Multicultural Education: The State of the Art National Study
Report #4

Multicultural Education: The Challenges and the Future

A Study sponsored by the Canadian Association of Second Language Teachers

Keith A. McLeod
Editor
Multicultural Education:
The Challenges and the Future

Editor - Keith A. McLeod

A Study sponsored by the Canadian Association of Second Language Teachers

Contents

Acknowledgements iii

Introduction iv

Part I Public Policy

Reforming Education For Diversity
Inez Elliston 1

From Multiculturalism to Anti-Racism to Equity: Sharing Power or Grabbing Power? (The Challenge of Putting Theory into Practice)
Karen R. Mock 8

Multiculturalism and Human Rights Education
Constantine Passaris 12

Multiculturalism: Failed or Untried Concept
Peter L. McCreath 22

Part II Policy to Practice

The School's Role in Revealing the Commonplaces of Our National Culture and Identity: A Multicultural Perspective
Jerry Diakiw 26

From Tolerance to Appreciation: Strategies, Guidelines and Procedures for Preventing and Deterring Racism, Sexism and Inter-Racial Conflict within Multi-Ethnic Settings
Jonathan L. Black-Branch 40

Multicultural Education as Prejudice Reduction: Exhortation and Holocaust Education
Daniel McDougall 48

Building an Anti-Racist School: The Story of Victor Mager School
Jan Smith and Jon Young 57

Beyond Celebratory Multiculturalism: Where Teachers Fear to Tread
R. Patrick Solomon 67

Science Education in an Evolving Multicultural Education
Eva Krugly-Smolska 75
### Part III  Aboriginal and Ethnic Identity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constructing Identities: The South Asian Experience in Canada</td>
<td>Ratna Ghosh</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developing Psychological Models of Native Education: with Special</td>
<td>Kym A. Dawson</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attention to the Place of the &quot;White Man&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emerging Teacher Role Identity: Northern Aboriginal Voices</td>
<td>David W. Friessen and Jeff Orr</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity and Feeling at Home in Canadian Society</td>
<td>Robert Courschene</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Part IV  Languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Interrelationship of Language and Multicultural Education</td>
<td>Marcel Danesi</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Experiences of ESL Students Unravelling the Role of</td>
<td>David L.E. Watt, Hetty Roessingh, and Lynn Bossetti</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Language Proficiency</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Review of the Influence of Cross-Cultural Research and</td>
<td>Peter J. Heffernan</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercultural Theory on Second/Foreign Language Teaching</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Acknowledgements

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. Hedy Fry, 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.

We would like to acknowledge all those who assisted with the Study and the publication of the Reports. In particular we would like to thank Nancy Sametz and the CASLT Board of Directors, and those who have done the studies that have been published. We would also like to thank Greg Sametz and Helen Coltrimari our liaison with the CASLT organization.

In addition a special thanks to those who assisted with Report #4 Marilyn Borg, Shirl Duncan, Joerg Ruschka, James Boyle, and Diane Granato.

A special thanks also to Marilyn Collins at the Department of Canadian Heritage, Multicultural Programs.

I would also like to thank the Faculty of Education, University of Toronto for their assistance.

Lastly, I would like to acknowledge the scholarly assistance of Professor Zita De Koninck at Laval University and her colleagues for their efforts in producing Report #3. Grand merci pour votre soutien!

National Director of the Study,
Keith A. McLeod, Ph.D., Professor
Chair of the Department of Educational Policy and Foundation Studies
Faculty of Education, University of Toronto
371 Bloor Street West, Toronto, M5S 2R7

The Reports

There are four reports in the Study of Multicultural Education.

Report #1 Multicultural Education: The State of the Art National Study
Report #2 Multicultural Education: The State of the Art -- Studies of Canadian Heritage
Report #3 L'Éducation multiculturelle: état de la question -- École et société
Report #4 Multicultural Education: The State of the Art
The Challenges and the Future

These Reports are available for the Canadian Association of Second Language Teachers national office at 375 Jefferson Avenue, Winnipeg, Manitoba R2V 0N3. Phone 204-582-2457 Fax 402-582-2469

Director of the study is Keith A. McLeod, Assistant Director, Zita De Koninck.
Introduction

Keith A. McLeod, Ph.D., National Director

It is apparent after three years of studies examining the State of the Art of Multicultural Education that there are a number of challenges facing multiculturalism and multicultural education now and in the future.

First and foremost there is the policy of multiculturalism itself. If the policy didn't exist we would have to reinvent it; it is as relevant or even more so in the 1990s than it was in 1971 - twenty-five years ago. The reality of pluralism exists in Canadian society in all parts of the country and we all need a 'national' philosophy whereby we can live and work together, learn and laugh together, and think and grow together. The pluralism is there and needs to be recognized not only in our country but in most places in the world.

The bottom line is that multiculturalism means recognizing that the pluralism exists in our society. After recognizing that we are a plural society and that pluralism is not only acceptable but good there are a number of other factors that follow: that our concept of citizenship must be plural, that human rights are crucial, and that concepts such as fairness, equity, tolerance, acceptance and justice must be made part of or applied to the concept of pluralism or multiculturalism. These may, at times, be evident in pluralism in what many people believe are less than perfect ways; however, this doesn't invalidate the need to integrate them into the policy and practice nor does human failure in the invoking or implementing the policy itself invalidate the policy.

There have been, on the one hand, those who reject pluralism and want a unicultural policy restored; on the other hand, there are those who argue that multiculturalism has been an illusion and they wish 'real' multiculturalism to be practised. In addition there are several other competing views of multiculturalism - the language and ethnocultural support advocates, the human relations advocates who in turn are sub-divided into anti-racists, anti-discriminatory, and human rights factions. A significant problem is that these varying groups often see themselves as competing, or even exclusive advocates. Where has the concept of multiculturalism as an inclusive idea gone?

Perhaps we should think of citizenship as the inclusive over-arching concept that will bring about collaboration and cooperation.

When we move directly into the field of education we find the competition equally or even more blatant. The anti-racists, anti-discriminatory, human rights, languages, intercultural and transcultural groups or advocates each claim their view or interpretation is the correct one. There is no doubt that there is a specific need in the field of education for a more inclusive conceptualization that is capable of including all the above facets or groups.

Beyond conceptualization there is a need for improving the curriculum and the teaching strategies that will implement the concept and the important facets of multiculturalism.

The studies that are published here and in the other reports demonstrate that there has been twenty-five years of progress. There has been improvement in society and in education. However, it is equally clear from the factiousness and divisiveness and even outright opposition that there is a need to re-affirm and position multiculturalism within our socio-cultural and political concepts and to re-define and re-unify the movement in education. The positioning of the policy cannot be left to government alone, it is the responsibility of each citizen; the responsibility for redefining an inclusive concept of multicultural education rests with all those concerned with education and the future.
Reforming Education For Diversity

Inez Elliston

The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom (1981), The Canadian Citizenship Act (1987 and) Multicultural Policy of Canada (1988), as the culmination of a decade of debate and reflection, served as the catalyst, in the eighties, for discussion, policy development and programs aimed at a broad spectrum of Canadian political, social and cultural life. The recognition of diversity as a characteristic of Canadian society, the enshrining of the principle of full and equal participation for all individuals and communities in all aspects of life acted as the spring board for new ideas and the search for ways in which the rising expectations fuelled by these principles could be expressed and addressed. Education (schooling provisions and policies) was expected to reflect this philosophy. The literature on multicultural and antiracism education, since that time, provides interpretations and prescribed programs and practices to reflects this trend. Policies in Ontario provide an interesting study.

In 1993, the Ministry of Education and Training in Ontario released its well known document: Antiracism and Ethnocultural Equity in School Boards: Guidelines for Policy Development and Implementation. The policy required school boards to develop and implement antiracism and ethnocultural equity policies. The expressed intent was to:

" ensure that all students achieve their potential and acquire accurate knowledge and information, as well as confidence in their cultural and racial identities. It should equip all students with knowledge, skills, attitudes, and behaviours needed to live in and work effectively in an increasingly diverse world, and encourage them to appreciate diversity and reject discriminatory attitudes and behaviours" (p.5).

This comprehensive policy outlined a process for the development and implementation of antiracism and equity guidelines and programs in ten areas including: board policies, guidelines and practices; leadership; school community relations; curriculum; student languages; student evaluation, assessment and placement; guidance and counselling; racial and ethnocultural harassment; employment practices and staff development.

Critical to the success of the policy were: (a) the association made between student achievement and anti-discriminatory attitudes, programs and practices in schools, and (b) the requirement that the development, approval and implementation should take place within a specific time frame, in consultation with community groups, and that an accountability (monitoring and reporting) process would be in place. Supports included resource materials, training for staff, and consultation with Ministry personnel.

It was clear from the intent and philosophy underlying these requirements that schools and the culture of schools, as a reflection of what goes on in society, were expected to be responsive to the external pressures for equity in their provisions and practices, and further, that multicultural and antiracism education and teaching and learning principles were associated.

By 1995, the repeal of legislation to abolish employment equity and the conditions which made policy development and implementation a requirement, along with severe reduction in funding to educational institutions, created uncertainty, insecurities and questions about the place of antiracism and equity in education.

Multiculturalism and Education

Studies of official multiculturalism (CCMIE/CCEMI, 1992,1993) revealed that provincial and territorial umbrella policies articulating the multicultural 'ideal' (the reality that would recognize cultural and racial diversity; core values of liberty and unity; equity principles as the means of attaining these, and the promise of prosperity as a realizable outcome), (Prothroe & Barsdale, 1991) were reported across the country. The studies revealed variations in the interpretation of the multicultural 'ideal' espoused and in where these polices were located whether in departments of education or in other departments which had responsibility for social policy rather than for education. Emphasis on 'caring and sharing' as the focus for official multiculturalism was found to be pervasive but considered less effective in communicating the multicultural 'ideal' in contrast to where multiculturalism was found to influence public schooling and where equity principles and practices were in place to address both systemic and overt forms of racism (p.25).

Adapting an interpretative model of the multicultural 'ideal' Davidson (CCMIE/CCEMI, 1993) suggests that the relationship between multicultural and antiracism education -and official multiculturalism in Canada can be viewed as follows:
Factors which influenced the implementation of Multicultural and Antiracism education

The studies (CCMIE/CCEMI, 1992, 1993) identified fifteen critical factors which were perceived to effect the implementation of multicultural and antiracism education in the past and future. These were:

1. The existence of advocacy groups for multicultural and antiracism education.
2. The availability of funds and budgetary allocations.
3. Official (Provincial Ministry) concern to enhance teaching and learning through multicultural and antiracism education.
4. Official (Provincial Ministry) concern to bring about equity through multicultural and antiracism education.
5. Official (Provincial Ministry) concern to reflect multicultural identity in curriculum and in public schooling policies and practices.
6. Concerns on the part of cultural and racial groups.
7. Educational reform and restructuring.
8. The availability of resources to support program initiatives.
9. The demand by teachers' associations for multicultural and antiracism education.
10. Demands by classroom teachers for multicultural and antiracism education.
11. Demands by school boards/divisions for multicultural and anti-racism education.
12. The influence of official multicultural policy federally and provincially.
13. Parental concern about multiculturalism and antiracism education.
15. Public perception of either multiculturalism or antiracism education.

While factors such as parental concerns, official policy on multiculturalism and antiracism education, concerns on the part of racial and cultural minorities, and educational reform and restructuring were supportive elements in the past and likewise predictive of future support; public perception of multiculturalism, the lack of tangible support in the form of funding and budgetary allocations, as well as the availability of resources were in the past and projected for the future as factors which would act as constraints (Davidson, 1994).

Policies and programs in provinces such as British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Ontario, and Nova Scotia, though not specifically addressing the enhancement of learning, revealed important developments in areas, which were both social policy and education, such as affirmative action or employment equity, community consultation and liaison, curriculum changes and development in teacher education and in classroom practices and resource provisions, English as a Second Language, harassment issues, heritage languages, and joint projects with other institutions. As well, exemplary practices were reported with respect to anti-bias and prejudice reduction.

The conclusions were that multicultural and antiracism education will only result in the achievement of the 'ideal' (that is, the societal changes necessary for the realization of equity, unity and prosperity) with greater emphasis on teaching and learning about issues of human rights, justice, and equity as important elements in a diverse society (Davidson, CCEM/CCEM, 1994).

Public Perception of Multiculturalism in the Nineties

The current climate of reactionary thinking, issues associated with the achievement of national unity, land settlement and self government for Native Peoples, cultural retention and the consequent examination of what constitutes Canadianism have re-opened the debate around multiculturalism and the Canadian identity. A salient issue is whether the multicultural 'ideal' of cultural pluralism and equal opportunity is either achievable or desirable. Despite the achievements of the past decade, the goals of multiculturalism (the promotion of the strengths and value of cultural diversity, rights and respect for differences, alternative life choices, social justice, equal opportunity, and equality in the distribution of power, (Gollnick, 1980) have been put in doubt. The prevailing view that catering to special interests is divisive and unaffordable, the popularization of the philosophy of equal opportunity for all without reference to those conditions which are barriers to equality, the rejection of the concept of racism as a characteristic of Canadian life in so far as it negates the need for systemic restructuring and power distribution; the militancy of individuals and groups who promote the superiority of mainstream culture above others are new and ongoing challenges for those who believe in the multicultural 'ideal'.
The general climate of uncertainties, anxieties and low morale due to the cut back in programs and the overall reduction in government support for education (as exemplified by reduction in funding and job loss, in some jurisdictions) questions may well be:

What is the future of multiculturalism and antiracism education in those provinces that no longer see such a philosophy as central to teaching and learning?

Are there similarities in trends elsewhere across the country?

Are the supportive structures (public advocacy, parental concerns, curriculum initiatives) still in place and sufficient to offset those constraining elements (public perception of multiculturalism and reduced availability of resources) to allow policies and program initiatives to continue?

What type of leadership in education is required at this time?

What is the role of community organizations and groups in maintaining the multicultural 'ideal'?

The Future of Multicultural and Anti-discriminatory Education: A Framework for the vertical deepening of educational responses to citizenship preparation.

In spite of the current climate of uncertainties some things will not change, namely: the increasing diversity in Canadian society, and in the population of learners, and the need, therefore, to prepare them to live in a changing world; the overwhelming need to address issues of social justice with respect to equitable access to opportunities, goods and services for groups marginalized by factors such as race, ethnicity, gender, faith, age, sexual orientation, disabilities or social class. Social stability, economic prosperity and the wellbeing of society as a whole depends on an understanding of the need for and commitment to this preparation for the young.

Educational institutions, and educators generally, have an obligation to provide continuity and content to the ongoing dialogue about the nature of multicultural education and the management of diversity. The future prosperity of the country and its place on the world stage requires this educational responsibility and thrust in preparing young Canadians to be effective players.

The constraints to programs and services delivery all but eliminate any immediate plans for expansion. The hope for the future will depend on "the vertical deepening" of the understanding and the "education responses" (Ray, 1991) to include consideration of not just multiculturalism but equitable outcomes for all. A shift in emphasis to consideration of citizenship and human rights education as life and as preparation to live and prosper in Canadian society could provide the motivation and clarity of purpose and a common language needed at this time. An assessment of what remains of the achievements of the recent past, and what can be done from within to keep the focus on the issues of equity, social justice and fairness must be part of this understanding.

Resistance from within, the vulnerability of committed and responsible people in systems, the high capacity for risk-taking required to keep the vision of the 'ideal' of multiculturalism alive and the lack of resources (Mock and Masemann, 1990) remain or have resurfaced as constraining factors to any action plan. These must be recognized and addressed through such initiatives as: effective and ongoing staff development; better communication with communities and the utilization of their resources in teaching and learning; and the formation of workable partnerships with businesses which are becoming increasingly sensitive to the importance of diversity to economic development. People with a commitment to diversity have become the most important resource in all aspects of life (economic, political, and social) in Canadian society.

