna spend time with my friends, staying out. I’m saying that I’m just not comfortable with my father... I went to the school board to have the tests. They said I can skip grade 11 math. I asked my father, he said “No, do grade 11 math, step by step”. I’m doing the grade 11... I’m kinda scared, cause maybe I want to take one ESL course, but my father don’t want me to, so I can’t. I will try first, and if I can’t do it, if I have a really hard time, maybe I can get a tutor... That’s what my father told me, that I’m lazy, really lazy. Summer time, I didn’t go to summer school. I can’t study at home 24 hours a day... You work really hard, no matter you like it or not, you will do your best... In Korea I can always ask my father to do something, but in Canada they don’t speak English, so I have to do everything myself, by myself... I have to help my father do his homework. He doesn’t want to learn English, he is just learning cause he has nothing to do.

Relationships with Teachers:

A big difference is like between teacher and student. Like in Korea they teach you, like a teacher teach you and that’s it, no talking. I was so scared to ask questions. They are not close enough to ask, they are teachers, but they don’t really teach. And now, here, is I can ask. And I can have a kind of relationship. I can respect them... And the way they teach you, the teacher is showing respect. In Korea they don’t care, like they don’t care about the character, they don’t care about the personality. That’s cause it’s easy to level someone with just marks. Teachers are sick and tired of so many people, ya, there really are too many people. Here, they care more about your personality and character. Ya, here it’s really to be cared, like, to be cared and to care. It’s just different... In Korea, a lot of things are competition. A lot of people makes a lot of competition. Here is less competition. It’s good because I don’t have pressure cause my friends are doing better than me. Still I have to work, but it’s good, it’s more like relax. If you live in Korea, there are a lot of people, and a lot of people who do what you do. So you want to do better than them, you work more. Here you don’t do something like that... My home room teacher in my school now, she’s really nice, and actually she really understood me. And I know it’s really hard to care for someone who comes from other country. I can ask her everything. It was really easy for me. She care about everything, my attitude towards teachers, my marks, everything. It was easy to ask, like biology, I really don’t understand, so I ask over and over. I think that’s the key for students who are really willing to learn, right? Ask something that you don’t understand... I think, like my teacher, she has no idea of ESL student, but she tries to understand, she is willing to understand. She would ask, and I tell her, and she goes “Oh, really, it’s like that?” Ya, she really tried to understand.
The major emphasis of the interviews was on relationships. Changing relationships with parents were discussed. The effects of language on relationships. This dynamic evolving process of interwoven connections between the major themes of relationships, language and school is what it is like for these students to be educated in Canada.

Discussion

Research literature has shown how Confucianism has contributed to the emphasis placed on education by parents, and to their belief that education is the way to ensure a good future. Asian parents' willingness to sacrifice so their children can obtain a good education has been documented. The feelings of pressure or support that this produces in the children has also been discussed. The participants in this study clearly illustrate these points. Yukitaka's family has lived apart for many years in order for him to pursue an education in Canada. This is partly because of the difficulty he would have had to reenter the Japanese education system after three years in Hong Kong, and partly because an English education will be beneficial in the future. Karen's family has immigrated to Canada in order to improve educational opportunities and to ensure that she will be able to enter university. Steve's family first sent him to Canada when it appeared that he would not succeed in Hong Kong's education system. One of his family's primary concerns was that he learn English in order to assist the other family members. Sung Min's father has given up his medical practice in Seoul to ensure that she receive a good education in Canada. This is partly due to the difficulty of entering university in Korea, and partly because he feels an English education will be advantageous in the future.

The participant's parents see education as important and valuable, both as an end in itself, and in ensuring a good future for their children. They are making financial, professional, and personal sacrifices to assist their children in obtaining a good education. They are pinning their hopes for the future on their children, and see education as the means of attaining these goals. In turn, the students have a role to perform, expectations to fulfill, and obligations to meet. They are expected to study hard, get good grades, be devoted to their studies and enter university. The parents seem to believe that all obstacles can be overcome through hard work.

Yukitaka is expected to return to Japan and pass the entrance exams to a prestigious university to ensure entry to an important company after graduation. Karen is expected to study long hours to the exclusion of all extra curricular activities. Her parents expect her to do well in high school and enter a good university. Steve seems on the verge of being crushed by all his academic problems. He is disappointed that he will not be able to enter a good university. Sung Min spends six hours a day on school work and is only allowed to leave the house if what he wants to do is deemed worthwhile by her father. He expects high grades and sees this as a guarantee of a good future.

The literature that I reviewed focused on changes that occur in parent-child relationships in a new culture, and problems relating to switches in primary language, and the adoption of Western cultural values by the immigrant students. Relationships with parents were central themes of the interviews, but not in the context of changing primary languages and cultures. All the participants have retained use of their native languages and kept many traditional values. This is perhaps due to the age at which they moved to Canada and the length of time they have spent here, or perhaps the fact that in Vancouver they are
surrounded by native speakers of their language and remain immersed in their culture.

That is not to say that relationships with parents have not changed in significant ways. Yukitaka sees himself as central to the well being of his family, and is key in providing the connections between family members. He does not see his father as central to the maintenance of the connections in the family. He is the youngest son, yet has assumed responsibilities beyond his position in the family and beyond his age. Karen is no longer rebelling against her parents. Aware of the sacrifices her parents have made, she has totally conformed to their expectations. Although she would like to work on the school newspaper, and feels she could have more fun and make more friends if she participated in activities, she does not join anything. Steve recognizes that he has a special function to perform in his family. He is the one who was sent to Canada first to help pave the way for the rest of this family. He, too, has had to assume responsibilities beyond his years. He must make many decisions for the family, from where they will live, to where his younger brother will go to school. Sung Min’s relationship with her father has become more distant since moving to Canada. The more closely he has scrutinized what she is doing, the more pressure he has applied, the more distance she has felt. She is learning that here, where her parents do not speak the language, she must rely on herself and she is becoming more independent.

The students also focused on the theme of language. Most of the literature has dealt with learning English in relation to functioning in school. The effect of learning English on academic performance was discussed by the students; however, their major concerns were the effects that functioning in a second language had on relationships. Research done by Nieto (1992) and Olsen (1988) deals with similar concerns and situates language learning in a social as well as academic context.

Yukitaka said that learning in English was the main problem about studying in Canada. He said it also affected his relationships. When trying to talk to Canadian girls, he felt he was faced with the dual problems of what to talk about, and how to talk about it. Similar findings were discussed in the studies of visa students in the United States and North York (Hartung, 1983; Turner et al., 1984). Yukitaka felt that after thinking about what to say as well as how to say it, it was almost impossible to carry on a meaningful conversation. As a result he has never had a close relationship with a Canadian girl.

Yukitaka also talked about his relationship with one teacher in his school. He feels this teacher uses the fact that he is an ESL student as an excuse to not explain material to him. He does not think that problems with understanding the language are always the reasons why he doesn’t understand this teacher. He is not happy about the ESL label being used to explain all his difficulties.

Karen did not speak directly about having problems with English. However, she did say that in the public school she now attends, she rarely speaks in class. She does not feel that teachers there understand or are interested in her culture. With the emphasis being on English literature she feels that Canadian students learn little about other cultures. Even though Karen speaks English fairly well, she does not have any relationships with Canadians. For her the difficulty is not with the language, but with the relationships. Most of her friends are Taiwanese from the international school she attended her first year in Canada.

Steve recognizes that learning English for such a short time in comparison to Canadians is a handicap in achieving high grades. He feels that the lack of English is his major problem, the main reason he is unable to get the grades necessary to enter university. He feels that Canadians have it much easier. This affects how he feels about school. He thinks that teachers do not wait for him to speak. He is also afraid to speak up in class because the teacher may not understand him and embarrass him by asking for clarification. For Steve, English is an academic concern, as well as one that impacts on relationships with friends and teachers.

Having to learn in a second language has been beneficial for Sung Min. In Korea, because she did not have problems with the language, she tended to memorize material she did not really understand. She finds that here, she has to understand before she can memorize. As a consequence, she asks a lot of questions. In Korea, she did not feel close enough to her teachers to ask questions. Here, with excellent relationships with her teachers, she feels comfortable asking anything. Sung Min has good relationships with Canadian students as well. She feels this is the best way to learn English.

The literature discussed the difficulties Asian students have in switching to our system of education, but on the whole the participants expressed positive feelings about teachers and teaching styles in Canada. They felt teachers in Canada are friendly and that classes are more interesting. They expressed appreciation for the demands placed on them to be more creative and for the diversity of teaching methods. They liked the fact that everything does not rely on memorization. At the same time they see flaws, in that Canadian students seem to do so little and to waste so much time. They also feel that teachers and students could make more effort to learn about other cultures.

The participants in this study are unique — all have their own particular story to tell. They do not fulfill any stereotype of a “model minority” student. The myth of the problem-free, high achieving, hard working, academically
successful Asian does not apply to these students. Karen and Sung Min are doing well in high school, but that does not guarantee entrance to university. Yukitaka and Steve have not managed to achieve the grades necessary to enter university. They all have to deal with adjustments to life in Canada.

Six Months Later

Yukitaka is now living in Japan with his parents and brother. He is happy to be back, but he is concerned about his future. He has been studying for entrance exams but failed the exams for the university he most wanted to enter, the one his parents expected him to attend. He is continuing to study and will try a different university. Karen is in her final year in high school. She still has few friends, she spends most of her time studying. Her mother has returned to Taiwan and she is lonely and says she only recently has realized how important families really are. She is attending evening classes in Japanese, and has a tutor in German and Spanish. Steve spent the summer in Hong Kong and is taking courses in grade 12 so he can accumulate enough credits to graduate. He is filled with plans and is eagerly looking forward to the future. Sung Min is enrolled in a science-oriented curriculum. She is making lots of friends in her new public school and is confident of success. All the participants feel that English will open the door to the future.

Future Research

One limitation of this study was the small number of participants. Although this is typical of qualitative research which focuses on the experiences of individuals, future research could involve a larger number of participants. In addition, the participants were all from well-to-do families. The study of Asian students from different socio-economic backgrounds could produce very different results. Another way to approach this kind of question would be to interview all the participants together after the initial interview alone. Follow up longitudinal research on these same students as they move through their last years of high school, their first years of university, and into occupations would be of interest. An ethnographic study where Asian students, including all the participants in this study, have come to Canada in order to gain a university education, it would be interesting to find out if they are successful.

Implications for Teaching

Much of what the students said about their teachers can be generalized to what this implies for teaching Asian students.

Yukitaka

Those teachers are good, really good, cause they teach us really individually. They are always walking around, asking us, always moving... paying attention to all the students, speaking really clearly, never sitting on a chair. Some teachers only movement is writing on the board... Teacher’s character is important they need to have humour sometimes... I get a lot outa school, relationships, skills, learning things.

Karen

Some teachers in Canada don’t know my culture, but, some have experience, some lived there so they know more about cultures and traditions... Teachers can help me a lot. Good teachers know that English is my second language, so they help me understand... Teachers here should force the student to learn in some way. Students really have to learn something, not just do nothing. Teachers can give students a chance to express themselves and something about culture... Canada is a multicultural society, there is more than just English.

Steve

Schools should be small, about 300-500 is a good size. We should have perfect equipment. And I like experiments in science... Relationship with teacher is more important... She is the best teacher, she never say anything bad about the students. Teachers in Canada are good, really polite and friendly. They spend time, they listen, they care, they are happy to hear what we say... There is too much freedom here, we can skip the school, we can escape easily.

Sung Min

And it’s nice, really nice the way the teachers teach us. They don’t just teach in front of the blackboard, they teach us individually... Relationships with teachers are important, especially when I first came to Canada... ESL teachers understand students because we have more chance to talk to them. We tell them about our background and our culture... We can talk to the teachers as a friend... Teachers maybe should talk to students a lot.
The students are saying that they need to feel like individuals, the teacher needs to pay attention to them. They want their culture validated in the classroom by teachers bringing in multicultural materials and using the students themselves as resources. They want to feel cared about and they want to care for others. They appreciate the kinds of informal relationships they can establish with teachers here, but some of them may need a firm hand, a feeling that they can't get away with doing nothing. The students like the interactive methods we use, the different ways of learning. Most important to recognize is that teachers can and do make a difference in these students’ lives.

Hartman and Askounis (1989) have said that sensitivity to the student as a member of a cultural group and as an individual, as well as projecting a desire to understand, are useful in dealing with Asian students. Baruth and Manning (1992) recommend that educators know individuals and their cultures. They suggest asking about the culture, accepting the student’s world, and avoiding stereotyping. Olsen (1988) in her study of immigrant children in California, found that affirmation of culture by bringing culture to the classroom was important in helping students adjust. Yao (1988) suggests finding out about parental expectations as this may affect student learning and participation in school. Research in effective methods in teaching ESL to immigrant students has found similar results (Cummins, 1989).

From this study of Asian students’ education in Canada I have recognized the primary importance of relationships and how they affect learning. The students have told me that with parents far away they have problems, and with parents in the same house they have different problems. The students have told me how hard it is to be friends with Canadians. They have told me that teachers need to be patient with them while they learn, to give them time. They have told me that all the different methods we use in our schools are good, that they welcome the new opportunities that these new ways promote learning. They have told me to respect them for who they are. They have told me they need to be cared about and care for others. They have told me that I’m not wrong in thinking that they need to establish a good relationship with me in order to learn. They have affirmed my most basic assumption that the most important thing I can do is care about them and respect them as individuals.

References


A Review of Conceptualization and Measurement of Acculturation

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In a multicultural society such as Canada or the United States, immigrants from countries with different cultural and linguistic environments adapt to their new habitat by acquiring and adopting the language and customs of their host society. This process of making adaptive changes by immigrant group members is referred to as acculturation (Gordon, 1964). The concept of acculturation emerged as early as 1880 in anthropology, and the research at the time focused primarily on the process whereby third world nations acculturated to industrial western societies. An early definition of acculturation proposed by Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1936) (a subcommittee on acculturation appointed by the Social Science Research Council), refers to acculturation as “those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original pattern of either or both groups” (p.149). This definition characterizes acculturation as a group or cultural phenomenon. In addition to anthropologists, sociologists have also investigated acculturation as a group process in their study of intergroup dynamics and changes. Herskovits (1937) believes that research on problems in intercultural dynamics can generally be investigated advantageously through the study of acculturation. In later research, acculturation has also been viewed as an individual or psychological phenomenon (Teske and Nelson,1974), as exemplified by McFee’s (1968) definition of acculturation as the process of “how people, over one to several generations, adapt to bicultural environments and learn to use cultural directives from another society” (p.1096). The review reported in this chapter deals with acculturation of individuals.

Three concepts that have been identified in cross-cultural education literature are closely related to individual acculturation. These concepts are assimilation, ethnic identity, and adaptive behavior. Similar to acculturation, assimilation also refers to the process of an immigrant taking on the salient features of the host culture. However, assimilation is necessarily unidirectional (adapting to the host culture) and internal change in values is required (Teske and Nelson, 1974). Ethnic identity refers to the extent to which an individual’s beliefs, attitudes, and values coincide with that of an ethnic group (Masuda, Matsumoto, and Meredith, 1970). Adaptive behavior refers to an individual’s effectiveness in coping with the demands of his or her natural and social environment (Cervantes and Baca, 1979). A comprehensive assessment system, referred to as the System of Multicultural Pluralistic Assessment or SOMPA (Cervantes and Baca, 1979), has been developed to measure minority students’ adaptive behavior.

Acculturation at the individual level has been studied in psychology, education, and medicine/psychiatry as an individual difference variable (Olmedo, 1979; Padilla, 1980) for explaining many areas of psychological functioning including cognition, personality, language, self-identity, attitudes and stress. For example, research has found cultural differences in cognitive style such as field-independence/dependence (Berry, 1976; Wagner, 1978). Through the acculturation process, cognitive style of those from minority cultures can change to resemble that of the majority culture (Ramirez, Castaneda and Herold, 1974). In regard to intellectual abilities, Mercer (1973) found that IQ scores of Chicanos and Blacks are positively associated with the number of "Anglo" sociocultural characteristics they possess. Gonzales (1980) found differences in verbal intelligence but not in nonverbal intellectual abilities between Mexican and Anglo Americans. Findings from a subsequent study suggested that the observed cultural differences in performance on standardized intelligence tests could be attributed to degrees of acculturation and verbal skills, which are positively correlated (Gonzales and Roll, 1985). In addition, level of acculturation and educational achievement has been found positively related (Padilla, 1980).

Acculturation has also been found to be associated with psychological functioning other than cognition. For example, level of acculturation is correlated to an individual’s levels of social support and socialization behavior (Griffith, 1983; Taylor, Hurley and Riley, 1986), personality characteristics (Sue and Kirk, 1972), political and social attitudes (Alva, 1985), deviancy (Berry and Annis, 1974), alcoholism and drug use (Graves, 1967;
Burnam et al., 1987), risk of coronary heart disease (Reed et al., 1982), mental health status (Golding et al., 1985; Griffith, 1983; Szapocznik and Kurtines, 1980), stress and suicide (Hatcher and Hatcher, 1975); utilization of health services (Hazuda, 1988; Szapocznik et al. 1982), and drop out from psychotherapy treatment (Miranda et al., 1976).

Findings from the study of acculturation have both practical and theoretical implications for multicultural education pedagogy, research and evaluation. According to the Canadian Association of Second Language Teachers (1993), multicultural education means more than schooling, but "education in the broader sense as it relates to the socialization of persons, cultural and linguistic development, mental health and racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity, immigrant adjustment, citizenship education for a diverse society, second language education (ESL and FSL), and community education through community agencies such as libraries and local organizations" (p.3). Based on the findings of studies considering the relationship between level of individual acculturation and cognitive functioning, academic achievement, mental health and personality, acculturation is a potential barrier to effective participation of immigrant students in the mainstreamed cultural environment and hence should be a concern of multicultural education. It should be a responsibility of multicultural educators to avoid forming misconceptions about culturally different students by gaining knowledge of their nature and degree of acculturation in order to better understand these students' attitudes, behavior and performance in school, so that effective educational counselling and placement can be provided.

As for researchers and evaluators in multicultural education, the individual acculturation variable should be incorporated in their research or evaluation designs and be taken into consideration when interpreting their findings. Failure to do so may lead to misinterpretation of observed cross-cultural differences and devalued research due to the uncontrolled confounding effects of acculturation. For example, the finding of a lack of difference between the Hong Kong and Caucasian students in their preference for cooperative learning strategy may not be attributable to similarity between Hong Kong and Canadian cultures, if the sample of Hong Kong students have in fact been highly acculturated into the Canadian culture.

The inclusion of a quantitative measure of acculturation in studying cultural differences and fairness issues in education and assessment provides for "finer degrees of discrimination with respect to cultural variables [that] would constitute a considerably more effective moderator variable than a qualitative dichotomy in terms of ethnic group membership" (Olmedo, et al., 1978, p.169). The continuous measure of acculturation allows for cultural differentiation among members of an ethnic group and hence can be used to explain within-group variability and to predict individual behavior within-group. As noted by Gonzales and Roll (1985), "the aim of knowing cultural differences within groups is to be able to pinpoint those variables accounting most for differences within groups" (p. 202). For example, several studies have demonstrated that acculturation plays a significant role in explaining differences in cultural values among Hispanic subgroups (Marin et al., 1987; Domino and Acosta, 1987). The educational implication of measuring cultural differences within group is that instead of stereotyping and hence treating all ethnic group members the same way, pedagogical and counselling strategies can be determined according to the acculturation status of the students.

In order to examine the effects or correlates of acculturation in multicultural education, it is necessary to measure the nature and degree to which a culturally-different pupil adapts to the mainstream culture and at the same time retains his or her own culture. Furthermore, since the validity of findings from acculturation research studies is invariably a function of the reliability and validity of acculturation measurements, it is also imperative that only quality acculturation measurement instruments and procedures be employed. Although any instruments designed to measure acculturation at the individual level "are not universally valid, ready-made, or standard instruments which can be taken 'as is' for use in any field setting" (Berry et al., 1986, p.302), in a recent review article on acculturation by Rogler, Cortes, and Malgady (1991), the authors conclude that current measurements of acculturation do not tap the complexity of the acculturative dynamics, and that improvements in the conceptualization and measurement of acculturation are needed. This conclusion echoed Olmedo's (1979) declaration of the need to develop psychometrically sound measures of acculturation more than a decade ago. To advance our understanding of acculturation and to test related theories, it is essential that measurements of acculturation and the theoretical framework underlying acculturation be studied systematically.