Education for Effective Citizenship: Curriculum Focus

Education for effective citizenship is and has been a significant goal of schooling. Preparing people for membership in a society which is becoming increasingly diverse with respect to factors such as race and ethnicity, gender, faiths, disabilities, sexual orientation, social class, age differentiation, underscores the need for this focus. It is not likely that there will be much debate about the appropriateness of such a focus. It does, however, open a whole area for reflection and decisions about content and outcomes, and about plans, programs and strategies to achieve desired outcomes. In the first place, citizenship preparation raises important questions: including "Who is a Canadian"? Secondly, it allows for the exploration of the much debated area "What is Canadian Culture"? Thirdly, it opens new avenues for experimentation in areas of school reform, curriculum design and delivery that can bring multicultural and anti-discriminatory education into the centre of the instructional program. Finally, it addresses the issue of how to engage students with diverse needs in learning so that the outcomes can be meaningful and equitable: increased retention rate for all; excellence as measured by academic achievement indicators; planning on the part of all students; the capacity for critical thinking about personal, educational and social issues; the ability to engage in learning and to assess their own capacity for enjoyment and for success (Nieto, 1992). There is a growing awareness that successful schooling outcomes are the result of the deepening of one's understanding of education as inclusive, that is multicultural and anti-discriminatory, that is basic education, that is pervasive and important for all students, and finally that it is a process that emphasizes critical pedagogy (Nieto, 1992) and what is more to the point critical analysis. The challenge is to assist schools to overcome resistance to inclusive practices on the one hand and to refocus efforts and available resources on the other, in a shared vision of the future.
There are numerous models of multicultural and antiracism programs and practices in provinces across the country. Figure 1 proposes that, within the Canadian mosaic, education must continue to be regarded as an agent of change. The goal is to prepare people to gain equal access to the opportunity structure of the society. Citizenship roles, rights and responsibilities provide a useful framework as a starting point for self understanding, for understanding social organizations and their functioning, recognizing barriers to access, and entitlement and the identification of attitudes, knowledge, and skills required for their removal.

Cultural identification

Cultural identification is critical to self understanding and functioning. Self-definition, allegiances and adaptations, recognizing critical experiences and moments for learning and change are stages and processes in the confirming of an identity (Banks, 1992; Christensen, 1995). In the context of this society, the process involves arriving at an understanding of those factors which characterize Canadian culture, one's own identification with mainstream or minority ethnic or group culture, and the values that are held in common.

Cultural pluralism

Cultural pluralism evolves out of a process which recognizes the shared core values and those that are unique. The maintenance of one's cultural heritage is an important aspect of creating and living in the mosaic. The expression of one's cultural heritage changes in various dimensions over time on both sides but never completely disappears. The residue of cultural norms and values that remain creates the richness celebrated in Canadian life and defines the uniqueness of the society. At the same time cultural pluralism creates uneasiness among some about what is the nature of that residue, why is it necessary, how much is enough to ensure a harmonious balance between ethnic cultures and Canadian culture.

Residual Cultural Retention

This principle of residual cultural retention is important. It ensures that the traditions and values which characterize Canadian heritage will never disappear. By the same token, newcomer groups do not discard totally those values and customs which shaped their lives and which are part of their experiences and identities in making a home in Canada. The richness of the mosaic is in the fusion; firstly, within the individual in confirming an identity and affirming self-worth within the context of the new society, secondly, within a community that begins to move beyond its own cultural boundaries to include Canadian ways of being and doing, and thirdly, the changes that begin to inform Canadian culture and society. There are numerous examples of how this occurs. Canadian culture and society change as the cultures interact. The ever widening circle of shared values and interactions create the mosaic but also defines new ways of seeing and appreciating one's self as well as ways in which people and groups within the society view and interact with one another and with the world in general.

The model with dimensions of both cultural fusion and residual effect avoids the limitations imposed by the selection of any discreet formulation of multicultural education, (Magsimo, 1985) or the distinction between multicultural and antiracism education (Kehoe, 1995) and proposes rather a process of growth in awareness, understanding and acceptance which is evolutionary. It begins with heightened cultural awareness, to the sharing and preserving of cultural rites and observances, through to internalizing an understanding of how personal experiences, political, social and economic conditions and circumstances, along with deeply held values and attitudes combine to impede or further self affirmation and the achievement of full citizenship rights and responsibilities in the Canadian context.

Citizenship education and the multicultural classroom

Citizenship education, as conceptualized here, provides a focus on which teachers and students can capitalize. Newcomers who, no matter how new or how small, have been involved in the changes which voluntary or involuntary immigration and/or migration forced upon them. Mainstream students must, for the most part, manage changes with classroom, school and community as well. They have internalized ideas about Canadian culture and values which are often based on traditions, historical perspectives and untested assumptions. They,
like others, need to develop a more confident and authentic knowledge about themselves. Personal experiences, past and present, can provide the motivation for engaging students in their own learning and critical examination and reflection about myths and realities of being a Canadian where factors such as race, ethnicity, gender, faiths, sexual orientation, social class, disabilities and age may characterize them, first as individuals, and second, ascribe a particular group membership to them. The role of education in socialization and the teachers' responsibility for this process are well understood and accepted. The need is not so much to create a new curriculum as much as it is for a re-examination of the goals and objectives of schooling, and the teaching strategies necessary to achieve those goals and objectives. Curriculum focus, content selection and organization, and an understanding of how these can combine to ensure the achievement of equitable outcomes for all become integral to this process. The future of Canada depends on good policies and strategic approaches to implementing them. Schools are expected to apply these policies and strategies to engage students in meaningful learning and growth.

Such an approach would enable teachers to address many of the same issues which provided the necessity and the impetus for multicultural and antiracism policies. The starting point would be somewhat different, namely:

1. **Canada and the Multicultural Ideal**: Cultures, citizenship and national identity; diversity, unity and prosperity through sharing and caring.

2. **Ways of being and knowing**: Distinct student needs: personal self esteem; cultural validation through sharing; social competencies required for the effective discharge of citizenship roles and responsibilities.

3. **Ways of doing**: Enhanced learning: Integration of multicultural and anti-discriminatory education principles and concepts into the learning experiences through purposeful selection of themes and topics and by engaging students in critical thinking and in reflection.

The culmination would be:

3. **Human rights and Cultural Status**: Social change towards equity policies and practices that identify and eliminate barriers to achievement: use of bias free material; dealing with discrimination and harassment; equitable hiring and promotional practices; and in general creating a caring, nurturing and inclusive school atmosphere.

4. **Recognition and enhancement of communities**: Linguistic and cultural heritages valued, honoured and managed as part of community development education thrust as students explore their own cultures and the cultures of others in their own spheres of influence and beyond.

The curriculum focus would be:

1. **Culture-based content and strategies**:

On teaching strategies that engage students in their own learning and in communicating feelings and understanding regarding day to day experiences in the community and its vision for the future; their own heritages; the clarification of values, the examination of attitudes; the acquisition of skills for conflict management, problem-solving, negotiation, mediation, co-operation, and the identification of alternatives in making choices developed around lived experiences for self and/or family and community or from observed or learned events and experiences.

2. **Specific milestones in Canadian history**:

Settlement issues and events; immigration then and now; the unity debate; treaty rights; land settlement and self government for Native Peoples; The Black Presence in the Canadian Mosaic; Chinese immigration, settlement patterns, measures that were inclusionary/exclusionary; the internment of Japanese during the war; Germans in Canada during the war. Struggles for women's rights; the rights of the disabled; faith groups and faith observances.

These are themes and topics already in the curriculum. Citizenship rights and entitlements and the consequences of denial and/or the granting of those rights for themselves and for those immediately concerned would be the areas of engagement for learning.

3. **The high cost of discrimination**

The political, economic and social consequences of discriminatory practices on individuals, groups, communities and society as a whole.

4. **Factors which distinguish Canada and Canadians as similar or distinctive in areas of international, intercultural or global experiences and events**:

Communication and technology; national and international cooperation in health, education, economics and politics; conflicts and their resolution.

5. **Attributes that prepare Canadians to be World Citizens**:

Language, cultural literacy, belief in human rights and social justice, knowledge and skills required for effectiveness.

Programs and projects that encourage national and international cooperation.

Teaching strategies for effective learning must include an understanding those practices which will engage students in their own learning. Research and observed practices have yielded a compendium of ideas for the creation of an
inclusive learning and teaching environment: experiential teaching and learning techniques which engage students in the examination of feelings, critical analysis of issues and behaviours; opportunities for the development of positive self esteem; incorporating ethnic, racial, or cultural learning experience in subjects across the curriculum, co-operative learning that seek to enhance equality of status between learners in task completion, decision making and problem solving; understanding similarities and respecting the diversity of differences in the school and the society; provide practical and exemplary models of equity principles and outcomes; apply critical thinking skills to understanding issues related to human rights and social justice and their amelioration; and deliberate attempts to involve parents and community in the schooling processes.

Multicultural and anti-discriminatory education as education for all.

There is a growing recognition that school achievement depends on a number of contextual factors and the interactions among various competing and contradictory processes that can be personal, cultural, social, economic as well as political. The danger currently is that the political and economic agendas will take priority and deflect attention from the school reform movement which held so much promise.

The urgency is for schools to understand that change is possible and necessary and can be ongoing despite externally imposed restrictions. Overcoming resistance to multicultural and anti-discriminatory education requires a different perspective on goals and the achievement of outcomes, a deepening of the understanding of this form of education as a process rather than a program; a willingness to engage in a re-examination of those elements required for the management of the increasingly diverse school and classroom; and a commitment to ensure that changes will take place.

Unevenness in policy formulation, in interpretation and in provisions persist across the country. This is an area in which changes are needed. The Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC) could play a role in ensuring a common understanding in the interpretation of the multicultural ideal and in providing continuity for programs and practices. The First National Consultation on Education (Montreal, 1994) highlighted the need to address issues pertaining to diversity as central and integral to education. Schools and interests groups can ensure that CMEC brings these issues from the periphery to the centre of its agenda.

Schools can capitalize on the multicultural dividends from past investments in community development education around issues pertaining to cultural identities, human rights and social justice. Communities are more aware of what they have to offer and are ready and willing to do so when given appropriate opportunities. The reduced availability of resources is a reality but it need not be an excuse for inaction.

Schools in their strategic planning need to restate their vision in the image of today's learner and of the society as a whole where the full range of diversity and identities is honoured and where the teaching of human rights principles and an understanding of issues of social justice as fundamental to Canadian become the foundation of the curriculum in preparing the young to be effective citizens nationally and globally. Schools must ensure that they are not lagging behind in responding to the expectations of this generation of youths either in envisioning the future or in providing opportunities to realize such a future.

References


From Multiculturalism to Anti-Racism to Equity: Sharing Power or Grabbing Power?
(The Challenge of Putting Theory into Practice)

Karen R. Mock, Ph.D., National Director, League for Human Rights of B'nai Brith Canada

Where Have We Been?

It is not my intention to provide an historical overview of racism in Canada, Ontario, or even Toronto in particular. There are others who have done that, and it is not possible in this time frame. But a glance at some of the titles of research and task force reports over the last several years is very revealing.

In the 1970's, Multiculturalism became an official policy of this country; but after several serious racial incidents in the Toronto subways and on the streets, Walter Pitman alerted us that "Now Is Not Too Late" in his call to action to combat growing racial tension in Toronto as a result of changing demographics. A report by the Toronto Board of Education reminded us that "We Are All Immigrants to This Place" as they acknowledged a growing backlash and the necessity to provide better services to the multicultural population of the city. They followed with the "Report on Multiculturalism" and later the "Report on Race Relations", and other Boards of Education in Toronto and across the country began to follow suit to develop policies to promote equality in their systems and to implement procedures for handling inter-ethnic tensions and racial incidents when they occurred.

In the 1980's the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982) entrenched equality rights in the constitution, and our various Human Rights Codes provided Commissions in several provinces the power to monitor and enforce those rights, strengthened in Ontario by the Race Relations Division of the Human Rights Commission, and in other provinces by departments with various sounding names in the Ministries of Citizenship and Culture. But the "Equality Now!" Task Force (1984) and "Employment Equity" Commission (1984) pointed out systemic racism in education, the media, health services, the criminal justice system and employment across the country, and called for the immediate implementation of measures to combat discrimination and increase equity for disadvantaged and vulnerable groups. The Urban Alliance on Race Relations and the Social Planning Council asked "Who Gets the Work?" (1985), and their research was unequivocal in finding blatant discrimination in hiring practices and in the workplace. And there were ongoing rumours and reports of harassment of minorities by the police.

By the mid-1980's an evaluation of the implementation of the Toronto Board's Multiculturalism and Race Relations policies was disappointing indeed. Similarly, across the country educators and activists were discovering that any attempt at real organizational change was met with resistance, and resulted in further marginalization of the staff who were trying to combat racism and effect change. Many research studies in education, media, policing, and health, revealed very little movement in this area. It was also clear that effective race relations training (as we called it then) in each of these sectors was sorely lacking. Parents and community groups were becoming more vocal in their demands for equitable treatment in schools. Backlogs were becoming more jammed in the Human Rights Commissions. And all the while alleged harassment, and even shootings of minorities by police increased.

Masemann and Mock's report on "Access to Government Services by Racial Minorities" (1987) revealed an Ontario in which differential treatment of minorities appeared to be the norm, resulting in lack of equal access to services, and the frustration, alienation, and continued feelings of marginalization and helplessness among racial minorities. The "Race Relations Training Manual" developed for the Ontario Race Relations Directorate (Mock, 1988) outlined training strategies for the various sectors. And our study on "Implementing Race and Ethniccultural Equity Policy In Ontario School Boards" (Mock and Masemann, 1989) documented the barriers to implementation and the key factors in success, and called on the Ministry to mandate such policies and to begin by cleaning up its own act in the area of equitable practices and multicultural anti-racist education. So many of these task forces, commissions and research studies of the '80's, and all their recommendations, represent the collective voices of many marginalized and victimized Canadians... voices summarized and then silenced in reports on shelves.

And in 1989, yet another police shooting in the Black community created such an outcry that the "Task Force on Race Relations and Policing" was convened in Ontario to receive public deputations and in a very short time frame to come up with concrete recommendations to improve police/community relations. The work was intense, the stories gut wrenching, the recommendations very concrete -- some of which have been implemented , most of which have not -- at least not in a way that their impact will have been felt on the street where it counts. So is it any wonder that several years later, after the events of May 1992, we spent several months calming down, cleaning up, and speaking out, yet again, on the very same issues? So much so, that the League's deputation to the Metropolitan Toronto Police Services Board on the use of force, on May 28, 1992, contained excerpts taken directly from our brief
to the Task Force on Race Relations and Policing, and to
the Standing Committee on the Administration of Justice
delivered two and three years before. How long does it
take to turn words into action? Policy into practice?
Rhetoric into reality? And how soon will it be before now
is too late?

Where Are We Now?

If people like me are feeling demoralized, frustrated,
fearful, helpless and exhausted, then how much more so
the visible minority youth and their parents? For many we
also have to add the words angry and betrayed. The only
really surprising aspect of the riot and looting in May 1992
was that it came as a surprise to anyone. Today's climate
is such that there is the perfect combination of factors that
will continue to escalate racial tension and violence unless
we address and resolve them.

First, fiscal restraint is a reason (excuse?) given for not
implementing equity initiatives, and many programs are
being cut back in this area. Such programs are
considered "soft", and not as important as the substantive
matters in an organization or workplace. A recession
causes people to retrench and compete, and to think of
"me", not to be concerned about empathy and altruism and
promoting the "other" in the interest of equality and social
justice. Such a climate leads to attempts to preserve the
status quo and systemic barriers to equality, rather than
moving towards societal and organizational change.