This paper is a review of the literature on the conceptualization of the acculturation construct, and instruments and procedures developed to measure the construct. The purposes are:

1) to promote our understanding of the state of the art in the measurement of individual acculturation,
2) to provide suggestions and impetus for future efforts in the development of sound instruments and procedures that could better define the complexity of the acculturative process and more accurately quantify levels of acculturation than currently available measurements, and
3) to shed light on the validity of findings in acculturation research studies and investigations that include acculturation as a measured variable.
Acculturation measurement instruments were identified through computer searches of the ERIC, Psyc Abstracts, and Comprehensive Dissertation Index databases, and by manual searches through journal articles, books, presentations at conferences, dissertations, and public reports. At times, copies of acculturation measurement instruments were obtained directly, by request, from the authors of the instruments. After a comprehensive search, a total of 31 instruments were identified and reviewed (see Appendix A for a listing of these instruments and their sources). Review findings and discussions of these findings are presented below, first on the conceptualization of acculturation, then the measurement of acculturation.

Conceptualization of Acculturation

Instrument review findings
My review has suggested confusion in the literature in the conceptualization of the acculturation construct as reflected by the substantial diversity in the types of information collected by acculturation measurement instruments and procedures. These measurements range from socio-economic status, educational levels and religious affiliations to an individual's language proficiencies and value systems. Analysis of the content of the 31 identified acculturation scales revealed the following two measurement problems that are related to content variability across instruments:

1) inconsistent use of variables, and
2) inappropriate use of variables.

To explain and illustrate these two problems areas, some observations from the content analysis regarding potential misuse of three types of variables in the measurement of acculturation (socio-demographic, cultural norms, and language), that are most germane to the aforementioned measurement problems, are presented below.

Problem #1: Inconsistent use of variables. Acculturation scale developers are rather inconsistent in their use of variables as indicators (scale items) and correlates or criteria of acculturation for their instruments (variables that are associated with levels of acculturation). A variable used as an indicator (item) of acculturation in one instrument may serve as a validation criterion for another instrument, or as a correlate in a study that employs yet another instrument. The following are examples of this first problem in acculturation measurement:

1) Respondent's location of residence (town or countryside) is used as an item in Graves' Acculturation Indices and "type of neighborhood" is used as a criterion for validating the Language-Based Acculturation Scale.
2) Respondent's education and occupation status are included as items in acculturation scales such as the Rosebud Personal Opinion Survey and the Filial Responsibility Questionnaire. However, the same variables were studied as acculturation correlates by developers of the Measure of Acculturation (see Olmedo and Padilla, 1978), the LAECA Scale, and the Socio-demographic Questionnaire, and were employed by Domino and Acosta (1987) to determine comparability between high and low acculturation groups.

3) Frequency of contact with host society is considered a factor that influences acculturation in Clement's Acculturation Indices; however, "number of times journeyed outside of the Navajo Nation" is an acculturation item in the Filial Responsibility Questionnaire.

4) Filial responsibility (care for parents and grandparents) was examined by Barber, Cook, and Ackerman (1985) as a correlate of acculturation, but the same variable is included in Masuda's Ethnic Identity Questionnaire as an item for measuring ethnic identity.

5) "Language proficiency" and "language use" variables have been used inconsistently in acculturation scale development. For example, language proficiency is used both as a measure of acculturation (lack of grammatical errors in providing explanations) and as a validation criterion (performance on a cloze test as a measure of reading comprehension) for the Comics Test. Respondents' "language use" is included in the Language-Based Acculturation Scale as the measurement of acculturation, and "language proficiency" based on subjective ratings was used to validate the scale. Conversely, for the Clement's Acculturation Scale, acculturation is a measure of "use" of French and English in different communication systems (e.g., reading a newspaper, talking with a friend), and "language proficiency" is correlated with acculturation measurements. According to the scale developer "level of acculturation was a function of proficiency in the second language and an interactive function of language status and frequency of contact" (Clement, 1987, p. 271).

Problem #2: Inappropriate choice of variables. Sometimes the inclusion of certain variables as acculturation indicators is questionable because these variables do not appear to tap the acculturation construct adequately. It can be argued that conceptually those variables better represent antecedent conditions or correlates of acculturation.

A number of acculturation scales reviewed include socio-cultural and demographic variables as items in the instruments. For example,

1) variables such as "country spent childhood", and "ethnicity of people in neighborhood and coworkers" are used as items in the LAECA scale;
2) sociocultural background information concerning the
respondent (e.g., length of residence in the U.S., year in school), the family (e.g., family size), and the head of household (e.g., place of birth, citizenship, educational and occupational status) are included in Olmedo’s Measure of Acculturation;

3) in the Sociocultural Field Schedule, questions regarding parents’ education and occupation status, language, and religion are included; and

4) the Filial Responsibility Questionnaire (Barber, Cook, and Ackerman, 1985) includes items such as “number of years lived on the Navajo Nation”, “first language spoken by the respondent as a child”, and “type and location of schools attended”.

Conceptually, it can be argued that sociodemographic variables are more appropriate as measures of antecedent conditions (e.g., place of birth, parents’ education and occupation status) that precede and affect the acculturation process, or as measures of acculturation correlates (e.g., respondent’s education and employment status) that are associated with the acculturation process, than as measures of acculturation itself. Marin et al. (1987) argued against inclusion of sociodemographic characteristics as measures of acculturation on the grounds that correlation between criterion and scale is spurious if one of the sociodemographic characteristics is also used as a criterion for validation (this point will be discussed below), and that “sociodemographic indices measure only one aspect of acculturation [such as assimilation]” (p.184). An empirical support for excluding sociodemographic variables from acculturation measurements comes from factor analysis results in the development of the Neff’s Acculturation Scale (Neff, Hoppe and Perea, 1987). In analyzing and screening items, the scale developers found that generational status/nativity items (birthplace of respondent and parents) did not factor well with social/cultural preferences items (language use, ethnicity of associates, and cultural practices) and were deleted from the scale.

In addition to sociodemographic variables, some of the psychological functioning variables used in acculturation scales may not adequately represent the acculturation construct and should not be used as acculturation indicators. For example, “perceived discrimination” was used as an item in Richman’s Acculturation Scale. Does that variable fit well with the meaning of acculturation, or, more appropriately, should it be considered as an antecedent condition that can influence acculturation of the respondent? Graves (1967) included in his scale six acculturation indices: measurement of interpersonal norms (normative acculturation index), feelings of personal control, how far into the future respondents tend to think and plan, education of respondent, socio-demographic variables (acculturation index), and occupation. Other than the normative acculturation index, the appropriateness of the five indices are questionable. As discussed above, the last three background variables may better serve as antecedent conditions or correlates than indicators of acculturation. The “personal control” and “future projection” variables, similar to cognitive functioning variables such as academic achievement, are better conceptualized as correlates than indicators of acculturation. The issue of appropriateness of variables in acculturation measurement is further expounded below in the discussion of validation of acculturation scales.

A conceptual framework of acculturation
In the literature on acculturation, researchers have portrayed the acculturation construct as a dynamic and vibrant process that is multifaceted and multidimensional. For example, Cuellar, Harris, and Jasso (1980) characterize acculturation as a “multifaceted phenomenon composed of numerous dimensions, factors, constructs, or subcomponents... Values, ideologies, beliefs and attitudes appear to be important components of acculturation as are cognitive and behavioral characteristics such as language, cultural customs, and practices” (p.209). The complexity of the acculturation construct can partially explain the variability of content across instruments and inappropriate use of variables as observed in this review. Since proper construction of measurement instruments requires the use of a theoretical framework that can adequately explain the meaning of the target phenomenon, the identified shortcomings related to content of acculturation measurements could also be attributed to a lack of framework in the literature to guide instrument development. In an attempt to fill this void in the acculturation literature, a conceptualization framework that differentiates the antecedent conditions, the three facets of dimensions in the acculturation process, and correlates of acculturation is presented.

Antecedent conditions: The context within which an individual comes into first-hand contact with another cultural milieu contributes to and provides the foundation for understanding the acculturation phenomenon. Some of these contextual variables include:

1) purpose of contact (e.g., colonization, military control, immigration, missionary activity, teaching or studying abroad);
2) level of coercion to assimilate;
3) initial cultural and linguistic similarities;
4) relative status of the two cultures;
5) intercultural sentiment;
6) communication media (e.g., TV, radio, books, magazines, education system);
7) immediate living, work and school environments (e.g., coworkers, friends, neighbors); and
8) parental acculturation status including their occupation and educational backgrounds.

These contextual variables, constituting the antecedent conditions that precede the acculturation process, determine the nature, duration and frequency of contact.
with the host culture, which in turn affect how an individual would adapt to the new culture as a way of reducing conflicts resulting from the contact. The adaptation can take one of three forms: adjustment, reaction or withdrawal (Berry, 1980). The individual can move toward the other culture and learn to think, feel and behave as a member of that group, or, he or she can react to the other culture with resentment and retaliation. Finally, the individual can move away from the culture by removing oneself from the arena of contact, as in the case of Native Americans moving back to the reservations. The nature and level of adaptation affect the individual's lifestyle in terms of attitude, cognition, and behavior within the context of both the native and host cultures. These adaptive changes of the individual are presented below as the three facets of acculturation dimensions.

Three facets of dimensions in acculturation measurement

Facet #1. Lifestyle dimensions

During the acculturation process, an individual may undergo a variety of changes in his or her makeup and lifestyle. These changes can be grouped into the following dimensions:

1) language (i.e., listening, speaking, reading, writing, thinking);
2) daily habits (e.g., food, music, movies, use of media such as print media, clothing, recreation);
3) living arrangement (e.g., housing and furniture styles, transportation, property ownership such as TV set and VCR);
4) ethnic norms or traditions or heritage (e.g., sex roles, child rearing customs, care for the elderly, celebrations in weddings, birthdays and cultural events, ethnic art and dance, display of affection, work ethics, relation to time);
5) social relationships or inter-ethnic distance (e.g., relation and interaction style, individuals to play or socialize with or to marry);
6) political affiliation (e.g., political party identification and involvement); and
7) religious affiliation (e.g., church attendance, ancestor worship).

Facet #2. Psychological dimensions

Individual changes within the seven aforementioned lifestyle dimensions can occur along three psychological dimensions: attitude or value orientation, cognition or knowledge, and behavior or practice. At the attitude level of acculturative change, an individual's world view as reflected by his or her feelings, beliefs, ideologies and preferences may converge with or diverge from the world view held by members of the host society and the world view held by members of the native society. This cultural orientation has been referred to as an individual's ethnic loyalty or ethnic pride (Padilla, 1980) or "ideational order" (Goodenough, 1964).2 The internalization processes that take place at the attitude dimension influence changes in the awareness or knowledge of specific cultural materials about the native and host cultures. For instance, an individual who has a favourable attitude toward a culture would tend to learn about the particulars of the culture. The internal changes in attitude and knowledge base ultimately affect the psychosocial behavior of the individual, or the "phenomenal order" of observed events (Goodenough, 1964). The behavioral changes can in turn affect knowledge and attitude.

As an illustration of how a life style dimension can be manifested in the three psychological dimensions structure, I will use the language life style dimension as an example. In undergoing the acculturation process, an individual forms an opinion and feeling (attitude) about the language of the other culture and hence his or her preference for the native and the new languages. This preference affects his or her awareness and effort to gain proficiency (cognition) in the two languages, and subsequently, his or her language usage (behavior) in different settings such as at home, with friends, at school or work, and while thinking. The frequency of language use in turn affects knowledge of and attitude toward the languages. Similarly, changes in the other six lifestyle dimensions (daily habits, ethnic norms, living arrangement, social relationships, and political and religious affiliations) can also occur along the three psychological dimensions and in reference to the traditional and host cultures.

Facet #3. Cultural dimensions

Individual acculturative changes in the three psychological dimensions have been conceptualized to occur on either a single or dual cultural continua or dimensions. For the single cultural dimension or replacement model, acculturation is viewed as the process in which an individual moves along a bipolar continuum, with the native culture and the host culture as the two endpoints of the continuum. As the individual moves away from the native culture end towards the host culture end, the native culture is replaced by the host culture. In this way, the two cultures are mutually exclusive in that any increment of involvement in one culture is necessarily accompanied by corresponding decrement of involvement in the other culture. This conceptualization of acculturation does not appear to explain adequately what's being observed in empirical investigations. For example, McFee (1968) found that some Blackfeet Indians do not show a straight-line acculturation from a more Indian to a more White position. Another shortcoming of the unicultural dimension model is its description of biculturalism. According to the model, an individual is considered bicultural if his or her position on the bipolar cultural continuum is situated in the middle. This relative description of adaptation of the two cultures does not convey the absolute level of involvement in either culture. An individual who is bicultural may have an equally high level or equally low level of acculturation in both the traditional and host cultures.
According to the second model, the dual-cultural dimensions model, involvement in the native culture and the culture of the host society are measured separately (as suggested in Figure 1). Acculturation is viewed as the process of an individual moving along two independent unipolar continua with low and high involvement as the two endpoints. One continuum represents the level of retainment of the native culture (enculturation) and the other the level of adaptation to the host culture (acculturation). The dual-culture model is depicted in Figure 1.

As seen in Figure 1, the four quadrants created by the combination of the two orthogonal vectors represent four types of acculturation:

1) rejection (high enculturation low acculturation);
2) integration (high enculturation high acculturation);
3) assimilation (low enculturation high acculturation); and
4) deculturation (low enculturation low acculturation).

In the two-dimensional space created by the two cultural continua, each individual's acculturation status can be represented by a point in the space. Hence, individuals can be classified into one of the four acculturation types to the quadrant to which they are placed (Berry, 1980).

For the measurement of acculturation, scales were developed based on either the single- and dual-cultural continua framework. For the unicultural dimension scales such as the LAECA Scale, the ARSMA scale, the Children's Acculturation Scale and the Short Acculturation Scale, a single measure of acculturation is obtained: and for the dual-cultural dimensions scales, two measures of acculturation can be computed. For example, in the Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire (Szapocznik, Kurtines and Fernandez, 1980), two acculturation scores are computed: Biculturalism Score (Hispanicism score - Americanism score) and Cultural Involvement Score (Hispanicism score + Americanism score). In measuring acculturation of Blackfeet Indians, McFee (1968) computed percentage of white-orientation and percentage of Indian-orientation. In Figure 2, examples of items designed to measure attitude, cognition and behavior for both unicultural and dual-cultural dimensions acculturation scales are presented.

While both the uni- and dual-cultural continua models allow for bicultural involvement, it is the dual-culture model that provides independent measures of involvement in both cultures and hence the possibility that an individual participates actively and functions effectively in more than one culture, or conversely, does not participate in any culture, including his or her native culture. This information has crucial implications for multicultural education since in general individuals who are highly acculturated and enculturated (integrated) have positive self-esteem and are well adjusted to their host society; on the other extreme, individuals who are lowly acculturated and at the same time discarding their own cultures (deculturated) most likely fall victim to acculturative stress. By gaining knowledge of the absolute levels of involvement instead of a relative measure of involvement in both cultures, educators will have a better understanding of the acculturation-related determinants of students' psychological well-being and hence they will be in a better position to devise appropriate strategies to counsel and motivate students to participate and learn in school.

Socio-demographic correlates as indirect measures of acculturation: Changes in different life style attributes along the three psychological dimensions in the acculturation process can ultimately affect an individual's personality (e.g., extrovert propensity), cognitive structure (e.g., field independence), and mental health status (e.g., depression), as discussed above. Also, these acculturative changes can effect or be affected by the socio-demographic and economic makeups of the individual. Some of the salient background variables that have been found positively correlate positively with acculturation include educational level (Deyo et al., 1985; Olmedo and Padilla, 1978), occupational status (Olmedo and Padilla, 1978), income (Deyo et al., 1985; Padilla, 1980), and generation (Deyo et al., 1985; Cuellar et al., 1980; Mojica, 1992; Padilla, 1980). On the other hand, acculturation is negatively correlated with age at time of arrival in host country (Szapocznik, Kurtines and Fernandez, 1980; Garcia and Lega, 1979; Burnam et al., 1987). Although sex has been found correlated with acculturation (male acculturates more rapidly than female), such association can be explained by gender differences in educational and employment experiences (Burnam et al., 1987). These and other individual background variables, because of their
**Figure 2: Sample Items for Uni-cultural and Dual-Cultural Dimensions Scales**

### A. Attitude

**Uni-Cultural Dimension Item**

The kind of music I like to listen to is
1. Definitely French
2. More French than English
3. French and English equally
4. More English than French
5. Definitely English

**Dual-Cultural Dimensions Item**

I like to listen to French music.
1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neutral
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree

I like to listen to English music.
1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Neutral
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree

### B. Cognition

(For both Uni- and Dual-Cultural Dimensions Scales)

Native culture: What is the purpose of the Cinco De Mayo festival?

Host culture: What is the Victoria Day?

### C. Behavior

**Uni-Cultural Dimension Item**

The kind of music I listen to is
1. French all the time
2. French most of the time
3. French and English equally
4. English most of the time
5. English all the time

**Dual-Cultural Dimensions Item**

How often do you listen to French music?
1. All the time
2. Most of the time
3. Some of the time
4. Very seldom
5. Never

How often do you listen to English music?
1. All the time
2. Most of the time
3. Some of the time
4. Very seldom
5. Never

### Figure 3: The Three Facets of Acculturation Dimensions

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<th>A. Native Culture</th>
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<th>B. Host Culture</th>
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statements about one’s attitude, knowledge or behavior regarding language, daily habits, living arrangement, cultural norms, social relationships, politics or religion in the context of either the native or host culture. For example, an item may ask a Japanese respondent the extent to which he or she does country western dancing, which would be an item belonging to the behavior and ethnic norms cell for the host culture. Or, the same respondent may be asked to explain the historical significance of a special type of Japanese folk dance, which would be an item in the knowledge and ethnic norms cell for the native culture.

Next, I will present findings from my review of approaches and methods employed in the literature to measure acculturation.

Measurement of acculturation

Acculturation has been measured both qualitatively and quantitatively. In the discipline of anthropology, qualitative methods have been used exclusively. Quantitative measure of acculturation started during 1970s as a result of a surge of interest in psychology to study individual differences in acculturation and its relationship to psychosocial behavior, personality and cognition. Research in education has utilized both qualitative and quantitative measurement methodologies depending on the researchers’ orientation and training.

Examples of qualitative measure of acculturation include determining degree of acculturation of American Indians based on “differential participation in contemporary reservation culture” (Bruner, 1958, p.605), or labeling Mexican-Americans as acculturated or non-acculturated based on the communities that they came from (a traditional or traditional) (Knight and Kagan, 1977). Polyzoi's (1985) utilization of in-depth, open-ended and unstructured interview to study the concept of “strangeness” as the “phenomenological origin of the process of ‘assimilation’” (p.67) is also another example of a qualitative approach to measuring acculturation. For the present article, only quantitative measurement instruments and procedures that are designed to generate numerical indices of acculturation were reviewed. The following description of acculturation measurement approaches and methods were based on findings from the review.

Measurement approach

Three measurement approaches have been employed to measure individual acculturation in the literature. These approaches are: paper-and-pencil questionnaire or test; interview; and projective technique. Within each of these three approaches, various methods have been identified.

Paper-and-pencil questionnaire or test: This self-reporting approach utilizes both the open-ended items in which respondents are asked to construct their responses and close-ended items in which respondents are asked to select a response. Examples of constructed-response items include asking respondents to explain comics or cartoons in the Comics Test of Acculturation, and to fill in the blanks in a cloze test that accompanies the same instrument (the text was taken from the Los Angeles Times and every fifth word was deleted).