Secondly, though related to the first, is the severe
backlash we are experiencing towards multiculturalism
and all that it stands for. A recessionary climate leads
people to blame others for their misfortune, and in
particular to scapegoat minorities. Today we are seeing a
backlash against immigration, and a real rise in overt racist
incidents and right wing activity. For example, the League
has documented a significant rise in reported incidents of
anti-Semitism over the last few years, and a dramatic
increase in hate group activity across the country.

Thirdly, international events influence the present climate
in Canada. There is a rise in the right and in xenophobia
world wide. David Duke and Pat Buchanan in the U.S.,
LaPen in France, the neo-Nazi rampages throughout
Eastern Europe, 'ethnic cleansing' in Bosnia, all create a
climate in which overt racism begins to be commonplace
and serves as a stimulus for people here to become more
bold in their racist behaviour. Also comparisons with
Europe lead people to think we "don't have similar
problems here", and so they can blame the victims for
complaining rather than acknowledging the racism that is
inherent in our society.

Fourth, I am very concerned about increasing
divisiveness among and between minority communities
and equity seeking groups, and hence the title of my
present paper. The essence of multiculturalism, anti-
racism and equity work is to recognize and break down the
barriers to equality so there can be equal access for all
groups and ultimately shared power. But because of the
politicization of these issues, and also because of the
failure of government, of communities, and of the groups
themselves to introduce innovative models (e.g. of funding,
management, organizational culture), individuals and
organizations are forced to play this all out within existing
structures, and end up competing for power.

In the '90's the notions of shared power and the
empowerment of others have been relegated to lip-service,
while there are increasing attempts to grab power for ones
own community, organization, or for oneself. This leads
people into the dangerous and divisive practice of
comparing pain and victimization, or attempting to
undermine significant strides that have been made when
the times were different and therefore the modus operandi
had to conform to the climate in the interest of furthering
the equity and anti-racist agenda. One such divisive
practice is the deliberate put-down of the concept of
multiculturalism by what could be called anti-racist rhetoric,
when in fact there are intimate connections, historically and
particularly in the legislation. One cannot be achieved
without the other. For equality seeking groups and for the
government to fall into the trap of separating these
concepts is to increase the divisiveness in the social
justice movement, to create competition where there
should be co-operation by pitting some groups against
others, and to inadvertently fall into the role of perpetuating
old hierarchical power-based structures, under the guise of
creating new, more egalitarian models.

Witness the failure of Toronto Cares (and countless other
"multicultural" or "race relations" committees when people
cannot leave their organizational or political agendas
behind). What started as a crisis response network, with
rotating leadership, to facilitate groups' coming to each
other's aid when one was under attack, deteriorated into
arguments about who should be in charge, who should
control the agenda and the finances, while many remained
marginalized and voiceless in the process.

Witness also the gap between theory and practice in
education. Every teacher who knows child development
and learning theory will emphasize the importance of
individual self esteem, the connection between self worth
and learning, and of every child having role models so that
he or she can reach full potential. But that same teacher
will argue against employment equity in a school board
where a person of colour is more likely to be the caretaker
than a teacher or principal. Or that teacher will advocate
continuing the "traditional" Christmas Concert, while
children of minority religious groups continue to feel like
second-class citizens.

Another example of the failure to "walk the talk" I have
experienced personally is an increase in antisemitism
among some in the anti-racist movement, and a blatant
failure to name it. Using theoretical jargon, a couple of
years ago it was not uncommon to hear that "Jews have
wealth and power. They cannot be victims of oppression,
so antisemitism should not be on the anti-racist agenda".
While I would be the first to acknowledge what is called
'white privilege' in the Canadian context, it is ludicrous for
someone to claim they are working to eliminate racism and
discrimination, and then continue to stereotype minority
groups other than themselves. Self examination is
essential in our work, lest the victim become the victimizer,
and the quest for shared power becomes nothing more than
a grab for power.

There is also a tendency for power struggles to occur in the
approaches advocated in multicultural and anti-racist
education and training. The nature of the issues is such
that an eclectic and flexible approach is essential, but
professionals in the field claim "turf's" and vie for power,
often on the basis of the title of ones position or because of
the struggle to preserve a particular program area in the face of cutbacks. This was very clearly (and somewhat humorously) illustrated when in 1988 I worked with an Advisory Committee while writing "Race Relations Training - a manual for practitioners and consultants". Frustrated by the apparent competition for turf, I created a diagram of interconnecting circles (see below) to demonstrate the essential components of any workplace training program. Every member of the Advisory Committee thought the diagram was outstanding, putting all the components together and summarizing all of the facets of our work on one page. But the Employment Equity Co-ordinator of the Human Resources Secretariat said: "I love the diagram, but it should be turned upside-down to show that Employment Equity is the umbrella under which everything else falls". And the Manager of Intercultural Communications Training of the Ministry of Citizenship said: "The diagram is terrific, but it should be redrawn to show that Intercultural Communication is at the core"...

The group wondered why I sat back with a bemused smile on my face, until they listened to themselves competing for prominence, unable to take an inclusive approach that recognized and validated the importance of all of the aspects of the training program equally. Physician heal thyself....

So where are we now? At a crossroads. There has been lots of talk, many recommendations over the years. There is a feeling of betrayal, frustration, helplessness, hopelessness among minority groups, at the same time as there is a retrenchment and backlash by the so-called majority groups. Politicians have seized on this discontent in their own grab for power and many of the strides made in the 70's and 80's as we moved from multiculturalism to anti-racism in the quest for equity have been eroded. As an optimist I say that we would not be experiencing a backlash if we hadn’t been making progress. Let us ensure that evidence of that progress is translated into concrete action that affects those who do not see any change or hope of change for their own lives.

Where Are We Going?

The time is long overdue for putting the policies and the recommendations and the theories into practice, for putting the words into action. People feel they have not been listened to ... and regrettably have been shown that only when their frustration leads to violence and lawlessness will they and their needs be taken seriously. We don't need new task forces - we need to implement the old ones. And implementation usually falls into three main categories, comparable to those that describe the work of the League: education, community liaison, and legal/legislative initiatives.

Education and training are essential -- multicultural anti-racist training in the police, the media, the education system, the criminal justice system. Community based organizations, such as the League for Human Rights of B'nai Brith, can offer assistance in this regard, as can many others, especially now that governments and school boards are reducing resources significantly. The League offers anti-racist education workshops to school boards (students, teacher, administrators) and guidance on policy development and implementation. The League has prepared a week-long course with the Western Judicial Education Centre on Racial, Ethnic and Cultural Equity in the Justice System. And we have developed courses and materials for use in policing services. Unless police officers are trained effectively to counter hate and bias crime and in the use of force under stress, and in multicultural and race relations issues, and anti-racist organizational change, then the shootings will not stop, and neither will the biased patterns that exist. The Solicitor General's unit on Race Relations and Policing had a training component, but with cutbacks the entire unit no longer exists! Clearly more time and resources have to be allocated to pre- and inservice education in all sectors.

Community Liaison is another avenue to solve the problems we are facing today. Intercultural dialogue, community partnerships and co-operation, reduce stereotypes and promote harmonious race relations. But these partnerships must be REAL. Those who pay lip service to community involvement and consultation, soon find that the community feels betrayed when they see their concerns are not heard and their participation not genuine. Outreach is essential in time of conflict and tension, but should not just be restricted to it. For example, during a crisis, organizations should not rely on the media, but should consult first hand, just as when the League invited a deputation from the Black Community to come to a League meeting right after the Yonge Street incidents, and just as the Muslim/Jewish Dialogue group met at the League at the height of the Gulf War, so should policing services or schools reach out to the aggrieved community whenever there is an incident. But the groups should continue dialoguing on an ongoing basis, so that systemic issues can be addressed and resolved in the absence of an incident or crisis. The programs I referred to culminated in a joint program of Blacks, Muslims and Jews, working together on an employment project for racial minority youth. Strong coalitions around important issues are essential, lest those who wish to divide us -- the hate mongers and the white supremacists -- win the day.

Legal/Legislative Intervention is the third way the League fulfills its mandate, and it is applicable in our discussion of where should the government go in solving the current crisis situation. There must be effective policies in place in each of our institutions, if we are ever going to change behaviour. The Ministry of Education at last mandated the race and ethnocultural equity policies. This was years overdue, but now the departments that are charged with implementing the policies are being dismantled. And policing services must have mandatory anti-racism and intercultural awareness training, as well as strategies for identifying and dealing with hate/bias crime and the victim impact of such crime. But support is being withdrawn from such programs.

And there must be a truly independent method of investigating the police, that is independent even of the Solicitor General's Ministry. Our public institutions must not only BE FAIR, but they must BE SEEN TO BE FAIR. The public trust must be restored. There is no doubt that many individuals will not come forward to complain to an internal investigatory body. I also believe that we must have a similar investigative body in a hierarchically organized institution. People would be more forthcoming to a totally independent auditing body. And I also believe that we must have a similar investigation in the education system. Students and teachers are victimized daily by racism and discrimination, but do not come forward because of the internal processes which are inconsistent from school to school, and which often result in the victim's being blamed or not deemed credible. A completely independent investigatory body with full power
to do a thorough investigation (with or without an individual complainant, but on the basis of sufficient evidence) would do wonders to move the education system forward, particularly on the matter of systemic discrimination. But in the present system, whether it’s police, or schools, the armed forces, or a government department itself, people are fearful at every level to stand up against racism ... and of losing power. As a result, we continue often to work in poisoned environments, afraid to take the risk.

It seems with the creation of the Multiculturalism Department a few years ago and its increasing emphasis on anti-racist initiatives, and with the response to the Lewis Report, the will to take the risk was there. But the political will has eroded, in the desire to maintain power. Can we withstand the onslaught of right-wing thinking and veiled racist policies of the likes of so-called "reformers" and "common sense revolutions"? There are hard won rights and freedoms that we cannot allow to be undermined by those who wish only to maintain power. Neither should we be co-opted nor corrupted by the same quest. When we fail to remove the barriers to equality, we are easily co-opted by those same structures, and pitted against one another in the competition for power and scarce resources. We must remain vigilant and ensure that is not the case.

We have come along way, and Now is NOT Too Late. But we were close. Racism has been acknowledged as a reality in Canada. We will never achieve the vision of our multicultural society until racism is eliminated. We still have a long way to go, but through effective Education, Community Liaison, and Legal/Legislative Action, we'll get there together.

What is required to move from multiculturalism to anti-racism to equity is an inclusive approach, not only to increase awareness of inequality in all its forms in the present Canadian context, but also to provide practical skills and concrete strategies to promote and insure equality, and to rectify incidents of wrongful discrimination and human rights violations whenever and wherever they occur. Only then will real change take place in the direction of achieving equity and inclusiveness, not back-lash and competition for power.

The essence of an inclusive approach and of the quest for human rights for all Canadians is the commitment to removing the many barriers to equality so that ultimately all groups have equal access, equal opportunity and thereby equal rights. The infighting, departmental turf wars and competition for power have to stop -- not only among those who want to preserve the status quo and have coined the terms "political correctness" and "special interest groups" to marginalize and trivialize the concerns of those who seek equality, but even among equality-seeking groups themselves, whose alleged goal is to break down traditional hierarchical structures and move towards shared power. To that end multiculturalism, anti-racism, employment equity, human rights, race relations, anti-defamation, feminism and the anti-poverty movement are all part of the same struggle to achieve equality and social justice. As we continue to define a shared vision of what it means to be Canadian, let us all, in keeping with our guarantee of rights and freedoms in a democratic society, turn cries against "political correctness" into commitment towards political awareness, political astuteness and political action, thereby joining together and strengthening the struggle.

Anti-Racism, Intercultural Communication, and Employment Equity:
Components of a training program for managing and valuing diversity

Karen R. Mock.
Multiculturalism and Human Rights Education

Constantine Passaris, Professor of Economics at the University of New Brunswick and Chairman of the New Brunswick Human Rights Commission

"The direction in which education starts a person will determine their future life".

Plato, The Republic.

Multicultural Policy

The adoption of Canada's multicultural policy in 1971 was a formal acknowledgement that this country's cultural and racial diversity had become an indelible feature of government policy. It represented an official confirmation that the historical notion of two founding nations creating a bilingual society had evolved to a post-modern Canada characterized by a multicultural society within a bilingual framework. By 1988, Canada's multiculturalism policy had been elevated to the highest form of government policy with the proclamation of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act. The Act was an extension of Section 27 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms which requires that the Charter be interpreted "in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians". The Canadian Multiculturalism Act was also founded on the premise of the equality provisions in the Citizenship Act, the Canadian Human Rights Act and the Official Languages Act, as well as being in conformity with Canada's international agreements on human rights.

The Canadian Multiculturalism Act was the first such recognition of any country in the world. It formally and unequivocally declared that "the Government of Canada recognizes the diversity of Canadians as regards race, national or ethnic origin, colour and religion as a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society and is committed to a policy of multiculturalism designed to preserve and enhance the multicultural heritage of Canadians while working to achieve the equality of all Canadians in the economic, social, cultural and political life of Canada".

The ten statements of Section 3(1) of the Act set out the multiculturalism policy objectives relating to Canadian society as a whole. They determined that the Government of Canada had an obligation to "(a) recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society and acknowledges the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage; (b) recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism is a fundamental characteristic of the Canadian heritage and identity and that it provides an invaluable resource in the shaping of Canada's future; (c) promote the full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins in the continuing evolution and shaping of all aspects of Canadian society and assist them in the elimination of any barrier to such participation; (d) recognize the existence of communities whose members share a common origin and their historic contribution to Canadian society, and enhance their development; (e) ensure that all individuals receive equal treatment and equal protection under the law, while respecting and valuing their diversity; (f) encourage and assist the social, cultural, economic and political institutions of Canada to be both respectful and inclusive of Canada's multicultural character; (g) promote the understanding and creativity that arise from the interaction between individuals and communities of different origins; (h) foster the recognition and appreciation of the diverse cultures of Canadian society and promote the reflection and the evolving expressions of those cultures; (i) preserve and enhance the use of languages other than English and French, while strengthening the status and use of the official languages of Canada; and (j) advance multiculturalism throughout Canada in harmony with the national commitment to the official languages of Canada."

Furthermore, in Section 3(2), the Act committed all federal institutions to support and promote the multiculturalism policy by "(a) ensuring that Canadians of all origins have an equal opportunity to obtain employment and advancement in those institutions; (b) promote policies, programs and practices that enhance the ability of individuals and communities of all origins to contribute to the continuing evolution of Canada; (c) promote policies, programs and practices that enhance the understanding of and respect for the diversity of the members of Canadian society; (d) collect statistical data in order to enable the development of policies, programs and practices that are sensitive and responsive to the multicultural reality of Canada; (e) make use, as appropriate, of the language skills and cultural understanding of individuals of all origins, and (f) generally, carry on their activities in a manner that is sensitive and responsive to the multicultural reality of Canada."

In short, Canada's multiculturalism legislation had as its principal objectives the promotion of equality, the removal of barriers and the full participation of all Canadians in the benefits and opportunities afforded by our society. It was essentially enabling legislation that provided the foundation for all Canadians to become full and equal partners in the process of nation building. Indeed, the formal recognition and subsequent progressive elevation of Canada's multiculturalism policy to the highest level of public policy coincided with the decades of the 1970's and the 1980's that recorded significant increases in the influx of multicultural immigration from non-traditional source countries. That same period recorded the proclamation of federal and provincial human rights legislation and the creation of statutory human rights agencies. It is worth noting that there is a marked commonality of purpose.
between the scope and substance of Canada's multiculturalism policy and the legislated mandates for human rights commissions to combat discrimination and promote equality.