The majority of the acculturation scales reviewed employ closed-ended items in which individuals are asked to respond to independent items (statements or questions) in an acculturation scale by choosing one of the options provided that best represent the individual. For those acculturation measurements that utilize rating scales to rate different aspects of acculturation, the type of scales used varies from instrument to instrument. In this review, six types of rating scales are identified. They are:

(a) Level of relative ethnicity. (e.g., 1. Spanish all the time; 2. Spanish most of the time; 3. Spanish and English equally; 4. English most of the time; 5. English all the time.);
(b) Likert scale with agree and disagree anchors (e.g., as used in Behavioral Acculturation Scale, Biculturalism/Multiculturalism Experience Inventory, Ethnic Identity Questionnaire);
(c) Likert-type scale (e.g., 1. poor; 2. below average; 3. average; 4. above average; 5. excellent; or 1. almost always; 2. most of the time; 3. part of the time; 4. almost never);
(d) Semantic differential scale (e.g., semantic differential potency items such as “weak-strong” for rating “mother”, “father”, “male”, “female”; as found in Measure of Acculturation);
(e) Rating scale of Ideal or preference (e.g., “I would wish this to be completely French”), and
(f) Guttman scale (e.g., as found in Language-Based Acculturation Scale: 1. What language do you prefer to speak? 2. What language is most often spoken in your home? 3. What was your first language as a child? 4. Do you read any English?).

In the Behavioral and Value Acculturation Scale, respondents are not asked to rate statements. Instead, each question in the scale is accompanied by three related alternatives varying in the degree to which they reflect the traditional behavioral norm, and the respondents are asked to choose the best and worst alternatives. For example, for the question “what should a family do if it discovers that one of its members uses drugs?”, three alternatives, ranging from the traditional authoritarian orientation of letting the head of the family take charge, to the democratic position of arriving at a solution among the members of the family, and to the non-traditional liberal belief that the use of drugs is a personal issue, are provided. The respondents are instructed to respond to the question by indicating which of the three alternatives represents the best response for them and which represents the worst.
Interview: Oral interview is another approach used to ascertain acculturation of an individual. Sometimes interviewing simply means administering a questionnaire orally. For acculturation scales such as the Children's Hispanic Background Scale that are designed for children, the items have to be read to the respondents and, if needed, in two languages. The View of Life Questionnaire was mostly self-administered under interviewer supervision.

In the Sociocultural Field Schedule, multiple items that tap mostly factual information regarding living conditions (e.g., education, outcome, home, language use, religion practice, types of reading) are presented to the respondents and their responses recorded. On the other hand, in the Torres-Matrullo's Acculturation Interview Questionnaire, all responses are rated on the basis of traditional (non-acculturated) vs. non-traditional (acculturated) attitudes on a three-point scale. Knowledge of traditional and American cultures are measured using a picture identification procedure in the Acculturative Balance Scale (Pierce, Clark and Kiefer, 1972).

The Socio-demographic Questionnaire, comprised of questions related to the respondent's biographic (age, sex) and demographic (educational level, income) backgrounds, was used to interview respondents by telephone. However, it is the respondent's preference and proficiency of the language used in the interview (English or Spanish) and not the responses to the questions that were used to determine the acculturation level of the respondents. Graves' Acculturation Indices and the Media Acculturation Scale were also administered via telephone interview.

Projective Techniques: Projective techniques have also been employed to measure individual acculturation or ethnic identity mainly in medicine and psychiatry. These techniques are indirect measures and the respondents may not even be aware of the real intention of the assessments. Projective techniques involve procedures that ask respondents to choose items (such as a doll with different skin colors, cards with different ethnic names, photos) that best represent themselves, or to comment or elaborate (tell a story) on some visual stimuli (such as symmetrical inkbloks, photos, pictures). To illustrate the application of projective techniques to the measurement of acculturation in education, two instruments are described below.

The Instrumental Activities Inventory (Spindler and Spindler, 1963) is a modified version of the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT). The inventory consists of 24 drawings of Indians engaged in numerous daily activities that coincide with those things one must do to adapt to the pressures of the outside world. These drawings can be classified into three categories of activities: traditional Indian activities; those that were influenced by modern, rural cultures; and those which directly reflect the influence of contemporary society. Respondents are asked to construct stories about the pictures indicating events that precede, occur during, and occur afterwards.

The Comics Test of Acculturation (Takashima, 1987) is based on the assumption that "if a non-native understands the humor of another language he/she might be qualified to share culturally as well as linguistically with the people in that language community and thus, to this extent, he/she is acculturated" (p. 25). Respondents are asked to interpret four out of six comics. Their responses are rated on a five-point scale based on their understanding of the comics and grammatical error.

Validation
For those acculturation scales that were subjected to validation studies, a number of procedures were employed to determine the psychometric properties of the scales and to select items for the final scales. Reliability coefficients employed to reflect consistency of responses to acculturation scales include split-half (e.g., Biculturalism/Multiculturalism Experience Inventory), Cronbach's alpha (e.g., Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans, Behavioral and Value Acculturation Scales, Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire, Children's Acculturation Scale, Cuban Behavioral Identity Questionnaire, Dual Acculturation Scale, LAECA, Mexican American Identity Scale, Hazuda's Acculturation Scale, Clement's Acculturation Scale, Short Acculturation Scale, SL-ASIA), test-retest reliability (e.g., ARSMA, Behavioral and Value Acculturation Scales, Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire, Children's Hispanic Background Scale, Dual Acculturation Scale, Measure of Acculturation for Chicano Adolescents), interrater reliability (e.g., Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans, Children's Acculturation Scale), and parallel language forms reliability (e.g., Behavioral and Value Acculturation Scale).

For the examination of validity of acculturation scale responses, internal structure, concurrent and criterion-related validities were investigated. Evidence for conformity of internal response structure to construct specification includes results from factor analysis or principal components analysis (e.g., ARSMA, Behavioral and Value Acculturation Scale, Children's Acculturation Scale, Cuban Behavioral Identity Questionnaire, Cultural Awareness and Ethnic Loyalty Questionnaire, LAECA, Measure of Acculturation, Neff's Acculturation Scale, Short Acculturation Scale). Concurrent validity has also been investigated by correlating responses to target scale with that of another acculturation scale (e.g., ARSMA, Children's Acculturation Scale). The criteria used in construct validation studies include ethnic group membership (e.g., Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans, Cuban Behavioral Identity Questionnaire, Language-Based Acculturation Scale, Measure of Acculturation for Chicano Adolescents, Acculturation Indices), generation level (e.g., Acculturation Balance Scale, Short Acculturation Scale).
Dual Acculturation Scale, Neff's Acculturation Scale, SL-ASIA Scale), longitudinal and cross-sectional measures of length of residence or exposure to host culture (e.g., Behavioral and Value Acculturation Scale, Children's Acculturation Scale, Ethnic Identity Questionnaire, LAECA, SL-ASIA), age at time of arrival (e.g., Behavioral and Value Acculturation Scales, Cuban Behavioral Identity Questionnaire, LAECA), religious affiliation (e.g., Ethnic Identity Questionnaire), subjective rating by others (e.g., ARSMA, Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire, Children's Hispanic Background Scale, Mexican American Identity Scale), gender (e.g., Behavioral and Value Acculturation Scale, LAECA), language proficiencies or use (e.g., Questionnaire, LAECA), religious affiliation (e.g., Ethnic ARSMA, Clement's Acculturation Indices, Language-Based Acculturation Scale, Comics Test of Acculturation), self-evaluation of level of acculturation (e.g., SL-ASIA Scale, Short Acculturation Scale), composite criterion generated by combining a few criteria (e.g., Short Acculturation Scale), and socio-demographic and economic variables previously found to have association with acculturation including types of neighborhood, country of birth, age, education, income, employment status, marital status, number of children in the household, and geographic stability (e.g., Biculturalism/Multiculturalism Experience Inventory, Children's Hispanic Background Scale, Language-Based Acculturation Scale, Media Acculturation Scale, Neff's Acculturation Scale).

In addition to examining psychometric properties of total scale scores, validity of responses to individual items was also studied in validation studies of acculturation scales. Item validity was estimated based on item discrimination between cultural groups (e.g., Behavioral and Value Acculturation Scale), item-total score correlation (e.g., Mexican American Identity Scale), and factor loading as obtained from factor analysis.

Discussion

The acculturation scales reviewed exhibited variability in the measurement approach and methods. The most common method appears to be questionnaire with closed-ended items that utilize a five-point Likert-type rating scale. It is not clear what effects differences in measurement techniques have on the comparability of acculturation scales. We don't know, for instance, the extent to which two different measurement methods, such as a projective technique that utilizes story telling to probe acculturation status and a questionnaire that requires respondents to select from predetermined categories of responses, produce similar results for the same individual. Future research designed to examine method variance effects will be useful for the advancement of our capacity to measure acculturation accurately.

In regard to validation of acculturation scales, the present review concurs with the conclusion drawn by other researchers that these scales generally "lack appropriate or extensive psychometric analysis" (Marin et al., 1987, p.184). Two validation problems were identified in this review: spurious criterion-scale correlation, and inadequate construct-related evidence and scale content.

In validation studies, if the same variable is used both as a scale item and as validation criterion for the same instrument, validity estimate will be inflated because correlation between scale scores and criterion measure is spurious. The current review found that for both the LAECA and the SL-ASIA scales, a respondent's generation was used as an indicator of acculturation level, and at the same time, the extent to which the scales predict a respondent's generation was used to validate the scale. In another instance, Takashima (1987) used performance on a cloze test (a measure of reading comprehension) as a criterion for validating a measure of acculturation (a comics test), which was partially scored for grammatical errors. If self-determined acculturation level is used to validate a scale (such as the SL-ASIA and the Short Acculturation Scales), the extent to which such self-evaluation is affected by the responses to the scale items can contaminate the criterion and artificially inflate the criterion-scale correlation. The problem of spurious correlations between criterion and scale was also noted by Marin et al. (1987) when they recommended against the use of sociodemographic characteristics as a measurement of acculturation.

Acculturation is a theoretical construct created to explain behavior of individuals living in a new cultural milieu. To validate the construct (i.e., to ascertain its ability to explain behavior), hypotheses regarding its relationship to other measures should be derived based on the conceptual meaning of the construct, and these hypotheses should then be verified through logical and empirical means. Normally, numerous hypotheses are needed. Since, as discussed above, acculturation is a complex multifaceted construct, appropriate validation of the construct especially necessitates collection of multiple construct-related evidences. The validity evidences provided by developers of the acculturation scales reviewed in the current study are generally superficial and incomprehensive. The factor analyses conducted were generally atheoretical and posthoc in nature. The number of criteria used was usually limited (typically restricted to "generation" and related measures). For some scales, only language proficiency (e.g., Language-Based Acculturation Scale, the Comics Test of Acculturation) was used as criterion for validating the scales. The development of the Short Acculturation Scale for Hispanics (Marin et al., 1987) represents an attempt by the developers to collect multiple evidences to substantiate the validity of the scale.
Related to the problem of inadequate validation evidence in acculturation measurement is the potential problem of incomplete content coverage of the acculturation construct. However, adequacy of content sampling can only be judged in light of the purpose of the scale. If an acculturation scale is developed purely for predicting sociodemographic backgrounds or some future behavior such as the use of health services, the ability of the scale to predict the criterion behavior outweighs the theoretical significance of the scale content. Among all the variables that have been included in acculturation measurement instruments, language has been consistently shown to be the most salient factor. Language use has been found as the best predictor of ethnic membership (Olmedo and Padilla, 1978). Language proficiency predominantly determines significantly a respondent’s performance on the Comics Test of Acculturation. Factor analysis indicates that language factor generally explains between 45% and 75% of the variance in acculturation measurements (See Marin et al., 1987). In reviewing results from factor analyzing responses to the scale developed by Marin et al. (1987), the developers suggested that the five items of factor one that tap language use, accounting for about 55% of the variance, can be used as a short acculturation scale. Three acculturation scales reported in the literature (Language-Based Acculturation Scale, Media-Based Acculturation Scale and Clement’s Acculturation Scale) have in fact included only items that measure language use. The reduction of the scope of acculturation scales to measuring exclusively the use of the native and host languages has also effectively reduced the acculturation construct as the use of the two languages. To further simplify the acculturation measurement process, researchers have resorted to individual preferences for native and host languages for print media (Shoemaker, Reese and Danielson, 1985) and for interviews (Griffith, 1983) as measures of acculturation. In doing so, discriminative power of acculturation measurements in ascertaining cultural differences among members of an ethnic group has been further compromised. Pak, Dion and Dion (1985) proposed to make a distinction between linguistic and cultural assimilation.

If a scale is developed to measure the hypothetical acculturation construct and the measurements are used to test theories related to acculturation, and to assist counselling and development of instructional strategies, the extent to which the scale content adequately reflects the acculturation construct becomes a concern for scale developers. In this way, criterion-related scale focuses primarily on predicting criteria, and a construct-related scale focuses on both predicting criteria and the construct relevance of the scale content. In view of the conceptual framework presented above, in order to adequately tap the acculturation construct and measure an individual’s acculturation process, an acculturation scale should include items that measure an individual’s attitude, cognition and behavior as they relate to the various aspects of one’s lifestyle. In addition to acting as a global index of acculturation, this type of scale is capable of providing a profile of an individual’s acculturation pattern, such as one’s attitude toward language, knowledge of ethnic customs, and religious practices.

Some of the acculturation measurement instruments examined in the current review have provisions for measures of different elements of acculturation. For example, in the Rosebud Personal Opinion Survey, five acculturation subscales were used: social, values, blood quantum, language and education/occupation. In Hazuda’s Acculturation Scale, three aspects of acculturation were measured: functional integration with mainstream society; value placed on preserving Mexican cultural origin, and attitude toward traditional family structure and sex-role organization (Hazuda, Stern and Haffner, 1988).

Disadvantages of developing an acculturation scale that purports to tap most elements of an acculturation framework are threefold.

1) Obviously the length of a construct-related scale would be substantially longer than a criterion-related scale.

2) When subscale scores are generated, it becomes the responsibility of the developers to demonstrate psychometric soundness of these measures as well as the overall measure of acculturation.

3) The proper validation procedure is more complicated than that employed for criterion-related validation, requiring both sophisticated statistical analysis skills and a greater amount of data collection.

Instead of simple correlations or Analysis of Variance, structural equation modelling (see Olmedo’s, 1980) that enables examination of causal relationships among antecedent conditions, acculturation measures and correlates would be the appropriate analytic technique.

Regardless of which approach one takes to develop and validate a scale, when a scale is translated into another language (e.g., Dual Acculturation Scale, Short Acculturation Scale for Hispanics), equivalence of scores produced by the two versions of the scale must be addressed by the scale developers. Although methods of translation have been documented (see Brislin, Bochner, Lonner and Thornink, 1973), the effectiveness of these methods for establishing score equivalence and procedures for estimating equivalence between forms are not well known (Hambleton and Kanjee, 1993). Since scale translation is an expected practice in acculturation measurement, the question of score equivalence should be investigated. This issue was not mentioned in the articles reviewed.
Concluding Remarks

Berry et al. (1986) asserted that acculturation measurement instruments should be context-specific: “For the field worker, in any specific setting, the most important decision is whether the scales developed are modeled in the appropriate way so that they match the actual situation in which the research is being conducted – we are a long way from achieving any etic constructs; so make sure your emic characteristics are right!” (p.309). Sue and Morishima (1982) also alerted us that ethnic behavior may change depending upon the situation. In concurrence with this advice, different instruments have been developed for various Hispanic and Asian subgroups. (Although the SL-ASIA Scale was not designed specifically for any particular Asian group, there is no evidence to support the viability of this approach to measuring acculturation.)

Findings from the present review suggest diversity of acculturation scales that effectively limit generalizability of findings across acculturation research studies. Rogler, Cortes and Malgady (1991) also found “pronounced variation in the assessments of acculturation [that] would preclude formal meta-analytic treatment of the studies” (p. 589). Although part of the observed incomparability between acculturation scales could be due to the context and situation-specific nature of acculturation mentioned above, part of it is attributable to variability in the conceptualization and measurement of the acculturation construct. The present review found various scales focusing on different combinations of lifestyle elements (e.g., language, daily habits), psychological dimensions (attitude, cognition, behavior), and cultures (native and host). This content variability, compounded by differences in measurement methods, casts doubt on the comparability of construct measured by the various scales. For example, scores obtained from unidimensional acculturation scales may differ significantly from those obtained from multidimensional scales (Cuellar, Harris and Jasso, 1980). In addition, an examination of the content and validation evidences reported by the acculturation scales reviewed suggests a possible failure of these scales to adequately tap the acculturation construct. In view of this observation, one should be cautious in interpreting findings from acculturation research and studies that employ acculturation as a measured variable. Future acculturation scale development and validation should be based on a theoretical framework such as the one provided here.

References


Appendix A: Acculturation Measurement Instruments

Acculturation Balance Scale (Pierce, Clark and Kiefer, 1972)

Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans (ARSMA) (Cuellar, Harris and Jasso, 1980)


Behavioral and Value Acculturation Scale (Szapocznik, Scopetta and Kurtines, 1978)

Bicultural Involvement Scale (Szapocznik, Kurtines and Fernandez, 1980)

Biculturalism/Multiculturalism Experience Inventory (Ramirez, 1984)

Children’s Acculturation Scale (Franco, 1983)

Children’s Hispanic Background Scale (Norman, Martinez and Delaney, 1984)

Clement’s Acculturation Indices (Clement, 1986)

Comics Test of Acculturation (Takahshima, 1987)

Cuban Behavioral Identity Questionnaire (Garcia and Lega, 1979)
Cultural Awareness and Ethnic Loyalty Questionnaire (Padilla, 1980)
Dual Acculturation Scale (Mojica, 1992)
Ethnic Identity Questionnaire (Masuda, Matsumoto and Meredith, 1970)
Filial Responsibility Questionnaire (Barber, Cook and Ackerman, 1985)
Graves' Acculturation Indices (Graves, 1967)
Hazuda's Acculturation and Structural Assimilation Scales (Hazuda, Stern and Haffner, 1988)
Language-Based Acculturation Scale for Mexican Americans (Deyo, Diehl, Hazuda and Stern, 1985)
Los Angeles Epidemiologic Catchment Area Scale (LAECA) (Burnam, Hough, Telles, Kano and Escobar, 1987)
Measure of Acculturation (Olmedo, Martinez and Martinez, 1978)
Media Acculturation Scale (Ramirez, Cousins, Santos and Supik, 1986)
Mexican American Identity Scale (Teske and Nelson, 1973)
Neff's Acculturation Measure (Neff, Hoppe and Perea, 1987)
Richman's Acculturation Scale (Richman, Gaviria, Flaherty, Birz and Wintrob, 1987)
Rosebud Personal Opinion Survey (Hoffman, Dana and Bolton, 1985)
Short Acculturation Scale for Hispanics (Marin, Sabogal, Marin, Sabogal and Perez-Stable, 1987)
Sociocultural Field Schedule (McFee, 1968)
Socio-demographic Questionnaire (Griffith, 1983)
Torres-Matrullo's Acculturation Interview Questionnaire (Torres-Matrullo, 1976)
View of Life Questionnaire (Naidoo and Davis, 1988)

Notes

1 The majority of the acculturation scales were reviewed based on descriptions provided by developers of these instruments in published articles; the actual instruments may not be accessible.

2 In “Differential Psychology”, acculturation is conceptualized as an “intra-psychic” phenomenon that deals with changes in perceptions, attitudes, and cognition of the individual (Chance, 1965).

3 If the question of whether or not the group has the right to choose to acculturate is added to the classification of acculturation types, eight varieties of acculturation patterns will be observed (see Berry, 1980).

4 Some of the scale titles are created for this review.
High School Students’ Attitudes towards Racism in Canada: A Report on a 1993 Cross-cultural Survey

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Introduction

The recognition of the need to conduct a survey on high school students’ attitudes towards racism came about as a direct result of racial tensions and incidents in various high schools across Canada where there are diverse ethnic and linguistic student populations.

The concern that racial tensions may increasingly become a part of everyday life in high schools, Canada’s former Multiculturalism and Citizenship Minister, the Honourable Gerry Weiner, and his staff, requested a preliminary survey of high school students and their attitudes and experiences with racism.