**Multicultural Immigration**

The history of Canada is in many respects the story of successive waves of immigrants who have settled in and contributed to this country's evolutionary growth and development. There is no denying that immigrants are carving a new life that would be better than the one they left behind. In the process they shaped and molded, in a profound and indelible manner, Canada's demographic mosaic, political profile, cultural heritage, social fabric, linguistic plurality, racial diversity and economic structure.

Immigration has played a very pervasive and visible role in the process of populating Canada. Hardly a day goes by when we are not reminded of this country's rich and varied cultural and racial mosaic. A multicultural tapestry composed of people with different physical features, colour, race, religion, cultural backgrounds and ethnic origins; which time has not erased. A clear and illustrative reminder that immigrants from the four corners of the world have settled in Canada.

The economic prosperity of the 1960's triggered an expansionist undercurrent in Canada's immigration program which resulted in more than one million immigrants arriving in that decade alone. Indeed, the decade of the 1960's proved to be the second highest period. The period since 1962 is particularly noteworthy in terms of the substantive changes to the composition of immigration flows to Canada. Changes in Canada's immigration regulations during this period adopted a universalistic perspective and enforced an objective immigrant selection scheme which eliminated references to racial and ethnic characteristics as criteria for admission to Canada. These substantive modifications to Canada's immigration policy were necessitated by the need to reinforce this country's labour force requirements with the occupational profile of prospective immigrants irrespective of their ethnic or racial origins. Consequently, despite the sharp divergence between peaks and ebbs in immigrant admissions, the 1960's and in a more pronounced manner the 1970's and 1980's established a pattern for increased multicultural immigration from non-European and non-traditional source countries. What is particularly distinctive about this period is the decline in the proportionate share of annual immigration from traditional source countries and the substantial increase in immigrant arrivals from non-European source countries. This substantive change in the pattern of immigration flows to Canada that is particularly evident in the 1970's, 1980's and early 1990's has imbued a distinctive multicultural and multiracial composition in this country's contemporary population profile. Indeed, data recorded for the 1991 census indicate that the proportion of immigrants in Canada born in Europe declined significantly while those born in Asia increased substantially. Immigrant arrivals to Canada between 1981 and 1991 were more likely to have been born in Asia, the Middle East, the Caribbean and Central and South America.

**Multicultural Immigration and Economic Development**

Immigration has played an important and vital role in the course of Canada's economic development. It should be noted that the influx of immigrant manpower required to supplement and complement the domestic labour force, was instrumental in infusing a more diversified ethno-cultural mix in Canada's population. In many respects the progressively more diversified multicultural and multiracial composition of immigrant arrivals heralded the triumph of economics over discrimination. By that, I mean that the economic necessity of attracting immigrants, possessing the appropriate occupational qualifications, required tapping the labour resources and human capital from non-traditional source countries of emigration. This course of action negated the persistent efforts of numerous special interest groups, to preserve the cultural and racial homogeneity of the Canadian population in the northwestern European image.

Canada's economic history is replete with illustrations that portray the benefits this country has reaped from the contributions, enterprise and talents of individual migrants, and immigrant flows, representing a wide variety of ethno-cultural origins. From Sir John A. MacDonald's national dream that included the building of a transcontinental railway; to the opening of the western frontier and the 'wheat boom' of the early 1900's; to the post World War II efforts to generate a strong industrial base for the economy, multicultural immigration has played a vital and visible role in sustaining Canada's economic growth and development.

In this age of globalization characterized by the economic and financial inter-dependance of the international community of nations, Canada's contemporary multicultural profile and the anticipated enhanced role of multicultural immigration takes on added importance in the form of a unique and valuable economic resource. Canadians from diverse cultural and racial origins have endowed this country with a linguistic proficiency in over 70 different languages and dialects, they are cognizant of the customs and traditions of every country in the world, and they continue to uphold and foster their diverse religious beliefs and traditions. Yet the profound economic benefits that could accrue to Canada by exploring our cultural diversity and linguistic pluralism remain a largely unexplored and uncharted territory. Canada's multicultural, multi-foreign, multi-religious and multi-linguistic character is an economic resource that could be effectively utilized, managed and deployed in such areas as international trade, overseas business contacts, attracting foreign investment, tourism, technology transfer and many other facets of importance to Canada's economic growth and development in the twenty-first century.

**Canadian Censuses and Multiculturalism**

The evolution of Canada's population profile into a distinctive multicultural and multiracial society as a consequence of immigration flows has evolved over the decades. Canadian censuses are a particularly good milepost to ascertain the magnitude of cultural diversity and the changes over time that have taken place in this country's cultural and racial composition. In large measure the impetus for the more diffused ethno-cultural diversity has been a consequence of the structural changes in the national economy and the specific quantitative and qualitative labour requirements of the domestic economy.
Indeed, the historical evolution of Canada's human diversity was determined by economic necessity which dictated the admission of immigrants from non-traditional source countries who reflected a more diversified cultural and racial composition. Furthermore, better international transportation links, improved and more efficient telecommunication services, an enhanced commitment towards accepting refugees from around the world, as well as Canada's and the rest of the world's demographic dynamics have all gradually contributed to the displacement of the conventional European source countries of immigration with significantly higher levels of immigration from Third World countries.

It should be noted that while multicultural groups have a long history and presence in Canada they did not become numerically important until very recently. The presence of Chinese immigrants in Canada before Confederation has been well documented. The German and Dutch immigrants reached Canada before the turn of the century. Sifton's "men in sheepskin coats" who were Ukrainians and Poles arrived in the early 1900's. Enhanced immigration in the post World War II period included initially a larger proportion of eastern European immigrants and subsequently a more multiracial composition of immigrants from Africa, Asia and South America.

An incisive analysis of Canada's census data underlines certain patterns and trends of interest for the historical evolution of Canadian multiculturalism. Shortly after Confederation, the census of 1871 identified 80.5% of the Canadian population as being of British descent, the numerical importance of this group has declined over the decades to 28.1% in 1991. In contrast, the percentage of Canadians of French heritage has declined more moderately; from 31% in 1871 to 22.8% in 1991. On the other hand, Canadian censuses have recorded significant gains in proportionality for the population that was neither of British or French heritage. That category registered a mere 8% in 1871 and increased substantially in 1991 to 49.1% of the total population. Canadians of German descent have consistently formed the third largest ethnocultural group by percentage of Canada's population, ranging mostly above the 5% level. However, with the large influx of non-European immigration in the 1960's, the proportion of Canadian's of German origin declined to 3.4% of the total population in 1991.

The post 1960 period is a significant milestone in the evolution of multiculturalism in Canada. Prior to 1962, Canada's immigration legislation and program expressed a preference for immigrants from northwestern European nations, especially those of British origin, and restricted Asian immigration. With the advent of a universalistic immigration policy in 1962 and the lifting of racial barriers, subsequent Immigration Acts and Regulations emphasized labour and occupational criteria for immigrant selection. In particular, the new selection criteria underlined a preference for immigrants who possessed higher levels of education, specialized industrial training and skills, and specific occupational affiliations. These developments opened the door for increased immigration from Asia, the Caribbean and Latin America.

The 1991 census recorded some important developments for Canada's evolving multicultural mosaic. Immigrants who came to Canada between 1981 and 1991 were more likely to report Chinese, East Indian, British, Polish and Filipino ethnic origins. The numerical significance of immigrants to Canada who were not of British or French ancestry was highlighted in the 1991 census when 88% of immigrants who came between 1981 and 1991 declared an ethnic origin other than British or French. Prior to the 1961 census the non-British and non-French component of immigration to Canada was recorded at 67%. By far, the largest component of new immigrants were of Asiatic origins at 42%, followed by those of European ancestry at 22%. This is in sharp contrast to data from earlier censuses when 2% of immigrants who came before 1961 reported an Asiatic origin whereas 60% reported a European ancestry. Furthermore, 6% of recent immigrants reported Caribbean or Latin American origins; this represents an impressive increase from the 0.1% of immigrants who came from those regions prior to 1961.

Canadians of German origin have retained their numerical superiority amongst the other ethnic groups in the 1991 census and remain the third largest ethnic group in the Canadian population after the British and the French. The 1991 census enumerated the major ethnic groups as follows: German origin - 911,560; Italian origin - 750,055; Ukrainians 406,645; Dutch - 358,180; Chinese - 586,645; East Indian - 324,840.

Census figures illustrate that Canada is perhaps one of the more striking examples of a predominantly immigrant society whose people are drawn from every geographical, social, economic, political, cultural, religious and racial background. This has given rise to a multicultural mosaic of people from a diversity of cultural and racial origins. Immigration flows have unequivocally infused a high level of cultural and racial heterogeneity that has become a salient feature of the Canadian population.

Demographic Outlook

There is no denying that the history of Canada is closely linked to immigration. Furthermore, it is becoming increasingly obvious that Canada's future will be largely dependent on the long term role that immigration is allowed to play. Canada's contemporary demographic profile characterized by the end of the baby-boom, the decline in fertility rates, the aging trend of the population and the prospects for an absolute decline in the Canadian population shortly after the turn of the century necessitate an enhanced role for immigration to Canada and suggest the need for a more proactive immigration policy. In short, Canada's projected population outlook requires us to enlist immigration to play an even more crucial role than it has performed in the past in order to correct and fine-tune certain demographic trends and to confront the social and economic challenges and opportunities of the ensuing decades.

Indeed, the expanded role for immigration to Canada must be examined from the perspective of a comparatively larger inflow of multicultural immigrants from non-traditional source countries. In this regard certain changes and modifications may be required to correlate Canada's immigration policy with our education, economic and social policies as well as our cultural and linguistic programs. This would appear to be particularly relevant in view of the anticipated increase in the multicultural and multiracial composition of economically motivated migrants, business and entrepreneurial immigrants and refugee movements to Canada.
The decline in the proportion of immigrants from the traditional European source countries and the more recent predominance of Asian and Third World countries as new geographical sources of immigrant flows to Canada is by now a matter of public record. In view of the likelihood of an enhanced role for immigration in Canada's future demographic scenario, it would appear appropriate for us to highlight the composition of prospective immigrants to Canada and the geographical sources of those immigrants.

Canada's pull forces for prospective immigrants will depend on fertility rates and population pressures in immigrant sending countries, employment and career advancement opportunities as well as wage and salary differentials between Canada and other countries, the overall social, economic and political environment in Canada is another important variable in the decision to emigrate. As immigration is increasingly resorted to as a demographic tool to correct and adjust for the aging of the Canadian population, source countries that have the potential to supply young immigrants will assume a more important role.

Canada's most recent flows of multicultural immigration and global demographic trends suggest that future immigration streams to Canada will be predominantly multicultural and multiracial in composition. Indeed there are strong indications that the largest proportions of immigrants to Canada will be from Third World countries in Asia, Africa and South America. The relatively high fertility rates that persist in developing countries will contribute to substantial increases in the size of their respective populations creating pressures to emigrate.

The current and future diversity in Canada's population profile highlights the unique challenges and opportunities for multicultural education and the role of human rights agencies. We live in challenging times that require leadership and vision in the formulation and implementation of educational objectives and public policy. Minimizing the intolerance, conflict and tension that is a by product of our human diversity and harnessing the full economic and social potential of our pluralism will require the symbiosis of our multicultural education agenda with the educational role and mandate of statutory human rights commissions.

Human Rights Commissions

Canada's federal and provincial human rights commissions have a federal mandate to promote human rights education was directed to "develop and conduct information programs to foster public understanding of this Act and of the role and activities of the Commission thereunder and to foster public recognition of the principle described in Section 2", specifically, that "every individual should have an equal opportunity with other individuals to make for himself or herself the life that he or she is able or wishes to have, consistent with his or her duties and obligations as a member of society, without being hindered in or prevented from doing so by discriminatory practices based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, age, sex, marital status, family status, disability or conviction for an offence for which a pardon has been granted". On the other hand, the New Brunswick Human Rights Commission which has a provincial mandate to promote human rights education is empowered under Section 13(c) of the New Brunswick Human Rights Act "to develop and conduct educational programmes designed to eliminate discriminatory practices related to race, colour, religion, national origin, ancestry, place of origin, age, physical disability, mental disability, marital status, sexual orientation or sex".

The educational role of statutory human rights agencies in the promotion of human rights education is complemented and supported across Canada through the facilities and resources of university based research centres and voluntary community organizations. For example, the Atlantic Human Rights Centre at Saint Thomas University in New Brunswick and the Human Rights Research and Education Centre at the University of Ottawa in Ontario are examples of university based research centres promoting academic research in the field of human rights and producing educational human rights resources and publications. Both activities are carried out with the financial resources and intellectual support that is afforded to institutions of higher learning. Furthermore, community based voluntary organizations with the express interest of enhancing public awareness about human rights issues as well as molding public opinion and influencing the course of government policy regarding human rights prevail across Canada and in every province.

Survey

A survey of statutory human rights agencies and university based human rights centres revealed several interesting insights into the implementation of their mandate to promote human rights education. The focus of their human rights educational programs encompassed a wide spectrum of human rights issues. Among the most prominent were aboriginal peoples rights, women's rights, the rights of disabled persons and combatting racism, prejudice and anti-Semitism. All of the respondents to the survey conformed to a marked similarity in the choice of medium and tools for the delivery of their educational programs. These included publications and pamphlets, educational videos, lectures and seminars, statements to the media and annual reports.

There was also a marked similarity between the human rights institutions surveyed regarding the budgetary allocation of human and financial resources. The labour intensive nature of their workload was underlined by the fact that more than 75% of their annual budgets was allocated to salaries. On the other hand, less than 25% of their resources were allocated towards the research, production and publication of educational materials.
Despite the rhetoric emphasizing the importance and benefits of an effective human rights education program, it was clear that the resources allocated were not sufficient to respond to the array of institutional and public demands for the services of human rights agencies, or to enable them to carry out new proactive public education initiatives. Furthermore, there was an additional dilemma faced by human rights commissions in the contemporary context of fiscal restraint, downsizing and diminishing human resource allocations. Specifically, it was the uneasy recognition that budgeting constraints will result in a significant shift of emphasis and budgetary appropriations towards allocating more resources for the investigation and conciliation of individual complaints of discrimination to the detriment of an effective and efficient human rights education program. This band-aid solution in response to the financial exigencies of the day will undoubtedly have significant long term negative consequences in terms of undermining the importance and benefits of a proactive and effective human rights education program. It will also require human rights agencies to respond with innovative and creative solutions to the contemporary financial and resource constraints in order to sustain the viability of their educational role.

Human Rights Education

Human rights education is a lifelong pursuit. In this regard, human rights institutions have a great responsibility and an important mandate to persist in sustaining a vigorous and proactive educational role. Indeed, there is an urgent need for human rights agencies to re-affirm their commitment towards the development and implementation of a proactive strategy for human rights education. Furthermore, such a strategy cannot be developed in isolation. It must acquiesce to a holistic approach that invites the participation of all the stakeholders. In particular, the success of an enlightened human rights education strategy will require forging meaningful partnerships with students, teachers, principals, school boards, the provincial departments of education, universities and community colleges, university based human rights research institutes and community voluntary human rights associations.

The focus of human rights education should not be restricted to the pre-primary, primary, secondary and post-secondary levels, but should also include teacher training and continued professional development for teachers as well as groups such as the police, the military and the judiciary. Human rights commissions have a unique opportunity to reinforce positive values in our young people through the education system; values that are inherent in the fundamental principles of human rights such as fairness, equality, justice, acceptance, compassion and humanity.