The University of Calgary’s Department of Curriculum and Instruction was approached to conduct the survey and a proposal, developed by Dr. B. Griffith, and Dr. G. Labercane, was submitted to Multiculturalism and Citizenship, Canada.

As a result, the Third National Conference of the Students Commission, held in Ottawa on August 12-17, 1993 at Carleton University, incorporated the survey into its program. On Thursday, August 12, 1993, the survey questionnaire (see Appendix A) was administered to 147 participating high school students. Following the administration of the questionnaire, students were interviewed in small groups during the following three days in small groups in order to gain further insights into their views on racism. As well, individual students approached Dr. Griffith and Dr. Labercane to express their position. Their comments were taken into account and added to the database on the issue of racism in schools. From these deliberations came three kinds of information: data from the questionnaire, written comments, and verbal reports. The similarities, differences and discrepancies between these responses will be discussed in this paper.

Literature Review

Much of the Canadian research studies in the area of high school students’ racial attitudes comes under the broad banner of multicultural or inter-ethnic attitudinal studies. Zeigler (1979) reviews Canadian research in the areas of inter-group attitudes and behaviour, and prejudice and discrimination towards children. She highlights the scarcity of research available up to 1979, a trend which has continued through to the present day.

In the United States, insight into high school students’ racial attitudes is grounded in the inquiry into school desegregation (McConohay, 1977; Garcia, 1989; Grant, 1990; Polakow-Suransky and Ulaby, 1990; Campbell, 1977). Measures of racial attitudes are often used as one means of appraising the effectiveness of school desegregation. The major findings of recent studies on desegregation suggest that racism and its associated attitudes and behaviour are still prevalent in U.S. schools. For example, Garcia (1989) states that “racism is alive and well in our society and our schools” (p. 157). In a similar vein Pine and Hilliard III (1990) suggest that the provision of high quality education is being sabotaged by racism, prejudice and discrimination.

Research on high school students’ understandings of human rights and the Canadian Charter of Rights provide some data in the area of students’ attitudes toward minority ethnic groups and the effects of negative attitudes (Kehoe, 1985; Ungerlieder, 1990). For example, Ungerlieder suggests that “students born outside Canada, whose first language is not English, whose families do not speak English at home . . . do not value themselves as highly as their Canadian-born counterparts. They may well be the recipients of messages indicating that they are less valued as persons than their counterparts” (p. 17).

As a result of the research noted above, some trends in the development and possession of racial attitudes have been espoused. The development of racial attitudes has been examined by a number of researchers (e.g. Katz, 1976; Zeigler, 1979). Zeigler (1980) summarizes the findings regarding the development of racial attitudes stating:
Data were scanned and verified for out-of-range values. Data analysis involved obtaining descriptive statistics (Mean, Mode, Median and Standard Deviation) for each survey item, including the Likert items, Semantic Differential items and Demographics. The results of the analysis are reported below.

The survey to the large group was administered on the first night of the conference. There were several matters of interest worth making note of for future surveys such as this. First, although the participants were self-selecting, it was clear that the students at the Students Commission Conference represented a particular segment of society. Almost unanimously these students exhibited all the outward trappings of traditional middle-class English-speaking Canada. That is, they were well dressed in designer label clothing. They spoke in much the same manner despite geographical boundaries, and most importantly, they shared middle-class values of hard work and honesty. In short, these were a group of achieving students whose parents had done well and who expect to achieve noteworthy status for themselves. They were at the conference to be seen and heard.

Secondly, on the night of the administration of the large-group survey, these students, as a whole, made it verbally clear both before and after the survey, that they were not racist. They were adamant that "good thoughts" were more important than probing conversations and they were fearful that a survey might discover inconsistencies in their feelings and thereby label them racist.

In short, the students at the Conference did not want to discuss or discover their underlying beliefs. They were comfortable with their middle-class existence and the safety that their parents and groups like the Students' Commission afforded them. Clearly, we felt that the results of our survey would be misleading and skewed. It was with great interest, therefore, that we analyzed our data.

Findings from the Survey

The instrument yielded some preliminary data that can be used to make some generalizations about these students' attitudes despite the qualifiers noted above. These are some of the generalizations:

1. Senior high school students strongly support some concept of multiculturalism.
2. Schools are an important institution for social change.
3. Government support for social programs is important and has made a significant difference in creating a caring environment for multiculturalism in Canada.
4. Students are highly motivated, believe hard work is important and believe that individuals can make a difference.
5. Like most Canadians, students are ambivalent about how much government action is needed to deal with
6. Students strongly believe in the concept of the Canadian mosaic.

7. Students realize that racism exists and that education represents the most positive approach to combating racism.

8. Strong support exists for Quebec's demands and for having Quebec remain within Canada.

9. Considerable ambivalence exists about Aboriginal Peoples' rights and responsibilities.

10. Apart from Aboriginal Peoples' groups, there is strong support for all visible minority groups surveyed.

11. The majority of students surveyed felt that they have never taken a course in multiculturalism that deals in a significant way with racism.

12. Students believe that anti-racism education should begin in elementary school and that teachers should be specifically trained to teach these courses.

Critical Commentary

Finding Number 1
Given that the Students' Commission had endeavored to present a multicultural stew at their conference, this finding is not particularly exciting. However, what it indicates to us is that if high school students view the world through similar presuppositions then equality is important. For example, those students who believed in the work ethic, thought that all groups should have equal opportunity in Canada. However, if particular groups were not work-averse, for example, Native Canadian, then their chances for equal opportunity were less rigorously supported.

Finding Number 2
Given that the group surveyed was largely affluent and achiever-oriented, it would follow that schools would be viewed as natural places for social mobility. It is interesting to note that the failure of schools was not severed on students, parents nor society at large, but instead at teachers. Students commented that it was the teachers role to make classrooms more life-reflecting.

Finding Number 3
This finding was interesting in that the students noted that they believed that the federal government had an effective role to play on multiculturalism.

Finding Number 4
This finding reflects the particular groups of participants rather than Canadian youth in general.

Finding Number 5
Ambivalence is a key point in the findings of this survey. Government affirmative action policy appears to be positive when other factors are in place e.g., work ethic, but not when policy is intrusive, e.g., the issue of RCMP officers wearing turbans is troubling. Likewise, not all groups are regarded as equals. Those multicultural groups of Canadians that have melted into the mainstream are supported but those who want to question the status quo are shunned. This seems to mirror the way that the students viewed their own community, e.g., it was important to be "with the group", "to work positively from within".

Finding Number 6
Given the racial mosaic at the conference, the level of success and education of their parents, this finding is hardly surprising.

Finding Number 7
This finding is interesting. The students who participated in the survey felt that there were no essential differences between English- and French-speaking Canada. They

Students' Comments
There needs to be "more student exchange... first hand look at living in a different environment, communicating with another language". Students said that a second language, particularly French, was an important way to foster tolerant attitudes.

The school's influence is, "not a big enough one, much racism occurs in schools — and minority students (young) are hurt. At my school there isn't that big of an ethnic diversity, very few blacks..." 

"...I see schools barely addressing issues... when it matters most — early years..."

"My school doesn't play a large role in addressing the issues..."

There needs to be "More native ed."

"History classes focus only on one part of history... most texts refer negatively to natives..."

Perhaps the most telling statements were the following:

"I live in Etobicoke. My school has made only a half-assessed effort... when I try to create multiculturalism, I become a whining nigger." (August, 1993).

"Growing up in a white environment I have truthfully been racist to be 'cool' with my white friends..."

"I don't think that my school has a positive effect on the racism. If you are taught to call people nigger and fag by your teacher then this is definitely negative."
believe that difference is not a concept and that Canada can be reconstructed on a new Grand Narrative similar to that moulded in 1867.

Findings Number 8 and 9
As noted above, Aboriginal peoples were viewed negatively, largely because they were different and because to a growing extent "difference" is becoming a way in which Canada's aboriginal peoples are redefining themselves. The students at the conference were both worried and threatened by this.

Findings Number 10 and 11
These two points reflect the view that it is the schools' role to be an ethical instructor to the country. We believe that this mirrors their parents' belief that ethical issues, such as sex education, are best dealt with by schools.

In summary, the results of the large group survey were much what we expected they would be. That is, the students voted for security and safety within the instrument by declaring that everyone was equal or should be equal. The one noteworthy exception to this was the finding concerning Aboriginal people. We believe this is to be both significant and troubling.

Findings from the Small-Group Interviews

Four small-group meetings and eight individual discussions with students were held during the conference. We found that when students were separated from the large group, they felt less pressure to conform. This was reflected in more sincere and lengthy answers, as well as some degree of non-conformity in their answers. The following are samples of the issues raised.

1. The students we met and talked to during the conference are committed to making Canada a more democratic society. They noted that they had seen where government programs had made a difference in peoples' lives.

2. They strongly believe that bilingualism is a positive force in fostering more tolerant attitudes towards others. Most of these students were bilingual and had had first-hand experience of the benefits of speaking in two languages.

3. Conferences such as the Students' Commission help to promote tolerance and understanding through open forums, panel discussions involving speakers with expertise and experience, and through the provision of opportunities for ongoing dialogue amongst the participants. This finding indicates two things, first there is safety in large groups. Second, these conferences are viewed as opportunities to advance their prospects.

4. From the perspective of many students', not all areas of the country are effective in creating tolerant environments that promote understanding. This was a particularly interesting comment. The students believed that while B.C. and Ontario had made efforts to promote tolerance, other provinces, particularly Alberta, were intolerant and openly so.

5. Schools can be effective places for combating racism. The students expressed hope and optimism that a reformed school system with better educated teachers with more life experience could make a significant difference.

It is not surprising that some students had negative comments on schooling and multiculturalism. In fact, in light of Bibby and Posterski's (1992) "Teen Trends" we are surprised that there weren't more such comments. We believe that the composition of the particular group we surveyed explains this. This was a highly committed group of young people from all over Canada who, if they had not believed in the possibility of positive social change, might not have attended the conference.

What is clear is that there is still a significant degree of ambivalence towards one or more cultural groups. It is also clear that many of the students who come from small rural or isolated communities lack opportunities to interact with different cultures and believe, naively, that racial problems are semantic rather than lived.

What is clear is that there is still a significant degree of ambivalence towards one or more cultural groups. It is also clear that many of the students who come from small rural or isolated communities lack opportunities to interact with different cultures and believe, naively, that racial problems are semantic rather than lived.

We have noted above that many of the students, like most Canadians, we suspect, have ambivalent feelings towards one or more cultural groups. This is not surprising. What is noteworthy, we believe, is that these young people are not comfortable with these ambivalent feelings. They are fearful that ambivalence might equate to racist attitudes. We explain this as being a factor of their high degree of commitment to a united Canada and to the concepts of equity and fairness. We also believe that this attitude reflects a failing on the part of school systems to paint the world in less than "black and white" terms. Surely one recommendation we could make would be that multiculturalism be more than a trivial celebration of similarity or quaint difference. It is for this reason that we urge the wider circulation of anti-racism materials to encourage discussion amongst diverse cultural groups.

Some negative comments:

"I do not see schools playing a role... should learn cultural diversity on own time and not on taxpayers time."

"...not necessary that schools play any role in addressing cultural diversity..."

"The school has no right enforcing its values upon me. Let me learn what I want on my own time."
Some noteworthy comments:

"I do support the French and Aboriginals within Canada... but RCMP who wish to wear turbans shouldn't change traditions..."

I support multiculturalism but, "RCMP shouldn't wear turbans".

It's fine to be different, "As long as they don't try to turn us into Buddhists or anything".

"I'd like to say that blacks should be put on a boat and sent back to Africa. They have more rights than whites. Every time something happens they scream racism. Niggers shouldn't have special privileges."

(p. 105)

...balanced with what one student wrote:

"I see schools playing a very important role in addressing these issues. At school this is where we as individuals do most of our learning and maturing. This is where we develop most of our ideals. If we begin to learn about racism at school, we will begin to learn how to stop it — fast."

In summary, this conference and the survey have given us some revealing insights into how teenagers view the issue of racism. To gain a more global and clearer picture, we need to administer this questionnaire to a larger sampling of students from all parts of the country. In addition, we feel that Canadian teenagers views on racism need to be compared to other teenagers' views from around the world in order to examine how the views of Canadian teens compare.

Bibliography


Appendix A: Perspectives on Canadian Society
Questionnaire

Instructions

As individuals who will form the future fabric of our society, your opinions on important issues are of great value. Please read the following items and carefully record your responses on the accompanying computerized response sheet. For each item, be certain to select the one response which best reflects your views. Please note that the last question on the questionnaire gives you an opportunity to provide a more detailed written response.

Section I

Indicate your degree of agreement with each item on the following scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>disagree</th>
<th>neutral</th>
<th>agree</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. I feel uncomfortable around people from different cultures speaking with strong accents.

2. It is more important to be yourself than to be rich and successful.

3. Success comes to those that are willing to work hard.

4. The more money spent helping poor people, the less they will want to help themselves.

5. I am proud to be Canadian.

6. There are many values shared by most Canadians.

7. Shared values are more important than difference in skin colour in binding people together as a nation.

8. Cultural and racial diversity should be a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society.

9. All people in Canada should have equal access to jobs regardless of ethnic or racial background.

10. All organizations and institutions must respect the cultural and racial diversity of Canadians.

11. Racial discrimination can be minimized through public education.

12. Schools in Canada should teach children about other cultures and ways of life.

13. The Canadian government should fund festivals and special events celebrating different cultures.

14. Ethnic and racial minorities should preserve their cultural heritages in Canada.

15. Having people from different ethnic and racial groups living in this country makes Canada strong.

16. All Canadians should be treated equally regardless of racial or ethnic origin.

17. Working together we can stop racism.

18. You can be proud of being Canadian and proud of your ancestry at the same time.

19. Today immigration is destroying our Canadian way of life.

20. Some ethnic or racial groups get more than their fair share in Canada today.

21. Many new immigrants don't really want to become Canadian.

22. Immigration is forcing Canada to change too quickly.

23. It is best for Canada if all people forget their different ethnic and cultural backgrounds as soon as possible.

24. The unity of this country is weakened by Canadians of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds sticking to their old ways.

25. If Canadians of different ethnic and cultural origins want to keep their own culture, they should keep it to themselves.

26. It is a bad idea for people of different races to date one another.

27. Non-whites living here should not push themselves where they are not wanted.

28. It is more difficult for non-white visible minority persons (Aboriginal people and women) to be successful in Canadian society than it is for white males.

29. If employers only want to hire certain groups of people, that's their business.

30. Employers should set aside a certain number of places to hire qualified visible minorities and other minorities.

31. A person's ethnic or racial background should not be blamed for their problems.

32. It makes me angry when I see recent immigrants on television demanding the same rights as Canadian citizens.

33. Ethnic groups should try as much as possible to blend into Canadian society.

34. Most problems with racism and prejudice will solve themselves over time without any intervention by government.

35. If any more immigrants from various backgrounds come to Canada, then Canadians will lose their identity.

36. Immigrant parents must encourage their children to retain the culture and traditions of their homeland.

37. People who come to Canada should change their behaviour to be more like us.

38. White persons in Canada tend to discriminate against non-white persons.

39. Non-white persons in Canada tend to discriminate against white persons.

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40. The thought of Quebec leaving Canada makes me truly sad.

41. The trouble with Canada today is that Quebeckers want too much.

42. Aboriginal people (Indians, Metis, Inuit, Dene, etc.) are a drain on the Canadian welfare system.

43. Aboriginal people should leave the reserves, and get off welfare and join the rest of Canada.

44. All schools in Canada should have required courses in multiculturalism.

45. People should make an effort to mingle with groups other than their own cultural group.

46. Racism in Canada cannot be eliminated through education.

47. The Canadian government already spends too much money on ethnic and racial minorities.

48. Only people who really speak English should be allowed into Canada.

49. There is not very much racism in Canada.

50. The Canadian government should grant Aboriginal people self-government.

Section II

For each group of people, indicate on the response sheet the number that best describes them on each scale.

Arabs
51. valuable 1 2 3 4 5 worthless
52. weak 1 2 3 4 5 strong
53. active 1 2 3 4 5 passive

British
54. valuable 1 2 3 4 5 worthless
55. weak 1 2 3 4 5 strong
56. active 1 2 3 4 5 passive

Chinese
57. valuable 1 2 3 4 5 worthless
58. weak 1 2 3 4 5 strong
59. active 1 2 3 4 5 passive

French
60. valuable 1 2 3 4 5 worthless
61. weak 1 2 3 4 5 strong
62. active 1 2 3 4 5 passive

Germans
63. valuable 1 2 3 4 5 worthless
64. weak 1 2 3 4 5 strong
65. active 1 2 3 4 5 passive

Indo-Pakistanis
66. valuable 1 2 3 4 5 worthless

67. weak 1 2 3 4 5 strong
68. active 1 2 3 4 5 passive

Italians
69. valuable 1 2 3 4 5 worthless
70. weak 1 2 3 4 5 strong
71. active 1 2 3 4 5 passive

Jews
72. valuable 1 2 3 4 5 worthless
73. weak 1 2 3 4 5 strong
74. active 1 2 3 4 5 passive

Muslims
75. valuable 1 2 3 4 5 worthless
76. weak 1 2 3 4 5 strong
77. active 1 2 3 4 5 passive

Aboriginal Peoples of Canada (Inuit, Metis, non-status Indians, or status Indians)
78. valuable 1 2 3 4 5 worthless
79. weak 1 2 3 4 5 strong
80. active 1 2 3 4 5 passive

Sikhs
81. valuable 1 2 3 4 5 worthless
82. weak 1 2 3 4 5 strong
83. active 1 2 3 4 5 passive

Section III

87. Where do you live?
1. B.C., Alta., Sask.
2. Man., Ont.
3. Quebec
4. N.B., N.S., P.E.I., N.F.L.

88. Which best describes where you live?
1. Rural area
2. Urban centre

89. What grade are you in at school?
1. Junior-high (7-8)
2. High-school (9-10)
3. High-school (11-13)

90. Should teachers receive special training in multiculturalism?
1. Yes
2. No

91. How old are you? (e.g. if 15 years old select 2 on the response sheet)
1  2  3  4  5
14 yrs.  15 yrs.  16 yrs.  17 yrs.  18 yrs. or more
92. Which best describes your father’s occupation?
   1. professional/managerial
   2. clerical/sales/service/homemaker
   3. self-employed business man
   4. blue collar skilled (e.g. electrician, plumber etc.)
   5. blue collar unskilled (e.g. labourer)

93. Which best describes your mother’s occupation?
   1. professional/managerial
   2. clerical/sales/service/homemaker
   3. self-employed businesswoman
   4. blue collar skilled (e.g. electrician, plumber etc.)
   5. blue collar unskilled (e.g. labourer)

94. Which is the highest level of schooling obtained by your father?
   1. grade school or some high school
   2. completed high school
   3. technical, post-secondary, community college
   4. some university
   5. completed university, post-graduate degree

95. Which is the highest level of schooling obtained by your mother?
   1. grade school or some high school
   2. completed high school
   3. technical, post-secondary, community college
   4. some university
   5. completed university, post-graduate degree

96. Which of the following income groups includes your total household income, before taxes, including wages and other sources from all members of your household?
   1. less than $15,000
   2. $15,000 - $29,999
   3. $30,000 - $44,999
   4. $45,000 - $59,999
   5. more than $60,000

97. Were you born in Canada?
   1. Yes
   2. No

98. Which best describes your racial group?
   1 2 3 4 5
   White Black Asian Oriental Aboriginal

99. When should education about racism begin?
   1. elementary
   2. junior high school
   3. high school
   4. never

100. Have you ever taken a course dealing with racism in society?
    1. Yes
    2. No

Written Response
What role do you see schools playing in addressing issues of cultural diversity in Canadian society?
Multicultural Education: Recognition of the Conversational Negotiation of Self, Other and Identity

Bryant Griffith, George Labercane and Jim Paul, University of Calgary

Teaching is even more difficult than learning because what teaching calls for is this: to let learn. The real teacher, in fact, lets nothing else be learned than — learning... the teacher is ahead of his apprentices in this alone, that he has still more to learn than they — he has to learn to let them learn.