Human rights commissions must become strong advocates for positive and constructive change in the education system. The inclusion of a course on human rights as part of the curriculum does not negate the need that human rights principles and values be taught through all subjects of the curriculum as well. It is of the utmost importance, however, that the teaching materials used in our schools be free of racial and cultural biases and contribute to the enhancement of the understanding and respect of racial and cultural diversity. In addition, teaching materials should be stereotype-free, project a positive image of the role of women and minorities and their contributions to society, and portray aboriginal people accurately in both historical and contemporary contexts.

There is an urgent need to train teachers to deal effectively with human rights issues in the schools. Monitoring and evaluating the quality of race relations in schools is an effective way of reducing tensions and paving the way for a proactive approach towards combatting racial discrimination and promoting racial harmony. Teacher training to deal with human rights issues would include but not be limited to in-service training, professional development days on human rights, and a human rights course or courses as part of the program of studies for persons preparing for a career in education.

Human rights commissions should encourage our educational institutions to commemorate days which highlight special human rights events such as December 10 - Human Rights Day; March 8 - International Women's Day; and March 21 - International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

Human rights commissions should also encourage school boards to adopt and implement policies that endorse the commitment of school boards and teachers to teach and respect fundamental human rights and corresponding responsibilities. In order to ensure that all students have positive role models, employment equity policies should be adopted by educational institutions to correct the gender imbalance at the managerial and administrative levels. Also the use of female teachers as role models for a wider selection of courses, particularly courses in the applied sciences, should be encouraged. Furthermore, there is an urgent need to promote an appropriate increase in the number of qualified teacher-role-models from the aboriginal community, visible minorities and disabled persons in our educational system.

Finally, it is worth noting that the values, attitudes and skills formed at school will last a lifetime. This process of acquiring social values and skills within the education system as well as an appreciation for human rights principles gains added importance and significance within the contemporary realities of Canada's population profile with its cultural, racial, linguistic and religious diversity.

There are significant positive linkages and elements of complementarity between multicultural education and human rights education. The complementarity and re-enforcing linkages between human rights education and multicultural education can be summarized in the need to develop and enhance school programs, operational practices and outreach initiatives that reflect our multicultural and multiracial society in a positive manner and promote the dignity and fundamental self-worth of all human beings regardless of racial, religious or socio-cultural background. The public policy statement by New Brunswick's Minister of Education entitled "Multicultural/Human Rights Education" released in August 1989 offers an illustrative blueprint for the linkages and complementarity between multicultural education and human rights education and is reproduced in its entirety as Appendix 1.
Public Education

Public education about human rights issues is an influential complement to human rights education in the school system and post-secondary institutions. Human rights commissions must make an extra effort to enhance and broaden their role in public education. Indeed, raising public awareness about the commission's mandate and functions, as well as human rights issues in general, is essential to facilitate the link between the commission and the general public in dealing with issues of discrimination and human rights violations. In short, public education in human rights should be strategically utilized to promote a society of tolerance, acceptance and respect for our diversity; a society that is built on the strong foundations of human rights principles and values.

Human rights commissions have a variety of tools to promote public education and enhance awareness about human rights issues. A proactive approach must make effective use of informational publications, public seminars, employer/employee workshops, educational videos, conferences and symposiums, computer games, proclamations and declarations, theatrical performances, musical extravaganzas, essay and poster contests, to name but a few. Clearly, the advent of the electronic information highway has become the most modern and avant garde tool for human rights education in the public domain. The electronic posting and dissemination of human rights educational material and resources will undoubtedly become the most widely accessible and cost-effective medium in the arsenal of tools available to human rights agencies. At the present time, however, the most effective and far-reaching tool for public education remains the media, that is to say, newspapers, radio and television. Building a strong public education partnership between human rights commissions and the media is an important element in any strategy for promoting human rights education to the largest possible audience in a cost-effective and timely manner. The harnessing of this most valuable resource, the media, by human rights commissions allows the general public to become more knowledgeable and informed about their rights and responsibilities.

Another effective means to enhance public education on human rights is to forge partnerships with community groups and volunteer organizations with a stated interest in the protection and promotion of human rights. This process not only enlarges the circle of public awareness about human rights issues, but also establishes a meaningful dialogue with the general public that contributes a multiplier effect in molding public opinion and influencing the course of public policy on human rights.

Human Rights in the Workplace

The largest number of individual complaints filed with human rights commissions concern discrimination and unequal treatment in the workplace. The range of human rights violations and abuses that surface in the workplace include sexual harassment; sexist or racist behaviour in the form of slurs, jokes, graffiti or expressions of hate; denial of equal opportunity for women or minority groups; discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation; refusal to make a workplace accessible to an employee with a disability; unequal treatment because of a pregnancy; denial of employment opportunities for visible minorities; and pay disparity between men and women.

The increasing number of complaints about human rights issues in the workplace suggests that the passive and reactive response from human rights commissions has been ineffective. While the large number of complaints in the area of employment suggests a heightened awareness about workers' rights, it also points to a disturbing pattern of discrimination in the workplace and a work environment that is not conducive to a high level of economic performance. The next century will demand of human rights agencies a more proactive approach in this vital area of provincial and national economic wellbeing that emphasizes that important role of human rights education.

Human rights continues to be perceived as an adjunct of social policy. The fact of the matter is that human rights is an important component of economic vitality. The respect and promotion of human rights principles and values in the workplace and the economy in general are the only guarantees of cohesion and harmony in a multicultural and multiracial workforce, a greater acceptance of gender equality, the enhanced participation of persons with disabilities, and the accommodation of other disadvantaged and vulnerable groups that have been the targets of historical and systemic discrimination. In short, the strong endorsement of human rights in the workplace is the only guarantee of the full and effective utilization of our human resources with all their talents, creativity and expertise and the promotion of a work ethic that is conducive to economic success and prosperity.

In keeping with the importance of a proactive approach to human rights issues, human rights commissions must adopt a new agenda for action in the workplace. Worker and employer education in human rights and the promotion of a human rights culture in the economy are fundamental in establishing an economic synergy that promotes a dynamic, productive, respectful and harmonious work environment. Human rights commissions must be prepared to assume the role of economic catalyst and proactive agents for the promotion and development in the workplace of sexual harassment policies, employment equity programs, affirmative action plans, policies on reasonable accommodation and pay equity. Indeed, one cannot emphasize enough the need for adopting and respecting human rights principles and values in the workplace in the context of our contemporary cultural and racial pluralism.

The protection and promotion of human rights in the workplace is no longer simply a moral or ethical issue; within the multicultural realities and financial constraints of the twenty first century, it is a fundamental prerequisite for business and economic success. Indeed, the degree to which the workplace is sensitive and responsive to gender equality and cultural and racial diversity will determine success or failure in the highly competitive environment of the next century. There is no denying that customer preferences and service demands from business corporations and government departments and agencies require a higher level of conformity to human rights principles and values. In short, respecting and promoting a human rights culture in the workplace is essential to safeguarding one's competitive edge in the domestic and global markets and ensuring qualitative excellence in the services provided.

In the twenty-first century managing diversity effectively will be a key precondition for economic success. Globalization and economic interdependence have forced us to deal with
people of different cultures and languages. Canada's workforce is becoming increasingly heterogeneous and demographic projections reveal that our population and workforce in the next century will be significantly more culturally and racially diverse. The ability to cope with diversity and use it to economic advantage is a skill that is becoming increasingly more important. Diversity is a unique economic asset and a powerful force that can contribute to our competitive edge. Indeed, our future economic wellbeing will require that special attention be given towards harnessing the full potential of our cultural and racial pluralism. Human rights agencies must assume the educational role of promoting a greater awareness that employment equity programs are not about preferential treatment but rather about creating a level playing field that affords equal opportunity. Effective strategies for employment equity policies must promote the full and equal participation of all citizens in the economic opportunities and rewards. It must contribute towards breaking the glass ceiling, dispersing the clustering of women and minorities in some departments and sectors, and correcting the under-representation of women and minority groups from the decisions-making process and from the corporate boardrooms. In short, the realisation of our full economic potential will depend upon our success in combatting discrimination and promoting equitable treatment by ensuring that the talents, expertise, creativity and contribution of all our citizens are directed towards the process of nation building, social harmony and economic prosperity.

Pursuing Equality

One of the most pressing issues for human rights commissions is the pursuit of equality as a priority item on their agenda for action. Human rights commissions need to make substantial progress in promoting effective equality. They need to elevate the pursuit of equality from mere process to substantive equality. They need to discard the band-aid solutions in favour of structural change in order to achieve meaningful equality. Human rights commissions need to endorse a concept of equality that permits collective rights to strengthen and reinforce individual rights. In essence, this requires elevating the notion of equality beyond similar treatment to the higher level of equitable treatment.

What is needed is a new substantive approach to equality rather than just a procedural one. We should elevate the principle of equality to an operational level. Operational equality must include equality of opportunity; equal of access; equality of participation; and, perhaps most important, equality of result or outcome whereby we can assess and evaluate our progress at achieving meaningful equality. In this regard, multicultural education and human rights education reflect a common purpose and a dynamic synergy.

Equality is a positive right. Yet, our progress in the advancement of political, civil and democratic rights has not been shared equally. Greater advances need to be achieved in order to ensure the larger participation of women, native persons, multicultural minorities and disabled persons in the democratic and decision-making process. There is no denying that, at the present time, they are significantly under-represented in the democratic and political process as well as the legislative and decision-making systems.

The biggest failure of the past two decades has been in promoting equality through collective rights such as cultural rights, social rights, and economic rights. Collective rights are about empowering minorities and vulnerable groups with a hand-up rather than a hand-down, main streaming them rather than marginalizing them. The need to pursue collective rights is usually the consequence of persistent systemic discrimination. In the final analysis, collective rights are about a new spirit of community that allows our diversity to become the cornerstone of our nation building.

Human rights commissions in the twenty-first century will need to devote more time and resources to combatting systemic discrimination. At the forefront of this concerted effort should be a commitment to create meaningful and sustained equality not by means of preferential treatment but by creating a level playing field that provides equal opportunity for all. We should be mindful that systemic discrimination creates a distorted prism which prevents the utilization of the full strength and potential of our human resources in building for the future. This is especially true within the multicultural and multiracial realities of contemporary society.

The promotion of the principles and substance of Canada's multiculturalism policy is a key ingredient in the mission and mandate of human rights commissions. In practise the tools for achieving those objectives is through the adjudication and conciliation of individual complaints of discrimination and through the arsenal of resources and initiatives of human rights education. Human rights education embraces the various mutations of multicultural education in the guise of inter-cultural awareness, cross-cultural sensitivity, anti-racism and equity education. Indeed, human rights education is an important conduit for advancing the institutional capacity of human rights agencies to protect and promote the essential pre-requisites for tolerance, respect and acceptance of our cultural and racial diversity. In short, the linkages and complementarity between human rights education and multicultural education, both in its formal pedagogical venue and in the forum of public education, are important catalysts for the advancement of a human rights culture that recognizes and accepts our cultural and racial diversity as a fundamental characteristic of contemporary Canadian society.

Appendix 1

Ministerial Statement on Multicultural/Human Rights Education by the Minister of Education, Province of New Brunswick, August 1989

Both the Official languages of New Brunswick Act (1969) and An Act Recognizing the Equality of the Two Official Linguistic Communities in New Brunswick (1981) are testimony to the political will of the government to guarantee the rights of the two principal linguistic groups of the province.

Following the adoption of the Official Languages Act by the Parliament of Canada in 1969, Parliament also passed legislation to promote human rights of the two principal linguistic groups of the province. In this regard, the trend nationally is to enable young Canadians through public education to become more conscious and better informed of the human rights issues in Canada. We must now move forward to complement and strengthen efforts so that the
very fabric of our provincial life incorporates this human rights philosophy. It is important, therefore, that our public schools develop a firm commitment to multiculturalism and human rights education.

Multicultural/Human Rights Education provides an opportunity to practice some of our most fundamental beliefs and to demonstrate our understanding of the meaning of being a member of an increasingly multicultural society. As the Canadian continues to grow and to be enriched in that growth by cultural and racial diversity, school systems must ensure that their policies and practices reflect the needs of the population they serve.

Over the past few years the Department has addressed multicultural topics through curriculum initiatives, inservice education and cooperative projects with community groups. More recently, some school boards have Department wishes to acknowledge and to encourage further expansion of this important aspect of education.

This Statement is intended to send a clear message that the Department of Education is committed to the development and enhancement of school programs and operations practices that promote the dignity and fundamental worth of all human beings regardless of racial, religious or socio-cultural background. It container of statements that provide a rationale and framework for the six major principles that form the essence of Multicultural/Human Rights Education. A final section focuses on recommendations for implementation.

1. Background Statements

The following excerpts provide the parameters for multicultural/human rights education policy.

1.1 Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for humans and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups ...

1.2 "New Brunswick's policy on multiculturalism is guided by principles of 1) equality, 2) appreciation, 3) preservation of cultural heritages, and 4) participation. These principles govern interaction among majority and minority cultural communities in New Brunswick."

1.3 "We believe that cultural pluralism is the very essence of Canadian identity. Every ethnic group has the right to preserve and develop its own culture and values within the Canadian context."
Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1971.

1.4 "Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability."

2. Guiding Principles

The Department of Education is committed to the following principles.

2.1 That every individual has a right to be educated in a school system that is free from bias, prejudice and intolerance.

2.2 That any manifestation of discrimination on the basis of gender, race, ethnicity or religion by any persons in the public school system is not acceptable.

2.3 That school programs and practices promote students' self esteem and assist in developing a pride in one's own culture and heritage.

2.4 That the school curriculum be free of bias and stereotyping and open to the study of the contributions and achievements of all peoples.

2.5 The multicultural community groups be actively involved in shaping policy and practices in the schools.

2.6 That employment and promotion practices will be based on merit and ability and free from discriminatory barriers.

3. Implementing the Principles

The following initiatives are designed to support the implementation of the foregoing principles:

3.1 Every school board is encouraged to develop a policy statement based on the guiding principles. To assist school boards with this task, the Department of Education will provide consultation on major policy issues in this area and provide opportunities to discuss programs and practices that can be implemented in our schools.

3.2 Information sessions will be held for curriculum development groups to instruct them in the use of guidelines to detect bias and stereotyping in learning materials.

3.3 The Department, in cooperation with school districts, will develop and make available an information package for promoting and improving multicultural/human rights education.

3.4 The Department will continue to identify and/or develop materials that provide a balanced treatment of gender, cultural, racial, ethnic and religious beliefs and values.

3.5 The Department will encourage school boards to consult with multicultural community groups on a regular basis to ensure their active participation in school programs and activities.

3.6 The Department will establish a process to assess the progress made toward the full implementation of multicultural/human rights education policy.

3.7 School boards will be expected to take appropriate action when multicultural/human rights principles are undermined by staff, students or visitors to the school.

3.8 The Department will support the ongoing commitment to multicultural/human rights education through professional development activities, its regular publications, and by means of press releases at appropriate times during the school year.
The Department of Education accepts that it has a special responsibility in multicultural/human rights education. Teachers are particularly well-placed to influence young people by information they impart, the attitudes they promote, and the behaviours they display. It is essential, therefore, that they have quality curriculum males available to them and that school policies take into account individual and cultural differences. School administrators also have a unique opportunity to foster students' self-worth, to ensure that prejudice is not tolerated, and that cultural awareness among students and teachers is enhanced.

It is sobering indeed to reflect on the heavy burden placed on the public education system in this important matter. At the same time, it is reassuring to know that schools can make such a difference; that they can be so influential in determining the way individuals think about and behave towards others -- first, in the schools, and, later on, in adult life.

We are all aiming for a society free from bias, prejudice and intolerance; a society respectful of all regardless of individual differences. To achieve this, the Department of Education will play a leadership role while at the same time it will be reaching out to others for consultation and guidance. Public schools have a major responsibility in multiculturalism/human rights education. Long-term success however, will come only if we are able to share the challenge and combine our resources and efforts.

References

Canada, Employment and Immigration Commission. Annual Reports to Parliament on Future Immigration Levels, Ottawa: Supply and Services, various years.

Multiculturalism: Failed or Untried Concept

Peter L. McCreath, Hubbards, Nova Scotia

It has been almost a quarter of a century since multiculturalism, as a concept of Canadian society, was first accorded official status through a statement articulated by Prime Minister Trudeau in 1971. The status of official multiculturalism was further enhanced by inclusion of reference to it in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982, and reached its theoretical legal apex with the passage of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act in 1988.

As a concept of Canada, multiculturalism was little known to most except scholars and interest groups during the seventies. During the eighties, the word evoked a sort of warm fuzziness amongst Canadians in opinion polls. At the same time interested zealots (amongst whom I include myself and those same interest groups) pressed successive governments to both enhance the legal status of multiculturalism and to devote greater and greater budget allocations to the fulfillment of the concept. Now we are mid-stream in the nineties. Instead of reaching the fulfillment that many sought during the previous two decades, multiculturalism has come into disrepute among at least some Canadians. Indeed, as we see increasing polarizations amongst Canadians, multiculturalism is cited by some as one of the sources of division rather than one of unity amongst Canadians. What a difference a decade makes!

The obvious question is: was multiculturalism an unrealistic concept, is it a failed concept, or is it, as yet, an untried concept?

Origins of Multiculturalism

Canada is a land of immigrants, and the descendants of immigrants. According to archaeologists, even aboriginal persons living in Canada have their origins elsewhere. Halifax, one of Canada's oldest cities was founded in 1749; within six months one could hear as many as six different languages on the as yet unpaved streets. By the 1960's, Canadians traced their origins to just about every country of the world. It was during that decade that Prime Minister Lester Pearson established a royal commission to probe the implications of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada. During the next few months, as the commissioners trekked across this vast land they re-discovered Canada, or rather they discovered a somewhat more complex Canada than official Canada had as yet acknowledged really existed. Certainly, they discovered a different Canada than was reflected in our national symbols and institutions, and in particular, in our institutions of government. They discovered not a bilingual and bicultural country, but one that was multiethnic, multi-religious, multiracial, culturally pluralistic, indeed, multicultural. And furthermore, they said so.

This was not to suggest that Canada was not a country shaped and dominated overwhelmingly by two predominant linguistic groups, the English and the French (or, as they have since become known by those distinctly Canadian terms, the anglophones and the francophones). Rather the point was, that any attempt to define the fabric of Canadian society, let alone its institutions and power structures, would be incomplete, if it did not accommodate what might be called "the third force" in Canada. The concept of a multicultural society, being a pluralistic, yet unified political entity, emerged, and multiculturalism became the catchword that attempted to define a central concept or set of concepts by which Canada could exist with equity, civility and tranquillity available to all.

Expectations of Multiculturalism

The word multiculturalism began to enter the Canadian lexicon a quarter of a century ago. The word aroused different expectations amongst different groups of Canadians. Many members of minority groups in Canada accepted their second class status in Canada. Fortunately, others didn't. Whether their minority status was defined by their race, ethnicity, religion, sex or disability, they wanted full rights of citizenship and membership in Canadian society. And, they wanted it on their own terms, that is to say without changing what they were. These people saw multiculturalism as the wedge that could become their entrée to the central institutions of Canada, socially, economically and politically. They saw multiculturalism as a vehicle to breaking down the barriers of prejudice and discrimination that existed in Canada at that time.

Educators, particularly students of Canadian studies, certainly saw multiculturalism as a dimension of Canadian studies, but also as a means whereby education could make a unique and important contribution to Canada through building understanding amongst Canadians. More than any other group of professionals, educators became the leading drivers of multiculturalism during the seventies and eighties.

Politicians (at least those who took any notice of the notion at all), saw multiculturalism as an entrée to minority communities for political purposes. It would be crass to suggest that politicians saw multiculturalism as a means ingratiating ethnic groups into responding with their political support. A more generous interpretation of history would be to suggest that visionary leaders recognized that it was important that the nation's leadership reach out to members of the society who had not fully taken their places in the national power structures.

During the decade of the eighties, allocations of government money to multiculturalism grew steadily, but
remained small when compared to allocations for such things as bilingualism, native or women's issues. Ethnic leaders sought grants not only for the tangible benefit and use, but as symbols of the recognition of their cultural group by their government. In other words, multicultural grants meant bestowal of a sort of cultural legitimacy by the government of Canada.

Bureaucrats, driven and supported by educators and others recognized that the growing pluralism of Canadian society would bring adjustment problems that needed to be addressed. For example, the development of cohesion and mutual understanding between peoples of different cultures, as well as between the dominant cultural groups and the minorities, clearly were challenges facing the nation and steadily become more pressing. Similarly, the integration of minorities, particularly immigrants, into the mainstream of Canadian society and institutions, was a challenge posed by Canada's increasing pluralism. Finally, their was the question of to what extent minorities should be expected or encouraged to acculturate to Canadian cultural norms.

Just as multiculturalism came to mean different things to different people, so also did it arouse different expectations.

Recognizing Multiculturalism

During the seventies, the Trudeau government established a directorate within the Department of the Secretary of State called the Multiculturalism Directorate. It was headed by a Director. Trudeau also appointed a Minister of State for Multiculturalism. During the eighties, the size and stature of Multiculturalism as a bureaucratic pod progressed from being one headed by a director, to a director-general to an assistant undersecretary of state (the equivalent of a assistant deputy minister).

Brian Mulroney announced the creation of a Department of Multiculturalism, and even appointed a deputy minister. However, by then the multiculturalism star had begun to fade, and the independent ministry never really was established - though there was a full minister of multiculturalism. Kim Campbell largely implemented the major government restructuring report prepared under the auspices of long time minister Robert de Cotret, which saw the dissolution of the Department of the Secretary of State, and the creation of a Department of Canadian Heritage, which brought together the cultural elements of Secretary of State with those of the Department of Communications and the cultural agencies, such as the museums, the Canada Council, etc. Campbell also appointed a Minister of Multiculturalism, but he didn't seem to have a department. When Jean Chretien took over, he appointed a Minister of Canadian Heritage, a Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, and a junior minister, a Secretary of State for Multiculturalism, who I note is often referred to in the press as the Minister of Multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism first gained formal recognition with Trudeau's statement in the House of Commons in 1971. So it remained until the Constitution Act of 1982. To the delight of its advocates, multiculturalism came of age with its inclusion in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, section 27. This decision was considered very significant by minority cultural leaders, although in retrospect it is difficult to discern that the inclusion has in fact had any noteworthy legal significance. During the first mandate of the Mulroney government, as the bureaucracy and budgets of multiculturalism grew, debate raged over whether there should be a Multiculturalism Act setting forth the government's commitments and obligations with respect to multiculturalism. David Crombie who was both Secretary of State and Minister of Multiculturalism from 1986-1988 felt that a separate statute would ghettoize multiculturalism within government. He felt that recognition of multiculturalism should be included in an overhaul of the Citizenship Act. Crombie did bring down a white paper on citizenship, and in the end gave in on the matter of an act. He introduced the Canadian Multiculturalism Bill, but left office before it could clear Parliament. His successor, Gerry Weiner presided over passage of the legislation.

Nearly a decade later, what has been the impact of this legislation that was greeted with such enthusiasm at the time of its passage? In retrospect, the bill appears to some to have been little more than a public relations exercise. The bill really had two problems. First of all, few people seem to have read it. The real underlying intent of the legislation in the minds of its drafters was to place on government a legislated obligation to intervene actively to address the implications of a multicultural society, to address the need for the development of cross cultural understanding, to educate against racism and prejudice, and to seriously address the challenges faced by minority Canadians, particularly immigrants, in integrating into full participation in Canadian life.

Unfortunately some Canadians see the Act as giving legitimacy to grants to ethnic organizations, which they see as fostering divisiveness. The Canadian Multiculturalism Act was intended to encourage and accommodate cultural growth or development within the Canadian context. This is as distinct from the concept of cultural retention. Grants to cultural organizations, especially for purposes of heritage language education, are seen by some (whether legitimately or not!) as encouraging people to retain their former ethnic ties, rather than encouraging their cultural development as Canadians. What has often been misunderstood is that multiculturalism is not about ethnic and racial groups, it is about Canada and being Canadian. It seeks to define a concept of Canada and being Canadian within a Canadian context.

The principles articulated in the Canadian Multiculturalism Act define an ideal Canada, a Canada where each citizen has the right to be him or herself. It defines a Canada where there is no official culture, but wherein the culture of Canada is defined as the aggregate of the cultures of Canadians. It is always assumed that the reference is to cultures within the Canadian context.

One of the most encouraging developments reflecting multiculturalism policy and practise in Canada is the degree to which governments and agencies of governments have sought to respect the diversity of Canadians in their appointments to boards, commissions and generally to positions within government. The appointment of Lincoln Alexander as Lieutenant Governor of Ontario was undoubtedly one of the most significant. Alexander's appointment as legal head of state in Ontario symbolically demonstrated that every position in government was tangibly accessible to all Canadians.
Today, all governments are careful to ensure that their appointments strive to demographically reflect their populations, particularly as respects political appointments. Similarly, agencies such as the CBC, have been responsive to representations made to them a decade ago to ensure that the faces that appear before the cameras reflect the Canadian population. Their lead has now been taken by the other networks.

Similarly, corporations, recognizing it as a matter of good business, have aggressively sought to redress imbalances in demographic representation amongst their employees. Some, like the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce have established internal units mandated to educate and advocate on behalf of what amounts to putting multiculturalism into practice within their corporation. However, corporate boards generally do not as yet reflect Canadian society. Both women and minorities continue to be noticeably underrepresented in the rooms where, it could be said, the real power lies.

During his brief stint as Minister of State for Multiculturalism, Otto Jelinek led an initiative to convince business leaders that recognizing the multicultural diversity of Canada made good business sense, both from a domestic and an international perspective. Canadians have personal or ancestral ties to virtually every country of the world. Who better to open markets than business people who can communicate in the local language, and who know and understand the culture.

Successful entrepreneurs do not need to be told the obvious. They will pursue markets where there is a dollar to be made in the manner most likely to achieve success.

Barriers to Acceptance of Multiculturalism

Today, it is conventional wisdom that the government should live within its means, even if that means cutting expenditures or raising taxes. However, what most people mean, even if they don't always say it, is cut the things that are not priorities to me, and increase the taxes that I don't pay.

In the same way, opinion polls during the eighties indicated that Canadians were very warm to the idea of multiculturalism and to the idea that Canada should be a haven to refugees from troubled lands abroad. However, at the risk of overgeneralization, it could be suggested that recent years of recession and government retrenchment, lingering unemployment and the taking over of neighbourhoods by identifiable cultural groups has, to some extent at least, modified Canadian openness to multiculturalism and the cross cultural understanding it implies.

Statistics demonstrate that on the whole immigrants create both jobs and wealth in Canada. Unfortunately, many Canadians simply don't believe it.

Most independent immigrants who enter Canada bring a certain amount of wealth, education or skills with them. Many have jobs waiting for them because friends, relatives or other sponsors have made arrangements for them. Or, they create their own opportunities once they are here. Refugees often do not arrive with the same advantages and opportunities immediately available to them. Sometimes (whether this be reasonable or not), people who are themselves struggling economically, or others who believe they are unfairly burdened with what they consider to be high taxation, resent the idea that government resources should be allocated to assist and support the settlement of refugees. Isolated media focus on individual stories of refugees of questionable background or legitimacy sometimes contribute to negative perceptions regarding refugees.

Internationally, Canada is seen as one of the most hospitable recipient countries for refugees. It is said that some refugees shop for their eventual landing spot. Many choose Canada as their country of choice because of the economic benefits that residence in Canada bestows.

There is a growing, and in my judgment a dangerous body of unscholarly but politically impacting opinion in Canada that goes like this: Refugee claimants can quickly come to believe that the essence of living in Canada is the enjoyment of the benefits bestowed by a benevolent Canadian society, while requiring nothing in return, not even adherence to Canadian norms and practices. Multiculturalism, they are led to believe, means you can live in Canada while remaining in your heart, your soul and in your lifestyle exactly what you were before.

Increasing numbers of Canadian taxpayers are being influenced by such sentiments and are saying enough already. Send them back and get rid of this multiculturalism that is causing it all.

Horror stories of abuse of the system do little to foster enthusiasm for the kind of open, understanding that underlies respect for human rights and multiculturalism.

The protracted nature of the recession and global economic changes that hit Canada in 1990, and have seemingly never left, have combined with regionalism and flourishing Quebec nationalism to generally create an anger within the public mind from coast to coast. Canadians generally seem less generous toward one another. The degree of anger present across the land became apparent to the Spicer Commission during its hearings in 1990-1991, and reached full expression with the prejudice, hatred and anger that surfaced during the referendum campaign of 1992.

With the death of the Meech Lake and Charlottetown accords, nationalism again rose to the surface in Quebec, and provincial parochialism would seem to have taken over in several provinces, especially in the far west. Multiculturalism, which was to have been one of the concepts that would help save Canada and establish us as world leaders in coping with pluralism, has become like the baby that went out with the bath water of national frustration, resentment and anger.

A Future for Multiculturalism

Is there a future for multiculturalism? From a Canadian perspective, the answer lies first in whether there is a future for Canada? Technological advancement is making the world smaller on the one hand, while growing nationalism is driving more and more cleavages amongst nations throughout the world. The Canadian concept of multiculturalism is as valid today as a formula whereby the people of a diverse land can learn to live together in peace and harmony as it ever was. But in our case, there must first be a clear consensus on the need for national survival.
One hopes that in the final analysis, the vast majority of Canadians will adhere to the view of former prime minister, Joe Clark, that this is "a country too good to lose".

Ambivalence toward multiculturalism perhaps exemplifies the problem in Canada, and perhaps other societies, that we will only accommodate change so long as it does not directly impact on our individual lives. Unfortunately, that's not good enough. If multiculturalism is to have a useful future for Canada, we must return to its origins as a concept developed to reflect how the peoples of a diverse country can live in harmony and with fairness. The advocates of multiculturalism must renew their efforts. The concept as articulated by the framers of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act is valid. It has yet to reach fulfillment from the perspective of implementation. Thus, as an optimist, I would conclude that multiculturalism is as yet, not a failed, but an untried concept.
The School's Role in Revealing the Commonplaces of Our National Culture and Identity: A Multicultural Perspective

Jerry Diakiw

Introduction

Is there a national way of life that characterizes Canadian society? Do we have a distinctive culture and identity that distinguishes us from other nations? As we observe the breakup of nations through the unravelling of ethnic and tribal relationships, in Yugoslavia, the former Soviet Union and in Africa, and ponder the possible separation of Quebec from Canada, it is necessary to reflect on the future of Canada. Can our diversity ultimately be so divisive as to reduce our society into a patchwork of competing ethnic or regional entities typical of several other parts of the world, or are we to be subsumed in whole or in part to a larger United States? Or, are there common conceptions or commonplaces about our country that bind us together into a safe and free multicultural society?

I argue that there is a Canadian culture and identity that is different from any one of the regional, cultural or ethnic groups that can be found in Canada. This culture and identity is inclusive of all groups and is available to all Canadians. (Hackney, 1993). I attempt in this article to identify conceptions, understandings or commonplaces of our culture and identity to which all regions and ethnocultural groups can relate.

This article will also attempt to explore and define the role of the school in debating, discussing and creating or revealing the national culture and identity. I believe the school can play a new role in identifying and revealing a nation culture and identity through discussion around these commonplaces -- a role which preserves and enhances our multicultural heritage while revealing an understanding of historic traditions and power structures that created the Nation.