Heidegger, p. 15

Introduction

When Tommy Green walked into class that first school day in September his difference was apparent. Simply, Tommy was Black. Indeed, he was the first Black person ever to appear in that school. In fact, in that small Western Canadian town, Tommy Green was the first “real” coloured person those grade six boys and girls had ever encountered. So there he was.

Mrs. Rulehauser had married into the community. She had been introduced to her farmer husband by a mutual city friend. Educated and talented, she had entered the school some five years previous with a thirst for knowledge and a desire to teach. She considered herself worldly and sensitive. Particularly, she believed herself aware of the mythology of the Canadian mosaic. With all the correct and proper instructional intent, she had set out to encourage the celebration of that mosaic. So there she was.

The Little Ridge School took a sense of pride in its students. Despite the pressing necessity to be perhaps overly attentive to the lure of content, the Little Ridge School encouraged teachers to organize aspects of their teaching around the topics of racial, ethnic and cultural diversity. So there was the school.

And yet during Tommy’s first school year and for several years after, until his family left town, his colour was never really recognized. Certainly, Tommy fully participated in school activities, but for the most part the community of citizens of Little Ridge seemed to possess the ability to look right through Tommy as if he were no different from anyone else.

This narrative is an example of how the institutional preparation in schools for understanding multicultural difference may not be enough to ensure the recognition of difference. Despite Mrs. Rulehauser’s instructional attempts to frame multicultural education as a meaningful activity, what remained lacking in Tommy Green’s classroom was the time and space for authentic conversations of recognition. Becoming aware of difference and sameness as possible twin-moments is an opportunity to reflectively and reflexively encounter and question the highly normative structure and moral nature of life itself.

Taylor (1992) writes that the question of self identity is deeply linked to the question of recognition and otherness:

The thesis is that our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the misrecognition of others, and so a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves. Nonrecognition or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in false, distorted, and reduced mode of being. (p. 25)

Indeed, it seems tragically ironic that for as long as Tommy Green was living in this small and seeming receptive community as its most obviously different resident, he was significantly invisible.

Tommy’s story illustrates that in the understandings of and conversations about contemporary multicultural education, there is a significant tension often not recognized. The tension in question is that what much of multicultural education programs and initiatives miss is a reflective and representational quality which flows from the nature of living in the human world. That tension is often manifested in our actions and associated with an attempt to structure experiences that seek to enhance the formation of self-identity. It is also associated with an equally polarized attempt to call into question the very possibility of definitively forming an exclusive sense of self-identity.
If multicultural education is to be an authentic conversation about sameness and difference, then there must be responsible discussion (and action) in response to the real, authentic and deep sense of self-identity displacement. Simply put, multicultural education must provide encounters which require an awareness of the deeply negotiated question of recognition. This question of identity, recognition and otherness is one that is at the heart of much that surrounds current mis-conversations regarding multicultural education.

This paper explores the question of self, other, identity and multicultural education. It includes the description of a multicultural study involving attitudes towards racism within a selected group of young people representing every section of Canadian society and geographical enclave. There is also an attempt to frame this survey-gathered data in terms of self-other relations. Desmond's (1987) Desire, Dialectic and Otherness offers outlines for four possible relationships between self and other. Finally, there are several recommendations regarding possible pedagogical directions that could shed some light on the philosophical yet pragmatic question of identity and otherness with respect to multicultural education.

Part 1
An Overview Review of a Survey of High School Students' Attitudes Towards Racism in Canada: A Multicultural Study

Background

This multi-pronged survey of young Canadian’s attitudes towards multiculturalism was conducted at the Third National Conference of the Students’ Commission held in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada between August 12-17, 1993. The conference, as well as the subsequent study referred to in this chapter, was commissioned by Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada in conjunction with The Students’ Commission (Stoney McCart-Director).

The student-participants who attended the conference were selected from a larger group of students who answered an advertisement in TG (Teen Generation) Magazine. TG is a teen-oriented publication that is sent to all high schools across Canada. The advertisement, featured in the June issue, invites students to “Come to Ottawa and help write new policies for government.” As the following quote from the advertisement illustrates, the selection committee for the conference attempted to cast a wide net in its search for representative Canadian teenagers:

To ensure a representative group of youth, we are looking for commissioners who represent the following points of view: those who have or are considering dropping out of school, those who are members of a minority or disadvantaged, whether physically, economically, educationally or environmentally. If you are such a student, mentioning it in your application will increase your chances of selection. This is not an elite leadership conference. We can all make a difference.

The advertisement is obvious in its attempt to appeal to certain students. A review of the roster of student delegates attending the conference does indeed reveal a relatively wide cross section of students from across Canada, including the Yukon and Northwest Territories. However, as far as attracting the disaffected and disadvantaged youth of the country, such was not the case. The majority of the students who attended were from statistically relatively well-to-do homes. An analysis of the demographic data of participants shows that seventy-one per cent of the students at the conference came from homes where the parents were either self-employed, clericals, or professionals. Less than ten per cent of the participants came from Quebec and eighty-six per cent were in the senior high school bracket (grades 11-13). In terms of a rural/urban split, fifty-one per cent of the students came from rural locations (farms, small towns, settlements). Of the total group, ninety-one per cent were born in Canada, and in terms of ethnic make-up seventy-six per cent identified themselves as White, three per cent as Black, eleven per cent as Asian, six per cent as Oriental and five per cent as Aboriginal. It was this self-selecting representative group of 147 students that became participants in the conference and in the commissioned survey of their attitudes towards racism and culturally diverse groups.

The Survey Instrument

The survey instrument itself was multi-pronged. It consisted of the use of a questionnaire, an open-ended written probe which asked, “What role do you see schools playing in addressing issues of cultural diversity in Canada?”, and a series of small-group tape recorded interviews. The entire group of 147 high school students from across Canada responded to the questionnaire and the open-ended written probe; ten per cent of the students participated in small-group interviews.

There were three basic sections to the questionnaire component of the survey instrument. The sections developed were (1) fifty Likert items dealing with multicultural beliefs, (2) thirty-six Semantic Differential items, and (3) thirty-four demographic items. A literature search on racism and multiculturalism using a CD-ROM was conducted to identity the basic domains for the questionnaire items. In addition, some items were adapted from instruments that had been used previously with known psychometric properties (e.g., “A Survey of Attitudes Towards Human Rights and Toward Self in Alberta Schools,” Alberta Education and Multiculturalism...
in Canada — Angus Reid Final Report). Finally, area specialists in multiculturalism read the items for acceptability. Thus, the face, content and sampling validity of the instrument was maximized. The instrument was then translated into French and subsequently back-translated into English.

All subjects who participated indicated their responses on optically scored response sheets. Each sheet was examined for any scanning difficulties due to inappropriate use of the data sheet, extraneous markings or physical damage. This initial screening resulted in the elimination of four subject responses from the pool.

Data was scanned and verified for out-of-range values. Data analysis involved obtaining descriptive statistics (Mean, Mode, Median and Standard Deviation) for each survey item including the Likert items, Semantic Differential items and Demographics.

In order to ensure validity in the questionnaire there was a theoretical sampling and the constant comparative method of qualitative analysis were employed. With respect to the open-ended written probe, the responses were read separately by the researchers who collected the data, and who looked for emerging themes. Following this, the researchers met and reviewed the results of the quantitative (survey questionnaire) data looking for themes, along with a re-reading of the written responses. Throughout a series of meetings attempts were made to collect, code and analyze the data looking for emerging themes and patterns.

Data collected from the small-group interviews, which were tape-recorded, was used to supplement and enrich the findings of the other two sources of information. In a sense, this represented a form of triangulation to confirm the research findings in that it represented another form of data collection. In addition to the foregoing methods of data collection, the researchers met at the end of each day to debrief and to consolidate perceptions concerning insights gained from the interviews. These discussions as well as the detailed results of the data gathering were consolidated into a summary report offered to Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada. (see "A Survey of High School Students' Attitudes Towards Racism" by Dr. Bryant Griffith and Dr. George Labercane in this journal).

Comments on content revealed by the survey process

With increasing social, political and economic evidence, the Western world’s struggle with the question of identity and otherness is becoming significantly more obvious. What is at play here is a sense of multiple shifts between what has been assumed to be the Cartesian position of self-identity and the present reality. Desmond (1987) suggests that a common thread is that otherness is indeed as basic to the human condition as is the quest for self-identity. To live as a conscious human being is to become cognizant of the fact that the journey through life is one riddled with a sense of difference in sameness and sameness in difference. Desmond outlines four possible relationships between self-identity and the other. These four relationships are not necessarily linear. Rather they provide identifiable descriptors to talk about the processes that were observed at the students’ conference in Ottawa. The use of Desmond’s relations as organizers is an attempt to clarify that multicultural education must be understood in both theoretical and practical terms as a space for a response that is framed in the tensions flowing from the age old question of how to understand and advance self-other relations.

The first relationship Desmond advances is called the "univocal" relationship. Here, the self is understood in terms of its object — to seek and secure absolute identity. In this regard the other, as embodied difference, serves only as an indicator of the self’s becoming. The other is only recognized by the self in order to be incorporated into the self. With respect to the students at the conference, their responses to the survey questionnaire seemed for the most part, regardless of differences in background, to be like the univocal relation between self and other.

The purpose of the survey was to determine the extent of high school students’ attitudes and experiences of ethnic and linguistic diversity in their community. By determining attitudes/experiences of diversity, there was an attempt to uncover their underlying beliefs and attitudes which may lead to racist behavior. The survey instrument yielded some preliminary data that can be used to make some generalizations about student attitudes. For example, some of the major generalizations drawn from an analysis of the questionnaire were:

- Senior high school students strongly support the concept of multiculturalism.
- Schools are an important institution for social change.
- Government support for social programs is important and has made a significant difference in creating a caring environment for multiculturalism in Canada.
- Students are highly motivated, believe hard work is important and believe that individuals can make a difference.
- Like most Canadians, students are ambivalent about how much government action is needed to deal with racism (i.e. immigration policies, quotas, etc.).
- Students strongly believe in the concept of the Canadian mosaic.
- Students realize that racism exists and that education represents the most positive approach to combatting racism.
- Strong support exists for Quebec’s demands and for having Quebec remain within Canada.
- Considerable ambivalence exists over aboriginal rights
The second relationship between self and other that
not capture the students' deeper feelings about racism.
student's sense of self-identity in any deep or meaningful
Cartesianism reveal themselves. Further, there are
especially an understanding of others as selves, let alone
appears the students interpreted the first and standard
opportunities to clarify, modify and extend,
Quite simply "others" did not exist in any real sense, but
offered security with this part of the survey ensured that
student opinions were not challenged. However, it is
important that students did not have to question their
understanding of self identity in respect to others, and
especially an understanding of others as selves, let alone
the generative concept of a negotiated self-other relation.
Quite simply "others" did not exist in any real sense, but
rather as abstractions in the questionnaire.

The second relationship between self and other that
Desmond offers is the "equivocal" relationship. In contrast
to the univocal relationship, the self and other are
understood in terms of a rather basic unmediated
difference. That is, the self-other relationship is engaged in
a process that seemingly requires a negotiation of any
immanent identity for self. Unlike the quest for absolute
identity as framed by Cartesian philosophy, the equivocal
relationship has a questionable constructionist possibility
to it. There is a tension present in this relationship and a
possible sense of discomfort. As well, there are reflective
moments possible when the delusions associated with
Cartesianism reveal themselves. Further, there are
opportunities to clarify, modify and extend, via
conversation, matters regarding understanding and
expectation of self and otherness. However, even if this
constructive understanding of self is possible there is still
no real denial of self-identity building as the primary
project of a modernist citizen's sense of becoming. But
what is important is the question of possible readiness to
question understanding of the dichotomies and
the privileged poles that once seemed so definitive in their
descriptions of self and other.

With respect to the survey process, the second stage of the
inquiry applied was that of the Semantic Differential. This
activity seemed to cause an increase in student anxiety
regarding opinions. This discomfort may have occurred
because the students were forced to confront the

The third relational arrangement between self and other as
framed by Desmond is the "dialectical" relationship. It is
within this relationship that the self must accept and
incorporate some understanding of significant difference.
In this sense, the self recognizes that difference is an
essential human quality. Difference is understood as an
ever-present possibility as opposed to a threat to be
marginalized. This is not to deny that the believed purpose
of self-identification has as its primary objective the
incorporation of difference to enhance the united self. The
incorporation of difference is assumed to be another means
to self wholeness. For this relation between self and other
to be established, there is a transformational quality
present, and the potential exists to enable the self to change
and refine and re-define itself. Self, other and identity are
not fixed, nor universally determined. Another feature of
this relationship then, is a self-reflective calling which is
attached to the self's discovery. However, this relation
stops short of fully recognizing the other as an equal self-
seeking recognizable identity. There is still a strong
presence of objectification at work here.

With respect to the Ottawa conference, the last question on
the survey was open-ended. It was a question that invited
the students to comment in a personal manner about the
effectiveness of institutional schooling in regards to
understanding and application of multicultural education.
In many of these responses the frustration towards the
survey as an anonymous but essentially removed indicator
of thoughts/feelings, and the underlying Semantic
Differential tensions, were revealed. Students opened up
and really started to narrate their own stories of sensed
sameness and difference. These were students who had
begun to recognize in their own significant identity
formations of selfhood that they were actually significant
others in others' self-identification recognition processes.
Many of these responses went beyond the numbered
survey responses.
The open-ended question in the survey was, “What role do you see schools playing in addressing issues of cultural diversity in Canada?” What follows is a sample of comments and summative author interjections about the educational system and racist attitudes:

- There needs to be “more student exchange... first hand look at living in a different environment, communicating with another language”. Students said that a second language, particularly French, was an important way to foster tolerance.
- The school’s influence is “not a big enough one, much racism occurs in schools — and minority students are hurt.”
- “At my school there isn’t that big of an ethnic diversity, very few blacks ...”
- “I see schools barely addressing issues... when it matters most — early years...”
- “My school doesn’t play a large role in addressing the issues ...”

Many students said that their schools did not play an active part in combating racist attitudes. They believe that multicultural education should be compulsory and it should begin in the early years of elementary school.

- There needs to be “More native ed.”

Students surveyed were ambivalent in their feelings towards aboriginal groups. They were not clear about their rights nor who should administer their educational system. Despite this ambivalence, participants argued that multicultural education should be compulsory and it should begin in the early years of elementary school.

- There needs to be “More native ed.”

A common complaint was that history classes whitewashed the past. By definition, we realize that history is exclusionary but an effort should be made to include the mosaic that students refer to in the history curriculum. Clearly, students do not see history classes as adequately meeting this challenge.

Perhaps the most telling statements actually made by participants were the following:

- “I live in Etobicoke. My school has made a half-assed effort... when I try to create multiculturalism, I become a ‘whining nigger.’”
- “Growing up in a white environment I have truthfully been racist to be ‘cool’ with my white friends...”
- “I don’t think that my school has a positive effect on the racism. If you are taught to call people ‘nigger’ and ‘fag’ by your teacher then this is definitely negative.”

It is not surprising that some students had negative comments on schooling and multiculturalism. In fact, in light of Bibby’s Teen Trends it is surprising that there were not more such comments. However, the composition of the particular group surveyed may explain some of this. This was a highly committed group of young people from all over Canada who, if they had not believed in the possibility of positive social change, may not have attended the conference.

What is clear is that there is still a significant degree of ambivalence even in such a group as this. It is also clear that many of the students who come from small rural or isolated communities do not interact with different cultures and believe, naively, that racial problems are semantic rather than lived.

Some of the more negative comments chosen to highlight the emergent tensions were the following:

- “I do not see schools playing a role... should learn cultural diversity on own time and not on taxpayers time.”
- “It is not necessary that schools play any role in addressing cultural diversity...”
- “The school has no right enforcing its values upon me. Let me learn what I want on my own time.”

Again it is important to note that many of the students, like many Canadians, have ambivalent feelings towards one or more cultural groups. This is not surprising. What is noteworthy, however, is that these young people are not happy with these ambivalent feelings. They are fearful that ambivalence might equate to racist attitudes. This may be a factor of their high degree of commitment to a united Canada and to the concepts of equity and fairness; and yet there is also a feeling that multicultural education be more than a trivial celebration of similarity or quaint difference. Still, running counter to this feeling were some emerging noteworthy comments that indicated that sentiments, perhaps initially hidden, were beginning to emerge:

- “I do support the French and aboriginals within Canada... but RCMP who wish to wear turbans shouldn’t change traditions ...”
- “I support multiculturalism but, “RCMP shouldn’t wear turbans.”
- “It’s fine to be different, as long as they don’t try to turn us into Buddhists or anything.”

The fourth relationship Desmond provides to frame the tension between self and other is called the “metaxological” relationship. This relation features a significant discourse between self and other that is not framed by the degrees of the either/or dichotomy of the previous relations. Rather, this is a different way for self and other to speak together. In this case the self and the other are involved in talking that is something other than independent monologues. In this conversation there is an
encompassing horizon that provides opportunities for meaningful conversation. Simply, the metaxological conversational relation is rooted in responsible, respectful goodwill between self-other. There is no significant desire to incorporate the other as object. What is at stake here is a real sense of negotiated recognition and understanding of self, other and identity.

With respect to the conference there was an invitation to the students that went beyond the questionnaire, semantic differential and open-ended question. The invitation was to have a conversation, face to face, regarding attitudes to racism. For the participants who attended, the conversation was purposefully unstructured except for the opening specific started statement, “How to make schools better...” The conversation that followed was allowed to take its own path. In the subsequent discussion and the momentary gaps that were also evident, the students offered to tell their myths, stories and tales. Indeed, the students were encouraged to voice experiences of encounters with real, authentic otherness. What was revealed in the discussion was that students had concerns about the Semantic Differential of the survey. They felt they may have been forced into positions they might not hold or feel strongly about in a different way. Some students also expressed an ambivalence about what they were able to indicate in any of the forms for expression. Others were simply able to express a sense of frustration, anger and hostility with the school environment, each other and even the conference.

On the basis of the four small-group meetings and eight individual discussions with students during the conference, the following points were offered for consideration:

- The students conference are committed to making Canada a more democratic society.
- They strongly believe that bilingualism is a positive force in fostering more tolerant attitudes towards others.
- Conferences such as this help to promote tolerance and understanding through open forums, panel discussions which involve speakers with expertise and experience, and through the provision of opportunities for ongoing dialogue amongst its participants.
- From many students’ perspectives, not all areas of the country are effective in creating tolerant environments that promote culturally diverse understandings.
- Schools can be effective places for combating racism.

In terms of the processes associated with administering the questionnaire and in conducting the small-group sessions, it was evident that the conditions for conducting both the questionnaire and small-group discussions were less than ideal. With respect to other conferences on multicultural education, the recommendations were the following:

- that space be allocated for questionnaire administration that provides the appropriate climate for quiet deliberation and reflection among participants.
- that, at the outset, spaces for conducting small-group discussion be identified for all students who wish to take part in the formal/informal verbal exchanges amongst participants.
- that students do need time to rest, read and reflect. This can only be accomplished by building into the conference agenda appropriate amounts of time for students to “step back” and reflect upon what they have read, listened to, and talked about during the conference.

Part 2
A Summary of Some of the Content Themes Regarding Multicultural Education as Advanced by the Conference Survey

What is at stake, as revealed by the responses to the survey, is a belief that for many of the student participants at this conference there was a pedagogical moment that enabled them to engage in a process of multiple-moment inquiry into their understanding of the relation between self and other. They were able to flip, simultaneously, between intentional moments which featured construction, deconstruction and synthesis. The students’ responses across the several survey components indicate that for the most part their conceptualizations of multicultural education varied, although there was also a sense of consensus evident. With respect to the surveyed comments and researcher commentary the following recommendations emerged regarding multicultural education:

Students are ready to be challenged by conceptualizations of the past because they encounter intolerance today on an ongoing basis.

The recommendation is that students be presented with texts and materials that give them an authentically accurate and inclusive story of the past.

Students believe bilingualism is an asset.

The recommendation is that mandatory bilingualism should be implemented across Canada. The promotion and development of heritage languages in Canada must also be supported. In both cases, these programs should be offered on a pass or fail basis to alleviate student anxiety about grading.