The discussion of the school's role in revealing the national culture and identity is fraught with dangers. Whether we like it or not the school is, and always has been a major purveyor of a national viewpoint. Any examination of the curriculum of the past reveals a program of indoctrination into the culture and mores of those in power. The old African proverb is still true - "Until lions have their own history, tales of bravery and courage will be told about the hunter." Or, as Napoleon put it more bluntly, "History is a set of lies agreed upon" (As cited in Wright. 1992, p. 3). Wright states, "Conventional history is written by winners" (p. 3). The winners get to write the curriculum.

As a young boy of immigrant Ukrainian parents, I remember vividly in grade 7 and 8 in Toronto in the late 1940's spending hours memorizing the Kings and Queens of England in chronological order, later reading the required stories, plays and novels of Rudyard Kipling, Charles Dickens and Jane Austin, Shakespeare and the poetry of Tennyson and Wordsworth. I do not recall reading any Canadian authors. While at Upper Canada College (UCC) for my high school years, (which I attended through a strange quirk of fate), I was introduced to an elitist training designed to produce boys capable of taking on the reins of power in Canada. They made no bones about it. At daily Church of England prayers (UCC was advertised as a non-denominational school), our imported British headmaster would remind us frequently of the College's history of successes in this regard and remind us of our duty to prepare ourselves for leadership positions in the country. To achieve this goal the College overtly or covertly prepared us to be proper English gentlemen. The school was directly modelled on the Eton and Harrow tradition. The headmaster and the majority of the staff had always been imported from England. We were required to dress like proper English gentlemen, we were taught the manners and morals of proper English gentlemen and we were taught a curriculum suited to a English gentleman, including Latin and Greek, - the hallmark, back then, of a truly educated Englishman. We played English soldiers once a week at battalion, as a cadet corps affiliated with the Queen's Own Rifles. Our royal patron, Prince Philip made regular visits to the college to affirm our connection to the highest levels of British culture and civilization. We were being prepared to serve our country, Canada!

When I think of this type of inculcation going on at the zenith of the British Empire in commonwealth countries all over the world (all those pink bits on the world map), I am impressed with the power of schooling in creating national cultures, though not without its price in the long run.

I use this personal anecdote to illustrate how recently in our history that a transmission model of culture was viewed as a major function of the school and that the transmitted culture was, after all those long years, still an Anglo-Saxon tradition the product of the Canadian counterrevolution that evolved from the American Revolution. Canada evolved as a reaction to American independence. Lipset (1990) and Fyre (1982) have traced this counterrevolutionary trend in our literature and culture, perhaps best symbolized by the United Empire Loyalists with their devoted allegiance to the monarchy and a Tory orientation in their values and institutions.
The last few decades have seen a remarkable change. When the policy of Multiculturalism was proclaimed in 1971, Trudeau stated in the House of Commons, “While we have two official languages we have no official culture, no one culture is more official than another” (italics mine). I have pondered, thought about, argued and debated, this statement many times over the intervening years. Initially I embraced it with a fervor and dedication that verged on the reckless. It provided me with the opportunity to "vent my spleen" over the bitterness that had built up over the years about my UCC indoctrination, and to throw off the yoke of my English induction and the shame it had induced in me about my own heritage and family.

Though mine was really a privileged upbringing, I have often thought about some of the parallels of my UCC schooling with the Native residential schools, where Native Canadians were inducted into the dominant culture by being forbidden to speak their own language were force-fed the religion and culture of either French Canada or Britain.

But the longer I have pondered Trudeau's statement the more I have difficulty with the words, "we have no official culture..." It seems to imply what many have said for decades, that Canada has no cultural identity or commonplaces. It has contributed to a backlash manifested in the Reform Party, Separatism, and a fundamentalist resurgence across Canada, while multiculturalists try to stem the tide of racism and disempowerment.

Education is caught between conflicting demands. Grossberg (1993) states that on the one hand, there is the discourse of multiculturalism and liberation which calls for a democratic culture based on social difference and which is usually predicated on a theory of identity and representation. On the other side there is a discourse of conservatism based on canonical notions of general education and a desire to impose what it cannot justify--the existence of an illusory common culture" (p.10).

Simply, there is a lament over the loss of a culture rooted in Western civilization and values, while there is the cry for equity and a multicultural curriculum. Must there be a dualism? Is there an alternative to these two positions? It is instructive to review some history surrounding some of these issues.

We have been inundated the last few years with critical examinations of the meaning and purpose of multiculturalism and its affects on the curriculum in the school. In the United States a deluge of popular best selling books have promoted a return to a traditionalist view. Alan Bloom(1987) in The Closing of the American Mind, and E.D. Hirsch Jr. (1987) in Cultural Literacy, early explored the traditionalist view. They have in Henry Giroux's view (1992) "argued that multiculturalism poses a serious threat to the school's traditional task of defending and transmitting an authentic national history, a uniform standard of cultural literacy, and a singular national identity for all citizens to embrace"(p.1).

The heated position of the traditionalists is best demonstrated by Roger Kimbal's provocative statement (1991):

Implicit in the politicizing mandate of multiculturalism is an attack on the idea of common culture, the idea that despite our many differences, we hold in common an intellectual, artistic, and moral legacy, descending largely from the Greeks and the Bible, supplemented and modified over the centuries by innumerable contributions from diverse hands and peoples. It is this legacy that gives us our science, our political institutions, and the monuments of artistic and cultural achievement that define us as a civilization. Indeed it is this legacy, insofar as we live up to it, that preserves us from chaos and barbarism. And it is precisely this legacy that the multiculturalism wishes to dispense with (p.6).

This frightening position is widely held in Canada as well. The notion that our cultural mosaic and regional and ethnic differences can promote "chaos and barbarism" is a form of extremism that is not productive in promoting a constructive dialogue.

It is my intention to explore these positions and to explore an alternative - to think of culture as Henry Louise Gates Jr.(1991) stated it as, "a conversation among different voices." Is it possible, by identifying a set of commonplaces, to take the traditionalists emphasis on curriculum as a narrative structure tied to producing a unified culture and identity, and yet incorporate a multicultural, liberating perspective? Is diversity possible, within these commonplaces, as a source of cultural identity? Is the idea of multiple loyalties and identities possible within the framework of a national culture and identity?

Certainly I personally feel all of these identities. Survey data in Canada indicate strong regional loyalties and identities in many parts of Canada, yet the evidence shows that the stronger the regional loyalty, the stronger the identity with Canada (Lipset, 1991).

As individuals we hold a complex set of loyalties and cultural identities, particularly in Canada. We have a strong bond to family, to place --neighbourhood/community, often a strong affinity to our bioregion -- the Maritimes, or the Prairies for example, often to our ethnic and/or our linguistic heritage, to our religious group and finally to our country. For many Canadians now we even have a strong feeling of loyalty to, if I can call it that, and identity with, the planet. Even our workplace and social organizations like golf, tennis or fitness clubs, service organizations like the Lions Club can evoke a strong loyalty and cultural identity. Each of these groups has a unique culture, with its own set of values, ceremonies, celebrations, history and traditions. We move in and out of our various "tribes" with ease and comfort. I may belong to several cultures that my spouse has no knowledge of and visa versa. I don't understand the world of her investment club and she understands little of the culture of my UNICEF association.

The complexity of our "tribal" relations is in fact quite extraordinary. We are a mass of hierarchical, overlapping, shifting, often contradictory and conflicting loyalties and identities. Each of us has many common loyalties in unique combinations and strengths, such that within one family, while there will be many common elements, the strength of our loyalties to certain of our cultures and our particular combinations of cultures, create unique individuals.
Given this complexity one might ask why then is a national identity and culture such an important and controversial issue. David Trend (1993) declares, "Nationality is a fiction. It is a story people tell themselves about who they are, where they live and how they got there" (p.225). And, nationalism is "...the product of who and where we have been. We need such a map desperately, we need to know our place, their here, is not a luxury but a necessity. Without that knowledge we will not survive" (p.19).

Sheldon Hackney, Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts (1993) in a speech to the National Press Club said, "All ethnic groups have permeable boundaries, and the meaning of any particular identity will change over time... History has a way of changing who we think we are." Hackney is promoting a national conversation to take place in church basements, schools, town hall meetings and in the media across America, that will focus on discussion about the national identity, shared values and goals in a pluralistic society. He postulates a notion about America that is one I feel is equally true about Canada, and which I paraphrased in a Canadian context in my opening paragraph. "There is an American identity that is different from the identities of any one of the ethnic groups that comprise the American population, that is inclusive of all of them and that is available to everyone who is an American."

From the perspective of Canadian culture and identity, many Canadians say they do not know who they are, but they do know who they do not want to be. We have a resistance to Americanization. As noted, the creation of Canada evolved out of the historic counterrevolution of American independence, a rejection of the "American way." This manifests itself in myriad ways today. Margaret Atwood (Survival, 1972), for example, explores this when she writes about our culture revealed in our literature:

I'm talking about Canada as a state of mind, as a space you inhabit not just with your body but with your head. It's that kind of space in which we find ourselves lost.

What a lost person needs is a map of the territory, with his own position marked on it so he can see where he is in relation to everything else. Literature is not only a mirror; it is also a map, a geography of the mind. Our literature is one such map, if we can learn to read it as our literature, as the product of who and where we have been. We need such a map desperately, we need to know about here. Because here is where we live. For the members of a country or a culture, shared knowledge of their place, their here, is not a luxury but a necessity. Without that knowledge we will not survive (p.19).

Canadians have been asking the question "Where is here?" for some time and there is an urgency that does not prevail elsewhere. The constant threat of Quebec separation begs the question "What then?" Can the Maritimes remain a part of Canada separated by the immense stretch of Quebec that now lies between Ontario and the Maritimes? Will parts of Western Canada also separate? Will we become Americans?

For these reasons the debate on issues of culture and identity are often quite different in Canada than in the United States. One does not contemplate in the USA what will be the implications if California joins Mexico, or will the U.S. South secede, nor does one debate the loss of mid-western US values because of the barrage on television of Canadian comedians, hockey and Ann of Green Gables.

But while there is a significant difference in this regard, both nations are faced with the issue of a curriculum for a multicultural society.
How have cultures transmitted their values, traditions and its story? Every culture has its story to tell. In most countries with a culturally homogeneous population, children by the age of 13 or 14 have grown up hearing and learning the stories that define their culture; myths, legends, folklore, historic tidbits, tales of heroes and villains, miraculous tales and tales of courage and achievement. These shared stories lie at the heart of a culture's identity. Arts and crafts, music, dance, film, and poetry blend together over time to crystallize an image that says, this is who we are. The stories that are shared provide a culture with its values and beliefs, goals and traditions. The myths, legends, folktales, histories, and experiences of any cultural group bind the individuals together to form a cohesive society which allows people to communicate with each other and to work together with a shared purpose. These common stories become the foundation of public discourse.

Easy to say, in a homogeneous population, but more difficult with a complex nation racially, linguistically and culturally. But the United States has similar complexities and has achieved the perception of a unified shared culture that Canadians often envy.

E.D. Hirsch Jr. (1987), for example, laments the disintegration of central core values and a shared common knowledge. He argues for the identification of what every American needs to know. While disagreeing with him here on many important counts, I am none-the-less attracted to the importance he places on the shared stories, myths, and legends that lie at the heart of a culture particularly to children up to the age of thirteen:

The weight of human tradition across many cultures supports the view that basic acculturation should largely be completed by age thirteen. At that age Catholics are confirmed, Jews bar or bat mitzvahed, and tribal boys and girls undergo the rites of passage into the tribe (p. 30).

Korean children traditionally memorize numerous works including the five Kyung and the four Su. In Tibet boys from eight to ten read aloud and learn the scriptures, in Chile the Araucanian Indians use songs to learn the customs and traditions of their tribe. The Bushmen children of South Africa listen to hours of discussion until they know the history of every aspect of their culture. The Papago Indians of the Amazon take children through the lengthy rituals over and over again until they know them by heart.

Hirsch traces how, in modern nations, the education system has traditionally been used to convey a national culture. It has often been said that in France for example, on any particular day, each child in each grade would be reading the same page in the same textbook. The text book, in the history of American education, has been a constant source of debate over attempts to control the culture transmitted through the schools. The best example however, of the influence of one document in defining a culture is Lectures on Rhetoric and Belle Lettres, 1783 by Hugh Blair, a Scot from the University of Edinburgh. It was intended as a compendium of what every Scot needed to know if they were to read and write well in English. This book had enormous impact on curriculum in school systems throughout the English-speaking world. Between 1783 and 1911 his book, widely used in Great Britain, U.S. and Canada went through 130 editions! He defined English literary culture for use by provincials like the Scots, and colonials like Canadians and Americans. It later became the standard for educating native-born Englishmen and women as well.

Ernest Gellner in his book, Nations & Nationalism (1987), pointed out that in modern nations, viewed from a historical perspective, it has been the school, not the home that has been the decisive factor in creating national cultures. Literate national cultures he maintains, are school-transmitted cultures. He argues that the chief makers of the modern nation have been school teachers; they helped create the modern nation state; they can perpetuate it and make it thrive. The history of Europe has shown that the schools play a major role in the creation of a national culture. Even in the United States, with its many disparate groups, the schools have played a major role in creating a national culture through such common shared stories both real and imagined, as George Washington, Daniel Boone, Tom Sawyer, and Casey at the Bat, and the promotion of strong central shared values and symbols of patriotism.

The history of the evolution of nationalism in country after country indicates clearly that creating a national culture is an artificial construct. Ernest Gellner points out that,

The cultural shreds and patches used by nationalism are often arbitrary inventions, any old shred or patch would have served as well. Nationalism is not what it seems and above all, not what it seems to itself. The culture it claims to defend is often its own invention (p. 56).

Gellner points out that nation builders use a patchwork of folk materials, old songs, legends, dances, and historical tidbits selected and re-interpreted by intellectuals to create a national culture.

These readings and discussions have illuminated for me the history and the process of the transmission of culture that has been employed during our recent world history of colonialism and nationalism, but the process does not match well with our current thinking. It is this kind of approach from the past, that is the approach demanded by the current traditionalists who want to continue to promote a Eurocentric Christian curriculum based on the glories of Greek civilization, the Bible and the history of the democratization of Europe.

Rather I believe, that there is a culture (and a set of cultures) that are already there and that the role of the school should be in creating discussion and debate in order to identify the commonplaces of our culture and an understandings of the shared values we have. Through these "conversations among different voices" (Gates, 1991), we can bring about a multicultural perspective, while providing the "ties that bind." This dialogic discourse on the commonplaces of our national culture and identity can provide an important alternative to the duality that normally enforces the debates between traditionalists and multiculturalists.

Commonplaces of Canadian Culture and Identity

In order to provide a starting point for these discussions I have contemplated what commonplaces there are about Canada that most Canadians would agree on... at least as starting points for debate. In struggling to identify these
commonplaces I have asked myself: Do these commonplaces provide ample latitude to address critical issues in our society? Do they provide for a new multicultural curriculum that provides opportunities for students to become, in Henry Giroux's term, "border crossers." As he states:

Teachers must be educated to become border crossers, to explore zones of cultural difference by moving in and out of the resources, histories and narratives that provide different students with a sense of identity, place and possibility (1992, p 11).

And finally, do these commonplaces reveal that there is a Canadian identity that is different from any one of the ethnic or regional identities that comprise the Canadian population, and are also different from an American identity.