Some students have stated that they are not adequately represented in Canadian History and Literature.

The recommendations are the following:

(a) that there be back-to-back timetables of history and literature to demonstrate the links between events
(historical actions) and literary texts which offer personal meaning to those historical acts;

(b) that there be co-operative endeavors by provincial departments of education in sequencing the teaching of history and literature across the country; and

(c) that there be an attempt to bring in various speakers to foster conversations about similarities and differences that are part of the Canadian mosaic.

The Students' Commission Conference has been a a very successful endeavour.

The recommendation is that there should be an expansion of conferences such as this one. In this respect, the Students' Commission should consider staging these conferences across the country with the cooperation of local student councils.

Students have expressed ambivalent attitudes towards Native aspirations.

The recommendation is that greater efforts be made by schools to provide students with courses dealing with nature issues (land claims, culture, language).

Part 3
A summary of some of the processes gleaned from the survey procedures at the Third National Conference of the Students' Commission

Although the above writing section is primarily a focus on the content of the survey study on multicultural education, there have been several references to the emergent processes which came to light during the conference. It is these processes, and a commentary about the processes, that are the focus of this section. The guiding statement for this section is that multicultural education must use the content, context and contacts of the world at hand in order to get at the key question for multicultural understanding, that being, "How do teachers and learners come to focus on the identity formation of a human being as a cultural being?" That is, how is it possible to open up, as a conscious negotiated process, the understanding of the recognition of being-identification as a process of becoming? It is the authors belief that the clues to this very process were offered in the conference survey procedures. These procedures, it is argued, consciously or unconsciously, had the participants engage in writing, speaking and action that resulted in the revelation of the structure of being, of selfhood itself. Selfhood rests significantly on a basic (albeit particular) understanding/knowing of consciousness and being. What the survey processes also offered was a way for the politics of the recognition of otherness, difference and identity to be opened up as a question of intentionality. Once intentionality is made problematic there is a displacement of self and an enhanced receptiveness for a responsive and responsible encounter with the actions of intentionality of the other.

In this regard, the survey processes provide initial recommendations for multicultural education assuming that:

- Canada's historical heritage consists of a cultural mosaic and it is only within this context that meaningful conversation can take place.
- knowledge and employment of another language, French, is essential to this learning to speak together.
- multicultural education should be open to the recognition of the gaps that are essential in any meaningful conversation.
- For recognition of otherness as embodied difference to occur, there must be a negotiation through a conversation of recognition. This is an essential component of the strategies of displacement required in order to have a construction-deconstruction-synthesis process occur regarding the understanding of the tensions of self-other relations.

These recommendation-suggestions are drawn from the observations of the processes that were at work during the conference. The participants seemed, via the survey instrument segments, to flip between multi-moments. There was a sense of the engagement of constructedness as the students were asked to describe their understanding of the Canadian mosaic. The survey questionnaire began this process. However, what became evident very quickly to many of the participants was that what they were really revealing was that an opinionated self is a constructed entity. It was that constructed quality that became problematic, if only initially at a cursory level. In the process of description and subscription, the students advanced statements about who they believed they were via the opinions they believed they held. However, a hint of the problematical emerged when the constructedness of sameness and difference was revealed in the Semantic Differential items of the survey. As a result the open-ended question ironically enabled a deconstruction process to occur. The tension gaps between knowing and doubting, being and becoming, and between expository and narrative talk became evident. In teaching others what one knows, the teaching self is called upon to open itself up to learning about the difference of those one seeks to teach.

At this point a synthesizing process occurred for some students. It occurred as a negotiated conversation of recognition between self and other. If an inquiring process provides time and space gaps, then a conversation emerges. It begins as a discussion of self-identity, but the other is brought into the talk in order to define the primary presupposition of self-identity. This primary presupposition can be understood as the contrafactual "as if". It was this "as if" that was made problematic on several occasions during the conference. The point, then, seems to be that the basic requirements for an authentic multicultural education approach must be to get at the "as if" presupposition. Once the students began to ask "What
...they were indeed facing the presupposition framed as "As if it were the case that..." When the "as if" is the focus of a conversation everything once understood is up for negotiation.

At work, then, in the survey procedures was not so much strategies of confrontation but rather strategies of displacement. These displacement strategies were, in turn, grounded in a deconstructive approach to the processes of questioning how one knows what one knows to be true. By asking for strong statements of opinion, what happened was these statements themselves become the force to disrupt, to keep in play and to constantly rearrange the possibilities that claim to be authentic, and finally to counter the desire to continuously categorize life into theoretical abstractions.

Lather (1991) offers a good sense of how this deconstructing/deconstructive sense of inquiry operates. Simply, multicultural education would benefit from opportunities for selfs and others to explore the tensions between the senses of groundedness and flux, displacement and permanence, and description and interpretation. The conference showed how a textual staging of knowledge can get at the appearance of subjectivity and objectivity and that which objectifies otherness. And yet the gaps in process permitted a storytelling mode to advance which, once initiated, challenges the numerically refined data base and brings front and center the questions of social relations as the arena for mediation for the construction of knowledge. In this sense by encouraging students to speak for themselves, the question of who speaks for whom is itself questioned. At this point there is a questioning of one's own perspective of self and otherness. When we speak in these moments there is often much in what we say that shows our discourses to be Eurocentric, sexist, racist and classist. Still once vulnerability, doubt and ambiguity become forces to be recognized, the recognition of otherness cannot be denied. Carr (1990) writes:

In organizing our experiences and actions over time, we gather together temporal sequences into configurations of beginning, middle, and end. Human time is not an undifferentiated succession — one thing after another — but is structured into wholes which unite past, present and future. These are the stories we tell ourselves and others, quasi-narratives that have the practical function of organizing our experience. ...The unity of a life can be seen as the unity of a life-story, an implicit autobiography which each of us is always in the process of composing. Of course... things do not hang together as neatly as they do in a story, and the implicit autobiography is under constant revision. Unlike a story, it is being composed as we go along. ...In this sense, narrative can be regarded as constitutive of the self and thus as an ontological principle. Living one's life and telling its story to oneself and others are part of the same process. (p. 11)

And Carr (1990) also goes on to indicate that groups and communities, large and small, use narrative as a form of self-constitution, thus he concludes:

In the same way "grand narratives", distort because of their claims to universality, can be countered by the assertion of peculiarity and diversity in narrative form. It is one of the illusions of the "history of ideas" decried by Foucault, that small stories have to fit into larger stories, and they ultimately into the one big story — of mankind, of science, or whatever. If we assert that the smaller stories resist this integration, that does not make them any the less stories. (p. 15)

And what emerged in the processes of the survey procedures at the conference was that students, when recognizing the value of telling stories implicitly understand the negotiated qualities narrative offers.

Conclusion

So what of Tommy Green's classroom? What is important in multicultural education is not confirmation of human sameness or token gestures to difference, but rather there is a need to get at the normative structure and moral nature of living itself. That is a possible if a teacher, with the students, creates time and space where there is the opportunity to lay bare the constructed qualities of cultural (and multicultural) understandings of identity. When those cultural understandings that frame how self is definable or known are questioned in a reflective sense, then the self-concept has begun to deconstruct itself. This process is especially telling if those others marginalized in the construction of a privileged self are present. Yet presence is often not enough to begin such a process. Tommy Green's presence did not. It is the teacher who must frame such pedagogical moments as listening, talking and action moments to provide the environment where students can construct, deconstruct and synthesize. This entire process is advanced as one way to get at the presuppositions regarding (multi)cultural knowledge. It is the "as if" presupposition that opens the normative structure of living together as different yet similar beings. It is when this presupposition of "as if" became commonplace that it becomes truth, as if it were a universal given. It is "as if" we all agree to know what was once negotiated is now accepted as a given. Multicultural education must attempt to reach those moments when that given — the universal understanding of what constitutes self-identity and selfhood — is returned to the negotiated presupposition condition of the "as if" context. It is in those moments when what is recognized is the recognition of the difference that makes a difference, and that is that
the self and the understanding of self, other and identity is a negotiated condition that requires an ongoing conversation with other selves.

Therefore what can be recommended for multicultural education classrooms — for any classroom — where children like Tommy Green live and perhaps suffer soul murder? Simply, the question of otherness is not something for a removed study or distanced reflection envisioned as an object. The other is a self who offers something and requires something from me. Otherness cannot be reduced to thematic universals. To do so results in an objectifiable abstraction of otherness. Also, we as Western thinkers and doers must somehow face our desire to theorize first and live second. Theoretical intentionality seeks to make everything an understandable categorical theme. In the process, however, that which becomes a thematic, having been an experiential moment, is eventually cut off from its life-giving orientation. Communication is not simply an endless or pointless process. Rather it is a question of recognizable participation. It is a question not of conferring, but of responsive responsibility. In this regard Taylor (1992) comments:

Thus my discovering my own identity doesn’t mean that I work it out in isolation, but that I negotiate it through dialogue, partly overt, partly internal, with others. That is why the development of an ideal of inwardly generated identity gives a new importance to recognition. My own identity crucially depends on my dialogical relations with others. (p. 34)

And as Taylor (1992) concludes, we as those who teach others to understand recognitions of self, others and identity need to learn that:

What has to happen is what Gadamer has called a "fusion of horizons." We learn to move in a broader horizon, within which what we have formerly taken for granted as the background to valuation can be situated as one possibility along side the different background of the formerly unfamiliar culture. The "fusion of horizons" operates through our developing new vocabularies of comparison, by means of which we can articulate these contrasts. So if and when we ultimately find substantive support for our initial presumption, it is on the basis of an understanding of what constitutes worth that we couldn’t possibly have had at the beginning. We have reached the judgment partly through transforming our standards. (p. 67)

When Tommy Green came into that classroom it was as if he had no story to share, because there was no recognition of the narrative quality of life itself. Is it reasonable to ask: what would have happened if that classroom was a space where it was as if narratives were a form of life rather than a form of discourse? Certainly, he had some interesting stories to tell. And it seems some students did have that opportunity in the process gaps of the Third National Conference of the Students’ Commission.

References


Socio-Emotional Needs of ESL High School Students: A Critical Link to Success

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Urban schools are affected by the Canadian immigration policies which permit the admission of a quarter of a million people into Canada each year. The majority of these immigrants choose to live in cities including, notably Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal, Edmonton and Calgary, and school systems in these cities have responded by creating new programs. The most common type of program in these school districts is directed at the more obvious issue encountered by new Canadians: the deficiency in English language. The types of English as Second Language programs vary: some schools create programs that integrate ESL students more gradually into regular classrooms from ESL pull-out situations, while other schools integrate ESL students into regular classrooms more rapidly using teacher aides to support the classroom teacher. Very few programs focus on less obvious socio-emotional needs experienced by new Canadians.

This is a report of a study completed in two urban high schools in Western Canada which investigated the needs of ESL students. The author interviewed 48 teachers who worked with immigrant students in their classes. The schools were from two different school districts. The interviews were guided by a common introductory question: “What is the most important concern you have regarding communication with immigrant students?” Depending upon individual responses, follow-up questions attempted to probe more deeply and capture specific anecdotes or examples that might help explain their concerns. Most interviews lasted 30 to 45 minutes and in several cases the author requested to meet with teachers again to further clarify points or to expand on ideas. The author took notes during interviews and wrote verbatim phrases to capture the essence of anecdotes that teachers related. He tried to be careful not to interrupt the flow of thought as teachers talked. The original notes were retained and a duplicate copy was coded into categories and sub-categories using Glaser and Strauss’ (1967) and Strauss and Corbin’s (1990) method of comparison of data.

Findings and Recommendations

The focus of this report is on English as Second Language student needs as addressed by the teachers in this study. In response to the interview questions, most teachers focused on student, parent or school needs and how the school responded to these needs (Gougeon, 1993b). The needs identified were analyzed and coded into four major categories. These categories are addressed below.

Recognition of Student Needs for Social Connection

Teachers perceived what ESL students (hereafter referred to as students) need to establish a sense of belonging and connection. According to teachers, there is a lack of connection between students and their parents, peers, homeland, family and friends. Students were perceived to straddle two dominant cultures in their lives: a culture represented by parents at home and a culture represented by school and peers at school. Thus, many students were thought to experience conflicting cultural messages between home and school. Teachers thought that, as peers began to counter the influences of parents, students would respond more to their peers and live secret lives: they would behave one way for their parents and another way for their peers. They would leave home wearing traditional clothing but change into western clothes by the time they got to school; they would leave home without makeup but have makeup on at school; they had boyfriends and girlfriends at school without their parents being aware of it; and, students secretly made friends at school because they were certain that their parents would disapprove of them otherwise and prevent them from maintaining the friendships.

Typically, teachers were not certain how to respond to these needs. Many teachers felt they should somehow support parents while at the same time they felt empathetic toward students and also wanted to give them support. Some felt the school’s role was to reinforce the needs of the community and hence, support the parents, but they also expressed feelings of conflict because they believed that long-term, transformational learning more frequently occurred when teaching was student-oriented,
not teacher-directed. Thus students sensed mixed messages from their teachers. Schools formally supported parental values while teachers informally supported student values. For example, teachers expressed empathy to students wanting to live by a different set of standards than their parents, i.e., have a boyfriend. In a previous report the author concluded that students felt alienated from schools as schools did not address their needs and many students dropped out of school (Gougeon, 1993a). A possible explanation for the very high dropout rates of ESL students is the lack of “community” at school.

How can schools and teachers respond to these needs? School systems should openly address the above issues with students in order to encourage a feeling of belonging, making school an important and relevant institution in their lives. Schools must convey congruent messages to students. Both school policies and teacher behaviours must be perceived by students as having the same meaning. The school can formally offer courses that provide a basis for understanding relational skills. Students need to learn coping strategies to deal with the conflict they experience and they need to be able to talk directly about their feelings regarding parents and traditional lifestyle. They must be able to talk more openly about what they really want in life and be heard by teachers and parents. At the same time, they need to learn to be more tolerant and understanding of their parents’ values. They need to learn team skills, to be team members and team builders. They need experiences that enhance self-esteem. Schools must find formal and informal ways to address these needs if students are to include school life as personally relevant.

When students immigrate to Canada in their teens they leave friends and extended families behind. They know that there is little chance of ever returning home and need to cope with the subsequent feelings of enormous loss. Immigrating to another country is a major disruption for teenagers of any culture who are at an age when they are seeking independence from parental support and instead turn to their peers. Leaving their homeland means giving up the authority relationships with their peers and having to re-establish these relationships with new sets of peers. Students experience severe culture shock coming to Canada partly because Canadians do not understand or show that they value their first language. Language is the most critical social skill that conveys cultural information, and personal identities are based on language. For example, students who typically use humour as an effective coping mechanism in the homeland, are without this coping mechanism in Canada, or are limited to using non-verbal communication to project humour. Even so, humour is culturally bound and trying to use humour as they did in their homeland would likely be misinterpreted by Canadians. In another example, students who are influential leaders among peers in their homeland are reduced to trying to influence peers in Canada without fluency in English. A result of moving to another culture, then, is the intense experience of alienation.

The loss of connection with their homeland and with their extended families and peers is critical for students. Schools have addressed this problem differently because, traditionally, high school policies are directed at issues of what to teach and how to maintain social order. Although at the classroom level, most teachers recognize the need to develop personal relationships with the students they teach, they generally do not have the time to address the personal needs of all their students. However, schools may address this sense of loss by bringing groups of students together to work on personal issues. These groups may be part of compulsory life skills courses or other formalized elements of the school’s program.

Viewing Students as Who They Really Are

Teachers perceived that ESL students needed to be accepted for the totality of who they are, not only for limited aspects of their life. There is a greater tendency for teachers to stereotype ESL students than to stereotype students of the dominant culture. For instance, many teachers stereotype students of Asian origin as being high achievers in the science and mathematics areas. Consequently, these students feel they are regarded for their academic skills only and not for who they really are. Many teachers admitted that they felt uncomfortable when relating with students who had distinctive cultural markers such as colour of skin and traditional clothing compared to relating with students of the dominant culture. Many teachers who belonged to the dominant culture expressed this discomfort by relating to students with a lack of eye contact, avoidance posturing and heightened tension in their voices. Students felt they were being judged for how they looked and not for the special, complex people they really were.

Teachers need to learn to communicate more easily in spite of the stress of unfamiliarity with cultural markers. Generally, teachers need to learn to be more relaxed when encountering unfamiliar situations, and school systems must encourage interpersonal staff development in schools.

Often, ESL students felt they did not have an opportunity to become known to others. In their homeland, they were known by their personality, style and morality, for example, and communication was easier. After arriving in Canada, they became known less for personality, style and morality and more for their lack of English language skills and appearance. Thus teen immigrants experience a need to “redefine who they are” in a fundamental way in order to adjust to the sense of alienation they will experience in Canadian culture. Teens often undergo personal redefinition subconsciously through anger and frustration. They do not seek the assistance or guidance of adults.
Schools and teachers ought to develop techniques to help teens come to terms with who they are. Schools can schedule extended Teacher Advisor systems where teachers regularly meet with individuals or groups of students to address their pertinent issues. These Teacher Advisors might be landed immigrants themselves.

ESL students who speak English with relative fluency are frequently recruited by school personnel to be interpreters. They are often recruited at a moment’s notice whenever the need arises. As a result, students who are frequently recruited to interpret become known primarily for this skill, and not for their other strengths.

Schools and teachers should plan to spend some informal time with students after they have completed the interpreter role in order to learn more about them on a personal level. Teachers and administrators should take the time to learn about each student interpreter as they would an associate with whom they work.

Enabling Students to Feel Self-Empowered

ESL students were perceived by teachers to need a greater sense of self-empowerment. Students often felt controlled by their parents when they did not support their choice of clothes, who to have as a friend, or how hard they should work. Parents who rigidly control their children’s behaviour, disempower them by preventing them from learning to make decisions and choices that are part of adult life. On the other hand, while students need to feel acceptance and success at home, they also need to feel acceptance and success at school. When they are integrated earlier into regular classrooms, they often are not provided with enough support to bridge the gap in their language skills level and that of the language used in the classroom. Thus, early integration often leads to a sense of powerlessness and failure.

Educators expressed concern over the manner in which school interpreters handled themselves in meetings with students. School interpreters can strip students of self-esteem by representing parental values when translating for a teacher, even though the teacher clearly intended to represent a non-parental value. In the end, the student can feel overwhelmed because the parents, interpreter and teacher appear to represent one set of values while the student represents another.

Schools must be careful to hire interpreters who have a knowledge of educational philosophy and learning theory as well as fluency in both languages and familiarity with the two cultures. Recognizing the dynamics of communication during a translated parent-teacher conference is important. Schools need to encourage teachers to express their concerns over systemic misinterpretations that they see occurring in meetings.

Providing Experiences to Allow Students to Become More Aware of Other Cultures

ESL students were perceived by teachers to need to learn more about intercultural awareness. Students are often from monolingual cultures where their first language is paramount and other languages are rarely heard. In addition, they often come from monocultural societies where deviance of cultural norms are discouraged. Coming to Canada, a bilingual, multicultural nation, can be stressful, and to minimize stress, immigrants often choose to live in neighbourhoods where others of the same language and traditions already live. However, in school, ESL classes are like mini-United Nations where students of different languages and traditions sit together. English becomes the neutral language which is the object of learning. Favouring any other language can take on political dimensions and intolerance can grow leading to racist behaviours in the classroom. Students need to become comfortable with other languages being spoken and to learn tolerance for other traditions.

Schools need to develop strategies to prepare students entering these “mini-United Nations” classes and to help them cope with the stress they will experience. Students need to learn to improve communication with others while they are under stress. Different communication strategies must be taught to these students in school.

Conclusions

Although schools have responded well to the language requirements of immigrant students by offering ESL classes, the success of students in school requires more. The reported dropout rates of ESL students are staggering. In one study, by Watt and Roessigh (1993), levels of achievement of three cohort groups of high school ESL students with lower levels of English proficiency were charted, and the cohort dropout rates were 94%, 100% and 93% respectively. Students with moderate English language skills dropped out at a rate of 70%. Thus, teaching students English does not, in itself, lead to success. Schools must identify other areas of student needs and they must design effective strategies to meet them.

This paper reports several of these needs. Students need to feel connected to family, peers, and extended family and friends in their homeland. They need to feel accepted for who they are, their intellectual self, their interpersonal self, their emotional self, their physical self, and their spiritual self. Students need to feel self-empowered by parents who validate their choices, by schools that teach according to student abilities, and by sensitive interpreters who are aware of their needs. Finally, students need to learn to be more interculturally aware.
The challenge for high schools and teachers is to identify the needs of ESL students and to respond to these needs by offering appropriate learning experiences. To achieve this goal, teachers need to develop the necessary competencies, schools need to adopt new programs and strive to be more humanistic, and parents need to learn to change their attitudes. Thus, university education faculties and teacher in-service must restructure their goals to address interpersonal skill development, provincial departments of education must provide legislation to enable appropriate changes in schools, and parents must acknowledge that they cannot control teenagers to the extent that they may wish. This is a tall order, one that cannot be easily achieved. But, as with most social problems today, solutions are complex, multifaceted, and inter-related and the first step is becoming aware.

References


Career Decision-Making in Science and Technology by Students from Different Ethnic Backgrounds

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Introduction

In a recent comprehensive review on women and minority students in science and mathematics, Oakes (1990) identifies three factors that are linked to attainment in these fields: opportunities to learn science and mathematics, achievement in these subjects, and the decision to pursue them. She goes on to say that women and minorities lose ground on all three factors during their education and that different groups lose ground in different ways at different times, the causes for which are little understood. The broad scope of the review does not allow for the treatment of different groups separately, or of females within the separate groups. Furthermore, "because Asians are overrepresented in science, their experiences are not considered" (p. 155).

This is the crux of the problem. Why are we not developing policies and programs to improve participation? In Canada, as of the last census, there are no longer any majorities; we are all minorities to a greater or lesser degree. It is time to drop the term and to try to understand why some groups are succeeding in science and technology while others are not, and also why females in some minority groups are succeeding while those in others are not, for such trends are apparent (Krugly-Smolska, 1993). This is by no means an easy task. Little data are available on specific groups and information must be obtained indirectly.

While progress has been made in the participation and achievement of females and minorities in school science and mathematics (Clewell, Anderson and Thorpe, 1992), there are indications that attention to these first two factors identified by Oakes is not enough. In a recent Canadian study, Lewko, Hein, Garg and Tesson (1993) found that high-achieving, highly motivated females were still less likely to pursue science than an equivalent sample of males. Liking science and doing well in it are still not enough. Obviously there are other issues and more attention must be paid to the process of career decision-making, the third factor identified by Oakes. This is the focus of this paper.

Research in this area with respect to females is extensive, some of which is reviewed by Lewko et al. (1993). Such is not the case for ethnic minorities. For this reason, literature on general career decision-making by minorities is reviewed, followed by the literature on career decision-making in science generally, including the little available on ethnic minority decision-making in science. Implications and future research directions will also be discussed.

Career Decision-making by Ethnic Minorities

Since socioeconomic status is partially determined by level of education and occupation, it is not surprising that researchers interested in questions of equality, as well as those interested in theories of status determination have examined career decision-making by students. Hossler and Stage (1992), in a review of the literature on this topic, identify several models that have been developed to explain the process. These included econometric models that deal with perceived cost and benefits in pursuing higher education; consumer models that deal more specifically with financial issues and choices surrounding particular post-secondary institutions; and sociological models that were derivatives of status attainment research referred to above. They might also have included psychological models as a separate category (see e.g. Downing and Dowd, 1988).

Hossler and Stage's purpose, however, was not only to review the literature but also to develop an integrative model of college choice and to test it with grade nine students. From their review they identified several factors that were related to a predisposition to post-secondary education including: socioeconomic status, student achievement, ethnicity, gender, parental educational expectations and encouragement, high school quality, high school curriculum track, and student involvement in high school activities.

A model similar to that suggested by Hossler and Stage, but somewhat more detailed, was developed earlier in a Canadian context by Porter, Porter and Blishen (1982). In contrast to Hossler and Stage, Porter et al.'s analysis tends
to focus on class explanations and their relationships to the other variables. Likewise, in the present study, one factor has been chosen as a focus, and its relationship to other variables with respect to educational and career expectations will be examined. That factor is ethnicity, one which is included in Porter et al.'s socio-cultural climate variables but not investigated in detail.

It is difficult to obtain a good understanding of the role of ethnicity in educational and occupational aspirations because of the tendency in much of the research in the United States to equate ethnicity with race. This is even true of the Hossler and Stage study, where in a heading titled “Ethnicity” they proceed to describe the situation of Black students concluding that “current research suggests that associations between race and predisposition are the result of other background variables such as SES or parents’ educational level” (1992, p. 434). What seems to be ignored is the role that ethnicity may play in other important variables such as parental expectations and encouragement, which Hossler and Sage report explained greater variance in aspiration than any other variable.

Some insight into this area is provided by Schulenberg, Vondrak and Crouter (1984) who reviewed research pertaining to occupational attainment, acknowledging that most of the research in this area dealt with Black/White differences. They, however, also report on research that deals with Hispanics, who for all intents and purposes are treated as a separate race. The studies cited do show differences and different explanations for attainment among the groups. For example, Portes and Wilson (1976) are reported to have found that the salient predictors of Whites' educational expectations were parental status, ability and grades, while those of Blacks were self-esteem and educational aspirations. However, many of the studies are contradictory causing Schulenberg et al. to state that little could be concluded about the effects of minority status (especially non-Black minority status) on vocational development. This may be due to the fact that there is little recognition that there are ethnic differences within the three groups.

Continuing this pattern of treatment of the three groups, Fields (1981), attempting to keep class constant, concludes that ethnic status and values of parents are crucial to the development of aspirations in Anglo children while mothers' perceptions of opportunity are more important in the development of aspirations in Black and Mexican-American children. Ethnic status, in this case, means the recognition that there are more opportunities at the higher end of white-collar occupations for the white population.

Arbona and Novy (1991) bring a recognition of gender differences into this pattern. They suggest that there are more gender than ethnic differences in students’ career aspirations and expectations. While they conclude that the association between ethnicity and career aspirations was not statistically significant, nevertheless differences were found. Furthermore, the distribution of expectations tended to resemble the distribution of actual employment within the groups. Their findings contrast somewhat with earlier findings of Dawkins (1981) who concluded that there were no differences between males and females in terms of educational aspirations, but that Black females were more likely to adjust their aspirations to conform to the realities of the American occupational structure. Since the socioeconomic background of the students was not controlled for by Arbona and Novy, it is difficult to interpret the findings, as they themselves suggest.

Focussing on a particular group of Hispanics and parents rather than students, Dillard and Campbell (1981) found that career behaviour of Puerto Rican, Black and Anglo parents differentially affects their adolescent children's career development. Specifically, mothers' aspirations contribute more than fathers' to Black children's aspirations, both parents contribute to Puerto Rican children's aspirations, while parents' aspirations are less associated with aspirations of Anglo children. On the other hand, McNair and Brown (1983), in their study of Black and White tenth graders, found that parental influence was the primary significant predictor of occupational expectations (a conclusion also reached by Allen, 1980). Their study also questions the centrality of self-concept in the career development process. Also, since Black students seemed to have nearly the same occupational aspirations and expectations as White students in grade ten, but seemed to lag behind in career maturity, it appears that Black students need to gain the necessary skills and attitudes to pursue their career goals so as not to find themselves lowering their aspirations and expectations.

Meanwhile, in contrast to McNair and Brown, Lee (1984), studying rural Black and White adolescents, found that self-concept was more important in the prediction of both aspirations and expectations of White students than Black. One of the surprising findings in this study was that a higher SES had a negative effect on the occupational expectations of Black students.

The picture that emerges up to this point is somewhat confused. It appears that when ethnicity is equated with race, its role in career choice among students and the factors that influence that choice are not clear, other than perhaps the fact that parental influence is important. Perhaps answers may be found where ethnicity is defined with respect to specific cultural groups. A hint that this may be the case is provided by Newlon and Borboa (1982) who investigated factors affecting career choice in Mexican and Mexican-American students as reported by the students themselves. While similar factors were identified, their order of importance varied for the two groups. For example, Mexican students cited psychological, societal and familial factors as the top three in that order, while the Mexican-American students gave individual, familial and
labor market factors as their top three influences. Newlon and Borboa are among the very few who acknowledge that there are differences among students within the Mexican group as well as the Mexican-American group.

If, as it is argued here, it is desirable to pursue inquiry into the influence of ethnicity in career choice from a cultural differences perspective, the research literature is much less helpful. Since the literature in this area is somewhat scarce, a better picture might be obtained by examining both cross-national literature and literature on different ethnic groups within a particular country. Even then, however, the pickings are slim, as shall be seen shortly.

Cross-national and International Studies

When examining differences between countries, Nurmi's (1987) study of students in Finland is useful. He found that there was a tendency for girls to have more knowledge than boys about future hopes and that subjects from higher social classes tended to project further into the future than those from lower classes. Furthermore, he found that boys did not hope for more than girls with respect to education and occupation. He contrasts this with the results of a German study and suggests the discrepancy may be due to the fact that "Finnish culture is more egalitarian with respect to sex in the professional and educational fields than is German culture" (Nurmi, 1987, p. 989).

The possibility that social values and expectations can be a factor among different ethnic groups is strengthened by Israeli studies which have found a greater equality of the sexes regarding aspirations when compared to the situation as we know it in the United States (Kfir, 1988). One study reported on by Kfir indicates that rather than differences in level of aspirations there seem to be differences in the content or field, so that female students seem to be more interested in a broad education, and their achievement motivation is less practical (less instrumental) than that of male students (Shapira and Etzioni-Halevy, 1973). This may partially be due to the fact that female students tend to be found in the academic tracks. But even these findings are tempered by religious differences, for in Israel all of secondary education may be regarded as unnecessary for girls by those from traditional backgrounds.

Kfir's study not only allows for cross-national comparisons, but also examines ethnic differences within its own boundaries. It examines specifically the differences between Israelis of Afro-Asian (A-A) origin and those of European-American (E-A) origin. It concludes that "attainment and aspirations are relatively low in the A-A group in Israel compared with the E-A group. This fact is explained by the socialization process at home and already exists upon entering school" (1988, p. 216). Furthermore, it appears that "those of A-A origin tend to regard the attainment of an education in a more instrumental way and are therefore prepared to invest less in education (which is a long-term investment) as a means of acquiring status" (1988, p. 216). This seems to provide more evidence that cultural differences among ethnic groups may play an important role in students' aspirations, expectations and career choice.

In Britain, Gupta (1977) found that Asian boys and girls (Asian in this case referring to those from the Indian subcontinent, specifically India and Pakistan) expressed significantly higher educational as well as vocational aspirations than their English counterparts. One further variable in this study was that the Asian students were immigrants (defined as they or both their parents born outside of Britain). Gupta concludes that "the Asian family's cultural traditions, the greater parental interest and greater pressure for higher future goals, may be the plausible explanations for the higher educational and vocational aspirations of the Asian immigrant school-leavers" (p. 195). Gupta also suggests that migration and ethnic coloured minority status also play a role.


The general finding was that all respondents were traditional in their occupational choices, with males, particularly Indian males, aspiring to higher status occupations than females. Associated with this was a tendency for Indians to consider their aspirations to be more realistic than did Anglo-Saxons and yet to report lower self-esteem. There was also a tendency for males to have significantly higher self-esteem than females (Hogg et al., p. 502).

Hogg et al. further conclude that there is a link between their variables that can only be explained by focusing on ethnic identification and sex-specific cultural norms of the groups involved, but they caution:

In order to predict the behaviours of members of different ethnic groups in a given socio-historical context, it is not enough to focus on social structure, belief structures, and ethnic identification at the level of the ethnic group as a whole. Ethnic groups contain subgroups that may possess qualities that transcend the ethnic group itself or that are uniquely patterned and constituted as a function of ethnic group membership. As we have shown in this study, being female is very different for Anglo-Saxons and Indians. Similarly, sex differences and gender experiences in one ethnic group are not identical to those in another (1987, p. 504).

This last statement counters somewhat a finding of Krugly-Smolska (1989) who suggests that, at least with respect to
science learning, being female seems to override ethnic differences.

It is only with a series of articles by Marjoribanks (1985, 1986, 1991, among others), however, that relationships among ethnicity and other variables which influence aspirations are examined in detail. The major study and its follow-up were conducted in Australia using a sample of Anglo-Australian, Greek and Southern Italian students from different class backgrounds. It is one of the few studies cited to this point that does not have race as an added variable. The results illustrate well the cautions raised above about variable experiences within ethnic groups. For example, while generally there were associations between adolescents’ perceptions of parents’ support and aspirations, that was not the case for Southern Italian males, nor Greek females (Marjoribanks, 1991). Greek adolescents generally had higher educational and occupational aspirations than Southern Italian and Anglo-Australian adolescents (Marjoribanks, 1985). Furthermore, diverse patterns such as those just indicated belie the suggestion that higher aspirations and achievement are found due to the immigrant success ethic as discussed by Bullivant (1988).

The following is an example of the kinds of conclusions Marjoribanks draws in various aspects of his study:

three analyses of the Australian sample suggest the general propositions that: (a) while parents’ academic socialization is related to measures of children’s ability and academic achievement, there are ethnic group differences in the nature of those relationships; (b) there are ethnic group variations in relationships between parents’ socialization, children’s cognitive ability, and measures of adolescents’ aspirations; (c) parents’ academic socialization and children’s cognitive performance have differential associations with measures of social status attainment, for young adults from different ethnic groups; (d) in each ethnic group, adolescents’ perceptions of parents’ support for learning have strong associations with the social status attainment of young adults (1991b, p. 497).

This last conclusion echoes the only consistent finding in all the studies cited, namely the important role of parents in students’ educational and occupational aspirations.

Career Decision-making in Science and Technology

In some ways the title of this section is misleading since most of the literature referred to deals with decisions about pursuing science and mathematics. Since these are necessary steps in pursuing science and technology occupations, that literature will serve as proxy.

In the study referred to in the introduction, Lewko et al. (1993) corroborated the findings that family influence variables were the most important in continuing in science, especially for the females. Unfortunately a golden opportunity for investigating the influence of ethnicity was lost in this study since the sample contained equivalent proportions of Anglophones and Francophones, yet no analysis on this variable was undertaken.

Lee, Hollander and Krupshaw (1986) also lamented the paucity of research literature on the relationship among independent variables in the career development of high school students with interest and ability in science and mathematics. They studied the unique contributions of socioeconomic status, self-esteem, parental influence, and the influence of significant people outside the home and family in predicting the career choice attitudes of those students, and concluded that each of these was significant. They imply from their data that parents should be involved in any focused efforts for career education related to scientific and technological fields.

This focus on the role of parents is also evident in a study by Ethington and Wolfe (1987) using a sample of Black and White women. While they have identified it as an indirect effect (through its influence on the number of and achievement in science and mathematics courses), they found that the more influence parents have on plans after high school, the less likely their daughter is to select a quantitative field of study. They also found that for Black and White women with equal measures on other variables in their model, the Black women were more likely to select a quantitative field of study. Hill, Pettus and Hedin (1990) had similar results and suggested that Black females are less bound by traditional sex roles than their White counterparts.

One last area that needs to be addressed is the role of socioeconomic status (SES) in career decision-making in science and mathematics. Hill et al., in their review of the literature, found that in general, career scientists are disproportionately drawn from well-educated families, typically headed by fathers who are professionals or managers. They suggest that the differential participation of Blacks in science is probably more a function of class than race. It could, on the other hand, also be a case of the influence of role models. Students from such backgrounds are more likely to know scientists. Role models were found to be a significant factor in the Hill et al. study.

Oakes (1990) also reviews this issue and concludes that the relationship between achievement and SES is not as a clear-cut as many analyses may suggest, especially when individual students are the unit of analysis. She reports White’s (1982) findings that SES variables measuring home atmosphere (e.g. parents’ attitude toward education, parents’ aspirations for their children, cultural and intellectual activities of families) are more strongly related to student achievement than are status variables such as occupation, income and education. These home
Conclusions

In another part of their study with a sample of Black students, Hill et al. (1990) found that the motivational factors that cause a student to push on to college are not necessarily correlated with the motivational factors which cause a student to pursue a career in science, leading one to question the usefulness of the preceding research review. Nevertheless, it is evident that there are some areas of consistency, as for example in the possible role of self-esteem and the definite role of family influence, especially in the case of females. These transcend ethnic differences. The ethnic differences arise in the extent and direction of influence. Yet because of the tendency to group ethnic minorities into very large groups and to confound the definition of ethnicity with race, we still have a very limited understanding of the role of ethnicity in career choice in science and technology.

The conclusion of this review, then, is a plea to further research this area especially in the Canadian context, for until we get a better understanding of the factors that influence participation in science and technology careers by ethnic minorities, we cannot take steps to ensure equal participation. We must learn both from those that are overrepresented as well as those underrepresented. Not only is this important for Canada’s economic future, but also to help provide equal opportunities for the future of all of its citizens.

References


Cognitive Therapy and the Native Healing Circle: An Integrative Approach to Group Therapy for Native Women

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Introduction

Therapeutic interventions with Native Canadian clients that employ Western or conventional therapy techniques have often failed to produce effective change possibly because Native spirituality and tradition has not been addressed (Vontress, 1985; Richardson, 1981; Darou, 1987; Bransford, 1982). Counselling techniques that are more relevant to the indigenous population are now becoming more widely used and accepted in counselling psychology. The acceptance of alternative methods has been due, in part, to the realities of a multicultural society (Ivey, 1993) and the need to provide counselling services that are more culturally relevant (Atkinson, Chalmer and Grant, 1993).

For this study, an integrative approach to cognitive therapy and a Native “healing circle” was utilized as a method for group therapy with Native women. The healing circle provided the framework for the group and cognitive therapy techniques were included at appropriate points.

To begin to comprehend the Native person and their culture a brief description of certain historical and cultural influences will be offered. Secondly, the issue of integrating the Native healing circle and cognitive therapy will be examined. Lastly, the actual counselling group or healing circle we conducted will be described and analyzed.

Counselling Considerations

When trying to develop appropriate counselling approaches for Native clients, Bryde (1971) stressed the importance of understanding the Native world view. At the same time, he cautioned about overgeneralizing by attributing Native customs and rituals to all Indians:

The discussions concerning rituals and customs are important in promoting better understanding of prospective Native American clients but have the effect of forsaking tribal and individual identity (Bryde, 1971).

There is a long history of oppression and abuse of the Native populations by early European settlers. There were attempts to destroy the Indian culture. European settlers viewed Native assimilation as the solution to controlling Native people (Richardson, 1981; Frideres, 1988). Government policies perpetuated the disintegration of Native culture and tradition. It is not surprising, given the history, that many Native people view non-Natives with suspicion and caution (Heinrich, Corbine and Thomas, 1990).

The repercussions of the oppressive and abusive history of Native people is unfortunately part of the fabric of Native culture today. Some of the statistics reveal the severity of problems which Native women face. It is estimated that 80 per cent of Native women have experienced some form of abuse compared to 30 per cent of non-Native women (Ontario Native Women’s Association, 1989). Life expectancy of Native females is 7.3 years less than non-Native women (Health and Welfare Canada, 1988). From 1980 to 1984 it was estimated that the suicide rates of Native Canadian women aged twenty to twenty-four years were four times that of non-Native women in Canada (Indian and Northern Health Services, 1990). From these figures one is compelled to wonder how these statistics are manifested in the mental health of Native individuals and their communities.

It is important to point out that many Native people are already highly integrated into mainstream society and their value systems will undoubtedly reflect this. The value system of a Native person can be conceptualized as being on a continuum ranging from “heritage consistent” to “heritage inconsistent” (Zitzow and Estes, 1981). Heritage consistent refers to how consistent a person’s cultural beliefs are with his/her heritage. The diversity of the Native population requires that counsellors be sensitive to the differences between tribal groups as well as the individual’s belief system as examined in a counselling setting (Connors, 1993).

Native Historical Experience and the Context for Counselling

It is difficult to comprehend the degree to which the Native peoples of Canada have suffered throughout history. Native populations have been devastated through war,
poverty, genocide and disease. Their culture has been stripped from them through assimilation and discrimination; and the void they have been left with has often been filled with alcohol, drugs and abuse. Mainstream Canadian society has more often than not ignored their predicament, creating policies that further marginalize Native peoples (Richardson, 1981; Shah and Dubeski, 1993).

One such policy created residential schools. Believing that Native culture was an unacceptable educational environment for Native children and that the Native population should be assimilated into Canadian culture, the Canadian government created boarding schools for Native children. It was in these residential schools that many Native people lost touch with their cultural identity and family life as Native children lived far from their families and communities for most of the year (LaFramboise, Trimble and Mohatt, 1990; Martens, 1988; Ross, 1992; Haig-Brown, 1988; Shah and Dubesky, 1993; Zellerer, 1992).

Much of the inherent Indian capacity to heal was taken away when Native ceremonies such as the sweat lodge, pipe, potlatch and healing circles were outlawed by the Canadian government (Richardson, 1981; Zellerer, 1992; Dufrene and Coleman, 1992; LaFramboise, Trimble and Mohatt, 1990). In the 1950s, these policies were eliminated. After decades of suppression, Native people have begun rediscovering their culture and now recognize the importance of healing ceremonies. However, in some Native communities, the healing knowledge has completely disappeared (Frideres, 1988). Presently, the resurgence in the use of traditional ceremonial healing has helped restore pride in being a Native person (Rottenberg and Cranwell, 1989; Pepper-Floy and Henry, 1991). Ceremonial healing reminds participants of the importance of maintaining inner strength and cohesion within Native communities (LaFramboise et al., 1990; Jilek-Aall, 1974; Leon, 1968).

In some areas in the United States such as Arizona and New Mexico, special grants have been given to train medicine men and women to help them work closely with Western health professionals (Dufrene and Coleman, 1992; Jilek and Todd, 1974; Manson, 1986). Recent advances incorporating Native healers into mainstream health facilities are however, not widely accepted practices in Canada. There has been more integration of conventional and traditional healing in certain centres in the United States (Dufrene and Coleman, 1992).

Considering the historical implications, counsellor trustworthiness is even more critical in developing rapport with Native clients than it is for non-Native clients. (Richardson, 1981; LaFramboise and Dixon, 1981; LaFramboise et al., 1990; Dufrene and Coleman, 1992; Heinrich et al., 1990). In recognizing the importance of trustworthiness for Native clients, LaFramboise and Dixon (1981) studied counselling sessions with Native clients and counsellors who modeled trustworthy or untrustworthy behaviours. The findings showed that specific counselling behaviours and techniques such as confidentiality, cultural understanding, accurate paraphrasing and self-disclosure were consistently perceived as deserving of trust.

Giving advice may seem demeaning to the Native person. Put into the historical context, it is understandable that even suggestions may be perceived as orders to a Native person (Richardson, 1981). A paternalistic approach should be strictly avoided when counselling Native clients as it may be reminiscent of past government attitudes which strictly controlled Native people (Zitzow and Estes, 1981). Such attitudes are also inconsistent with the kind of respect that is always maintained in Native relationships. Rather, an open and flexible manner, as well as an interest in the client's world view, indicates that the counsellor is wishes to learn how to better assist the Native client (Dufrene and Coleman, 1990; Richardson, 1981; LaFramboise et al., 1990).

Native Cultural Influences

*Spirituality and the Holistic View of Life*

Native people have a deep respect for all living things. Native spiritual beliefs are animistic, and view all living entities as possessing a spirit connecting the natural and spiritual world. Mental, spiritual, emotional and physical health comprise the four aspects of human nature and are considered to be interconnected and equally important (LaFramboise et al., 1990; Mussell, Nicholls, Adler, 1991; Connors, 1993). Re-establishing health requires a harmonious melding and balance of all four planes (Ross, 1992) in keeping with the holistic ideology of Native tradition.

*Community and Family*

Traditionally, health care was not only a way to address personal issues but was integral to the maintenance of a close-knit community (Frideres, 1988). Healing in the Native sense includes the well-being of the individual and the community (Darou, 1987). There are some fundamental characteristics that define the Native community and family. In Native communities, for example, there exists a belief that each individual is responsible for the elevation of the whole community (Ross, 1992).

Another fundamental characteristic of the Native community is the extended family. It is not uncommon for a few extended families to comprise a reserve. In extended families, traditional nuclear family roles are sometimes changed. A grandmother may raise a grandchild. An uncle may act as a father. Relatives who act as surrogate parents are often referred to as the parents of the child (Connors, 1993).

*Ethic of Non-Interference*

Indians were taught not to interfere with others and to observe rather than react impulsively. Interfering or giving
advice was considered disrespectful (Shah and Dubeski, 1993). "Non-interference" was also observed when interacting with nature. In earlier tribal societies, anyone taking more than was needed risked upsetting the delicate balance among nature, community and individual. The consequences of greed could be peril for another family (Ross, 1992).

Modelling
Essentially, learning is taught by example in Native culture. Native children learn by watching someone else perform a task. Children are not told how a task should be performed. They simply observe. At some point, when they feel confident that they will be successful, they will attempt the task (Brant, 1990). This process is called modelling.

Implications for Counsellors
Oftentimes, a Western counselling approach clashes with the Native client's cultural values. The "cultural distance" (LaFramboise, Heyle and Oser, 1990) or cultural dissimilarity between the non-Native counsellor and the Native client may lead to client drop-out. Sue (1977) found that 55 per cent of Native clients did not return after a first session, twice the rate for non-Native clients.

The non-Native counsellor can be most helpful by first respecting the traditional ways of Indians (Richardson, 1981). It is most important that the counsellor focus on the expressed values of the client and not on preconceived notions (Dufrene and Coleman, 1992). Many Native persons are well integrated into mainstream society and the cultural influences already mentioned such as the concept of holistic healing may not be a prominent part of the individual's values. Counsellors should, however, be open to incorporating traditional ceremonies if they are deemed important by the Native client. This can be accomplished by either referring the client to a Native healer or by direct application of Native healing methods. The counsellor must be familiar with the healing methods, of course, and be given approval from appropriate members of the Native community before incorporating healing methods into the counselling setting (Atkinson et al., 1993).

By including a component of Native ceremony either directly or indirectly in counselling, the counsellor is acknowledging and respecting the spiritual dimension of Native healing (LaFramboise et al.; Trimble and Mohatt, 1990). Hammerschlag (1992), a non-Native psychiatrist who has worked with Native persons for many years, incorporates Native rituals into his therapy with Native clients and finds them to be an effective healing vehicle.

Special consideration should be given to the Native community when considering any therapy interventions. Social support from family and community members is a highly integral component of healing in Native culture (Pearson, 1988). LaFramboise et al. (1990) reported that social networks in Native communities insulate people from severe crises and life stressors. They recommended that psychologists working in a Native community first understand the role and definition of community from the Native perspective. This understanding can then serve as a guide for subsequent psychological interventions.

Confrontations go against the "ethic of non-interference" in Native culture (Brant, 1990). Asking too many questions may be considered as interfering or being confrontational. By modelling self-disclosure, the counsellor may encourage sharing. Greater trust and rapport may then develop. Only when trust has been established may it be appropriate to be more direct. The Native client may expect more direction than the non-Native client but the counsellor should always be careful about being too directive in a counselling session (Richardson, 1981).

Integration of Native Healing and Conventional Therapy
Only recently has conventional therapy been utilized in conjunction with Native healing. Generally, contemporary or conventional therapies are grounded in a rational and scientific approach whereas Native healing encompasses a holistic approach involving the relation of mind, body and spirit. The focus is on intuitive aspects of healing rather than a rational approach. Psychology is now more receptive to the notion of utilizing both Native healing and conventional therapy approaches to reach therapeutic goals with Native clients (Connors, 1993; Ross, 1992; Richardson, 1981; LaFramboise et al., 1990; Trimble and LaFramboise, 1985; Jilek and Todd, 1974; Wiebel-Orlando, 1989; Gamlin, 1990).

The Native Healing Circle
The healing circle is a Native ceremony which addresses problems, issues and concerns in a group. It emphasizes spiritual elements that encourage an open and honest encounter. People are seated in a circle. Sweetgrass, sage and cedar are burned and passed among the participants as part of a purification ceremony. The smoke represents a vehicle by which the participants' words and thoughts will be carried to the Creator, who is honoured in Native tradition. Group cohesion and trust is promoted through the use of healing rituals such as prayer, departing handshakes or hugs (Manson, 1986). Confidentiality of group members is emphasized.

The healing circle offers a spiritual awakening and cleansing of the body, mind and spirit. Each meeting reaffirms the rewards of speaking openly and honestly within a group. Unconditional regard from the group members creates a safe, non-confrontational environment which enhances the opportunity to share one's thoughts, feelings and problems. The session ends as a celebration of
Cognitive Therapy

Cognitive therapy is based on the premise that how one thinks largely determines how one behaves and feels. During the processing of information, biased information is introduced. Distorted “core beliefs”, beliefs that are central to the person’s belief system, develop from early experiences. The goal of therapy is to replace the client’s distorted appraisals or distorted “core beliefs” with more realistic cognitive appraisals. The therapist functions as a guide, helping the client understand how beliefs and attitudes influence and affect behaviour (Corsini and Wedding, 1989). Through self-examination, the client arrives at a different perspective so that anxiety provoking aspects of past experiences diminish (Dobson and Block, 1988).

A major therapeutic device used in cognitive therapy is “socratic dialogue”. Here, questioning is used to promote new learning through clarification and identification of thoughts, assumptions and events. Warmth, empathy and feedback contribute to a collaborative and caring relationship in the counselling session (Dobson and Block, 1988; Mallinckrodt, 1989).

Integrating Cognitive Therapy and the Native Healing Circle in Group Therapy

Cognitive therapy utilizes some techniques which seem to blend intuitively with the Native healing circle. Modelling techniques used in cognitive therapy are a major source of learning in Native culture. Moreover, cognitive therapy is action-oriented as it focuses on present situations and thinking which are problematic. Native culture emphasizes present orientation as well (Trimble, 1976).

Several studies have attempted to discern which conventional therapy techniques are most useful to the Native client. A concrete type of counselling was reported to be preferred over a non-directive approach by the Native client (Richardson, 1981; LaFramboise et al., (1990)). A collaborative approach is commonly employed in Native healing as efforts are shared between the individual, family and community (LaFramboise et al., 1990; Richardson, 1981; Dauphinais, Dauphinais blend Rowe, 1981). Cognitive therapy is considered to be less culturally biased because it also relies on a collaboration between the client and the counsellor to define and resolve the problem.

Dufrene and Coleman (1992) cited similarities of traditional and contemporary group therapy approaches. Group counselling emphasizes participation and cooperation of several members (Corey and Corey, 1977) which corresponds to the Native community structure. The role of the group leader was thought to be similar to the role of a Native elder. Group therapy occurs in a circle resembling certain Native ceremonies such as the healing circle. Heinrich et al., (1990) also felt that the healing circle could be creatively incorporated into group treatment strategies. The healing circle utilizes traditional ceremony to create a safe environment that encourages group members to speak openly and honestly about personal concerns.

Method

Subjects
The Native Women’s Committee Group from a reserve in northern Ontario was initially approached about the idea of the group. They suggested that the group meetings should be open so that people would be more comfortable knowing that they could miss meetings or come in late without feeling they were letting the other group members down.

There were five participants in the group: three Native women and two non-Native women. The participants all knew each other before the group commenced. All members volunteered for the group after being approached by a Native woman well known for her healing work on the reserve. She was able to explain the purpose of the group and through word of mouth, interest in the group and comfort with the idea of working with an outside counsellor developed.

The group meetings took place at a Native services branch of the local reserve situated in a small town close to the reserve. The group met weekly for ten weeks beginning in early October, 1993. Group sessions lasted for two to three hours.

Procedure
Cognitive therapy techniques such as rephrasing, general leads, clarifying and identifying thoughts and feelings were blended with the Native healing circle. The group was closely monitored by the facilitator. If it was felt by the participants or the facilitator that any of the cognitive therapy techniques introduced were hindering the group’s progress, they were discontinued. Because a flexible, open approach in the group was employed, a more natural blending of cognitive therapy and the healing circle evolved.

All sessions were audiotaped and later analyzed. Material from the sessions was collated to examine group support, interrelating and resolution of issues. Both Native healing interventions and cognitive therapy techniques were evaluated as to their effectiveness in aiding group movement, process, cohesion and change.

Native Ceremonies Employed in the Healing Circle
Each session commenced with an opening prayer and a purification ceremony known as “the smudging ceremony”. Sweetgrass, sage and cedar were kept burning
in a shell on a mat in the centre during the healing circle. Members were instructed to walk to their seats in a clockwise direction without touching the mat where the medicines were placed.

The prayer promoted a physical and emotional closeness. The Creator was called upon to give support, strength and guidance to the group members. The prayer consisted of simple reminders such as the importance of "speaking from the heart" and of sharing openly and honestly within the group.

The smudging ceremony began with one of the Native women holding the shell that contained the burning medicines. She would walk in front of each participant in a clockwise fashion offering the smoke to each participant. Each person cupped the smoke over her head, shoulders and torso. Once everyone had participated in the smudging ceremony, the burning medicines were returned to the centre of the circle where they continued to burn throughout the meeting. The ceremony was only conducted by women who had authority to perform it.

After the smudging ceremony and prayer were completed, each member had the opportunity to speak. An eagle's feather, which is a sacred object, was held while they spoke. The person holding the eagle's feather was given license to speak until finished without interruption. The feather was passed around the circle until everyone had the opportunity to speak. If time permitted, the feather was passed around again allowing for another opportunity to speak.

At the end of the group, a closing prayer was recited thanking members for their honesty and sharing. The Creator was thanked for giving guidance and strength to the group. After the prayer, the "circle handshake" began with each member approaching and hugging the other members in the circle.

Results

Summary of the Integrated Native Healing Circle
The material covered in the meetings was comprised mainly of three different themes; sexual abuse, abandonment and diminished self-esteem. Early experiences of sexual abuse appeared to be common for the women in the group. General feelings of isolation and social awkwardness were discussed. The members linked their feelings of social inadequacy to early experiences of abuse and neglect. Low self-esteem was evident in discussions about indecision, social awkwardness, submissiveness and general feelings of inadequacy.

The cognitive therapy techniques introduced (rephrasing, general leads, clarifying and identifying thoughts and feelings, and summarizing) seemed to generate detailed information sharing in the group. Events were explored in detail especially from the point of view of their emotional impact on the participants. Moreover, each member was given an opportunity to assess group function at the end of each group. As the weeks went by group members reported feeling a greater sense of togetherness.

Native teachings were given by some of the Native women in the group. These took the form of stories and were helpful in reconnecting them with their culture. This helped to promote the resolution of issues in the group by providing encouragement and strength.

Spiritual experiences were reported as helping two of the Native women resolve some of their bereavement issues. They were able to let go of their loved ones and feel secure in the belief that they were still connected spiritually and supported by them.

The opening and closing prayers at each meeting prepared members for the group and encouraged continued sharing in subsequent groups. For example, at one point early on in the groups, the members were feeling upset and unwilling to self disclose. A Native participant reminded members that an opening prayer had not been given. She invited everyone to participate in such a prayer and expressed the importance of "speaking from the heart". Once the prayer was recited, she began discussing some deep concerns and feelings that she had. Her example encouraged other members to also share what they had been unable to share previously.

In the first few groups I felt that some of the cognitive therapy interventions made were ineffective. The group collectively decided that the participants themselves would control the direction and style of the groups in the way they wanted. As the counsellor, I would only intervene at points when there appeared to be a need for facilitation, for instance, when a group member was distraught. The group seemed to progress more smoothly. The passing of the eagle's feather took on a stronger meaning in our group which they felt comfortable without interruption.

As the group progressed, the members seemed to be moving away from speaking about issues in isolation, as in the beginning, to associating what they said with what others had shared. The members felt that they all had similar problems. They were able to relate to what was being discussed in the group and this gave them a sense of belonging. Self-disclosure was used to generate greater rapport and trust amongst group participants.

Once a strong cohesion appeared to have developed, the women mentioned feeling more confident and discussed being more assertive in their daily life. They appeared to be testing out new behaviours that were discussed in the
group. One woman reported feeling that it had become easier for her to engage in conversation with people outside of the group. She mentioned feeling more relaxed and confident.

Assessment
Leahey and Wallace (1988) found that the most important indicator of successful treatment was a client's statement that she was reasonably content with the outcome, either because the problematic behaviour had changed or her assessment of the behaviour had changed. An evaluation form was given to all participants at the end of the ten-week period. The forms appraised whether the members were satisfied with 1) the group generally; 2) the performance of the counsellor; and 3) whether or not they felt their self-esteem had changed.

The evaluations were quite positive. The members felt the group was effective because they could share their issues with other group members in a safe and supportive environment. By sharing these experiences, group members felt they were able to learn more about themselves. They also saw the group as a "non-judgmental encounter". The Native ceremonies were thought to promote a "warm, caring and relaxed environment". Generally, members described being at a point further along in their healing and felt better about themselves. Positive experiences inside and outside the group were felt to increase self-confidence and motivation (Rosenberg, 1979). Participants did however, feel that a larger group might have been more effective.

Research suggests that an optimal group size is seven to ten participants (Yalom, 1985).

Conclusions and Implications
This study explored ways of integrating two different therapy approaches. By employing cognitive therapy techniques within the Native healing circle, there may have been a greater opportunity to examine more closely the issues important to the participants. The structured, collaborative approach of cognitive therapy seemed to be an acceptable style of therapy to complement Native values. It was considered to be successful by both the Native and non-Native women.

Participation in the group was associated with a greater sense of confidence and connection to other group members. Low self-esteem, anxiety, feelings of abandonment and lack of belonging were frequently mentioned as responses to early experiences of sexual abuse and abandonment. The group offered these women an opportunity to discuss their present concerns as well as these earlier experiences. As group cohesion developed, participants acquired more assertiveness and confidence. They began to experiment with being assertive outside of the group. Positive feedback both within and outside the group seemed to encourage continued confidence and assertive behaviour.

The results of the present study indicate that group counselling for Native women seems to be a viable modality for addressing issues such as sexual abuse, abandonment and low self-esteem. It appears that cognitive therapy techniques were helpful in generating more dialogue between group members. Cognitive therapy seemed to provide a deeper understanding of the issues of concern for the participants.

The implications regarding the combination of counselling interventions and the factors affecting this process should be examined more closely in future research. Specific mental health needs and corresponding counselling interventions for Native persons need to be expanded. A singular, systematic approach to counselling Native persons should be viewed with caution, however, due to the heterogeneity of the Native population in Canada.

There are a number of limitations to this study. The group was small and included only three Native women and two non-Native women. As such, the results can not be generalized to all Native women or even to Native women from that particular reserve. Moreover, the Native women in the group seemed to be highly integrated into mainstream society and may have been more receptive to incorporating cognitive therapy into a healing circle than other Native women might be.

Before attempting to carry out similar counselling initiatives, the level of acculturation of the Native client should first be considered. This could be achieved by asking the client preliminary questions about Native cultural values and traditions. Also, questionnaires have been developed to assess the level of acculturation and these could be useful tools to aid in the development of appropriate treatment interventions (Zitzow and Estes, 1981).

Counsellors need to be sensitized to Native culture and tradition before any attempts at counselling Native clients are undertaken (Sue, 1981). Educators in Canadian university settings could enhance the development of counsellors' skills by including cultural sensitivity training components into their curricula (Sue, Arrendondo and McDavis, 1992) or by offering counselling practicums in Native settings. Native practicum settings would give non-Native counsellors the opportunity to learn about Native people while living and experiencing their way of life. Involvement in advocacy work with Native people or participation in Native festivities may also provide an opportunity to become more familiar with Native people (Richardson, 1981).

Research of this type invites speculation that a holistic approach with Native clients should always be considered in a therapeutic framework. Native healing strategies such as the healing circle remind us of the importance of relating to clients on spiritual, emotional and intellectual levels (McIvor, 1990).
References


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