Two commonplaces, for example, that reveal some of the common understandings about our culture that dominate discussions in Canada and that are deeply embedded in our identity, are on the one hand our powerful regional identities, Quebec, the Maritime, the Prairies, for example, and on the other hand our perception of our international peace role and reputation, --our global interdependence as citizens of the world. It may be simplistic to suggest that our national identity is rooted in a recognition of both regionalism and internationalism. Our federalist system, bilingualism and our multicultural policy, certainly support and enhance regionalism. Our long history as peace keepers and mediators; our participation in international organizations, our long involvement with developing nations, and our comparatively open immigration and refugee polices, confirm our global commitment as international or global citizens.

It may appear paradoxical to articulate a national identity or national culture based on the fragmentation of a country into regions, two languages, distinct societies, First Nations, multicultures, and many faiths on the one hand, and striving towards global citizenship and responsibility on the other. Yet that is precisely what is happening today. Canada is in a significant way a microcosm of the world, where the forces for regionalism - former Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Union, India, Ireland, and Quebec are a counterpoint to the force for globalization - United Nations, free trade, GATT, a United Europe, OECD, OAS etc. There is room for considerable debate and discussion here.

Other commonplaces that reveal some central truths about our country that would be included for discussion or debate are; Canada, home of our First Nations; Canada, a nation of immigrants,-- a nation of adventurers, inventors and entrepreneurs; Canada, a democratic nation with remarkable freedoms, but marked by equity struggles yet unfolding for First Nations, women, people of colour, and French Canadians; Canada, a nation with a strong sense of social welfare, -- a social safety net is part of our tradition, and lastly, Canada, a wilderness nation, a land of awesome size and grandeur with savage beauty and obstacles. Despite our largely urban existence our wilderness preoccupies our psyche, our literature, our arts, our mythology. Canada, a nation of rich cultural traditions. These big themes or commonplaces are the "stuff" that myths are made of. They are the stuff that makes Canadians Canadian.

I have played with these themes and have evolved a set of ten commonplaces that emerge out of these simple notions. I believe they can provide the framework for a variety of approaches at the school level. They provide an alternative to the emotional discourse between the traditionalists and the multiculturalists. Not by resolving their differences entirely, but by providing a framework for constructive dialogue.

However, the commonplaces included here are not intended to be definitive and may be considered as a starting point. They are at best a tentative and exploratory. I intend to test out the validity and acceptability of these conceptions in a variety of forums, as well as considering others that could be discussed or added. Perhaps they should never be fixed and complete, but are always to be viewed in draft form... in recognition of the fluid nature of culture formation.

Each of the commonplaces is intended to capture a quintessential "given" about the nature of our Canadian culture and identity. While any one conception may be characteristic of any number of countries, it is the unique layering of one conception over another, over another, that begins to merge into the warp and weft of the fabric of our Canadian identity.

The literature on Canadian culture and identity is replete with analyses of Canada compared to the United States. Certainly the experience of a shared history of occupation by Europeans, and a common Native American heritage, on the same continent has resulted in many common cultural characteristics. However, the differences are significant and many of these differences have emerged in direct response to evolution of the United States. I have tried to reveal these powerful differences in each of the conceptions as they arose, but on reflection it may be necessary to develop an additional commonplace dealing directly with Canada's identity as a reflection of, or response to, the overwhelming presence and influence of the United States along our southern border.

Herewith is my initial set of conceptions:

**Commonplaces of Canada's Culture and Identity**

1. **Canada: A land of awesome beauty, size and grandeur - enormous challenges and savage obstacles.**

The majority of Canadians now live in urban centres strung out like a string of pearls along the southern border of Canada, but our vast, rugged wilderness and harsh climate dominate our history, mythology and our psyche. They form an indelible backdrop to our culture and identity.

Our legacy of art, from Group of Seven paintings to totem poles, and our literature, painting and native oral traditions reflect an intimate relationship, even a preoccupation with the land.

Canadians spend more money per capita on recreational equipment such as canoes, skis, and tents than any country in the world (Schafer, 1989) They visit provincial and national parks and conservation areas in higher numbers, per capita than other countries. A Canadian wilderness summer camp is a traditional experience for children of the wealthy as well as many children of the poor. For many, owning a cottage or camp is part of the Canadian dream.
Our advertising and marketing campaigns capitalize on our penchant for the wilderness with images of shimmering lakes, majestic mountains and breath-taking seascapes, and the sounds of the call of the loon and pounding surf.

Our economy too, is deeply rooted in the land. Forestry, fishing, mining, furs and farming have established the pattern of our settlement, and each has contributed to our mythology.

In response to the immensity and the challenge of our landscape, Canadians have demonstrated remarkable ingenuity and innovation that has made Canada preeminent in many areas. Canada leads the world, for example, in cartographic expertise, and in innovation in telecommunications. The canoe, the kayak, the snowshoe, the snowmobile, CBC Radio, the Beaver Air plane and our contributions to satellite technology are all ingenious responses to coping with an immense and trying landscape.

Even our constitutional wrangling and our unique federal system is a political reaction to a vast and diverse land. Our size and unique regions have engendered a system that demands compromise.

The variety and majesty of our land is deeply embedded in our cultural identity and is a fundamental element of our mythology. William Lyon Mackenzie King (1936) captured an essence of Canada when he stated "If some countries have too much history, Canada has too much geography." The icons of our landscape, whether Atlantic or Pacific seaseape, prairies or mountains, glacial north or lush St. Lawrence Lowland, are the "ground" upon which we see ourselves, as well as the way we are viewed by others.

2. CANADA: The Home of our First Nations.

Native Canadians have occupied the Americas for over 10,000 years and first migrated to north America as long ago as 30,000 years ago. Europeans first set foot in Canada only 1000 years ago (Vikings) and extensively only since Jacques Cartier, beginning in 1534. The imprint of native peoples on the evolution of Canada is profound. The early history of European intervention in North America was integrally linked with Native Canadian peoples. In many cases, as allies with the English or the French and often as adversaries in numerous conflicts. The ingenious response of native Canadians to the demands of travel in such a vast and rigorous landscape led to their invention of the canoe, the snowshoe and the kayak. Only through mastering the skills of these inventions was it possible for Europeans to explore, exploit, and occupy Canada. Native Canadian foods from cultivated crops such as corn, beans and squash, and food preservation techniques such as dried meat,-pemmican, and smoked fish, provided early travellers with the ability to survive the rigours of travel in Canada. They acted as guides, interpreters and negotiators for most of the early European explorations and trade and development.

Less widely known is the influence of the Iroquoian system of social organization on European thinkers like Montaigne, Hegel and Marx and on North American thinkers like Benjamin Franklin. The system of government in the United States and in Canada has its roots in the three level system of government practised by the Iroquois in the Iroquois Confederacy. Even the Eagle clutching five arrows in its claw (one for each of the five nations in the confederacy) was borrowed by the Americans as a symbol for the new nation. The American eagle now clutches thirteen arrows one for each of the original thirteen colonies. Canada's federal system of municipal, provincial, and federal governments was uniquely suited to uniting a large and disparate nation. The federal system in North America was unique among systems of government in the world at that time. Native words like caucus, a meeting of elders, have found their way into our political language.

Historic Native Canadian attitudes toward the treatment of members of the tribe less fortunate than others smacks of another conception of our Canadian identity -- our social safety net. It is intriguing to trace this distinguishing characteristic back to our Native Canadian roots. Engels, for example, stated," This gentle =constitution is wonderful. There can be no poor and needy... All are free and equal --including women" (as cited in Wright. 1992, p. 117). In a variety of ways the influence of Native Canadian life has entered into our collective heritage. The traditional Native Canadian religion with its respectful holistic attitude towards nature and the environment are receiving increasing respect and study. Native art has long held an important place in our record of the visual icons of our culture. The totems of the West coast, Inuit stone carvings and contemporary prints and paintings have achieved world wide recognition and appreciation. Native elements of fashion and design, permeate in subtle ways contemporary urban, as well as rural life, -moccasins, fringed jackets, beaded belts and necklaces and native design elements in fabrics.

Thousands of Native names permeate our Canadian landscape. - Canada, Ottawa, Toronto, for starters. Strung together a list of names becomes a form of Canadian poetry. Just start at any point in the alphabet, for example: Abilbi, Akllavik, Algonkian, Alikomik, and Assiniboia. Other words and phrases have entered the lexicon of every day speech, for example, " passing the peace-pipe", or having a "powwow".

The native Canadian way of life has entered the mythology of our Canadian ethos. It has become part of us all. The image of native Canadians plying the silent waters of a wilderness lake in a canoe is emblematic of a kind of Canadian Garden of Eden, when a blissful balance with nature was achieved. Linda Hutcheson (1988), for example, examines the importance of Natives for white Canadian writers in seeking their own roots.

The mistreatment of our Native peoples is an unfortunate but important commonplace in our history. The current legal battles over treaties, the social situation that exists on many reserves, and native Canadian struggles for selfgovernment, attest to a response to an unfortunate record of misguided efforts (in the best of interpretations) or a record of ruthless, exploitative and racist actions. The reality of native Canadians to-day trying to reestablish and rediscover their decimated way of life in the face of staggering rates of alcoholism, teen suicides, unemployment, and welfare is also part of our Canadian heritage. Native Canadians as well as those south of the border are at the bottom on most measures of mortality.
and social morbidity (Richmond, 1988). It is only of comparative interest that it is clear that "native peoples have been better able to survive in Canada than in the United states," (Lipset, 1990. p.176)

3. Canada: A land of remarkable freedoms with a goal of equity for all regardless of sex, race, age, color, creed or disability

We often take for granted our democratic freedoms, but to the millions of Canadians who have immigrated to Canada over the last hundred years or so, it is one of our most cherished and distinguishing characteristics. The history of Canada is a history of the struggles to create a nation, a struggle for responsible government, for representative government, and for a confederacy that allowed for the regional, religious, linguistic and ethnic diversity that has come to represent Canada. The evolution of a parliamentary system in a confederacy modelled after the three level federal system of the Iroquoian Confederacy was a unique response to a vast land mass with diverse cultures, needs and interests in the population. It allowed for a greater democracy, a greater voice, by an ever increasing diverse population.

These gains have not been without their price. Canada's record of human rights is not unblemished. We must not forget that in forging this modern nation it was at the expense of the First Nations. The demise of many native tribes such as the Beotuk, are symptomatic of a ruthless period of exploitation and imperialism at any cost. Canada was not without its period of slavery. Anti-semitism and racism has plagued our history as it has many other nations. The internment of the Japanese during World War 2, Ukrainians and Italians in WW1, are examples of periods in our history when the bright lights of civil rights gains were extinguished. The rights of women, labourers and other minorities have similarly been thwarted at times in our evolution.

But few countries can claim a better record or emerging out of these dark days. Canada abolished slavery before Great Britain or the United States. It proudly became the terminus of the Underground Railway. Towns like Buxton became model black communities producing the first black lawyers, school teachers and preachers in North America. The first Black civil war commander came from Buxton. The first female editor of a newspaper in North America, Mary Shadd Cary was a Black woman who made her way to Canada during this period. Clara Brett Martin was the first female lawyer in the British Empire. Emily Murphy became the first female judge in the Empire. Other female Empire firsts included the first female member of a legislature, the first cabinet minister and the first female speaker of a legislature (Nader, 1992). Female politicians have made significant contributions for many decades. Women lead our political parties and have led our country as both Prime Minister and as Governor-General. It is of at least symbolic significance that we have had a Canadian of Ukrainian heritage as a Governor-General and both a Black and Chinese Canadian have held the positions of Lt-General in Ontario and British Columbia respectively.

Canada is a world leader in policy development in equity issues. The Canadian Bill of Rights and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms are landmark documents. Implementing them requires all our best efforts. The history of our constitutional wrangles, most recently Meech Lake and Charlottetown, while unsuccessful in achieving the goal sought by most Canadians, is indicative of relentless efforts of Canadians to try to achieve an accommodation of the varied regional, linguistic and cultural differences that comprise our complex nation. Other equity issues such as pay equity and equal rights for homosexual Canadians demonstrate the persistent attitudes toward this central characteristic of our identity. While Americans struggle over gays in their armed forces, Canadians, in typically Canadian manner, have quietly implemented gay rights in the armed forces without fanfare or disruption.

While Canadians have proven to be more open to immigration by people of color than almost any other nation, accepting now about 200,000 new immigrants annually, the attitudes of some Canadians reveals an underlying racism particularly to people of color. It is instructive however, that in 1991 (Not, I should note during the subsequent recession), a Decima survey noted that 93% of Canadians thought that Canada was the best place in the world to live. The third most frequently cited reason for why this was so, was because of the way we received and welcomed new "immigrants" (Gregg and Posner, 1990).

While the equity culture in Canada is still evolving and gapping inequities still exist, it is important to trace the continuous improvement that has been made and recognize that this trait of seeking improved democratic rights for all is deeply ingrained in our collective psyches Canada, upon which the complex pattern of Canada's mosaic was woven.


While evidence of Viking settlements exist at Anse aux Meadows dating back to 1000, the early voyages of John Cabot and Jacques Cartier set the stage for the full scale invasion and occupation of the continent, first by the French and then by the English. Through the long intertwining history of their colonization, through settlement, trade and resource extraction, these two founding nations irrevocably altered the face of the northern part of the continent. The patterns of settlement, whether the seigneur system of the French or the section system of the English imprinted the landscape with a network of roads, farm patterns and towns with a decidedly European familiarity.

While these early colonists were profoundly influenced by native American technologies such as the canoe, new foods and their method of cultivation and systems of government, they none-the-less firmly implanted their languages, religious values and institutions, the European form of democracy, in particular the parliamentary system, the tradition of both British common law and French civil law, as well as the system of schooling. A walk through any Canadian town or city reveals the unique juxtaposition of church, courthouse, townhall, school, banks and shops and residential streets characteristic of a European ordering of priorities.

Despite a long history of the migration of peoples from every corner of the globe and the unmistakable contributions and impact of this rich "melange" to the unique character of Canadian culture, yet the building blocks of our culture are firmly planted in the world view of Western European civilization. Many of the crowning
achievements of our Canadian culture emerge from the interface of the British and French presence with this vast and awesome Canada.

Our institutional infrastructure, the way our country works, and our power base, is still largely of British origin in particular, French in Quebec. Judeo-Christian ethics, mores and beliefs still underlie our institutions and community life. Our Calendar year is organized around a Christian schedule. Our public holidays are largely Christian, —Christmas and Easter. Our institutions often still attend to Christian rituals. The Bible is proffered to witnesses in the courts before alternatives are made available, and Christian prayers are routinely recited at public meetings and meals.

Whether it be in the models born in the industrial revolution that were applied to every field of endeavor from offices, to schools, to research labs, or to the form of our free market economy, or our views on art, the family, time and gender roles, these European Christian notions became the warp and weft on the loom of Canada, upon which the complex pattern of Canada’s mosaic was woven.

5. Canada: A nation of Immigrants

Canada has been forged as an nation “a mari usque ad mari,” since the first contact with Europeans, through a continuous process of conquest and cooperation with the existing First Nation civilizations. The Vikings in the year 1000, John Cabot, Jacques Cartier and the early Spanish and Portuguese fishing crews began this long process.

Viking, and French settlements including Jewish fur traders and farmers preceded the establishment of a British colony. The expansion and modernization of Canada was achieved through a remarkable process of immigration with wave upon wave of immigrant groups from England, Scotland, France and Ireland, United Empire Loyalists from the United States and Black slaves who arrived on the underground railroad. (There were more Blacks in Nova Scotia 200 years ago than there were Scots!) Successive waves of Chinese (as early as 1744), Ukrainians, Finns, Poles, Germans, Swedes, Italians, Portuguese and South Asians have all contributed to the very fabric of our country. Sikh and Indian settlers, for example, were among the very first to open up the B.C. timberlands in the late 19th century. More recently, immigrants from the Caribbean, South America, Africa, and other East Asian countries have increased the racial and ethno-cultural mix.

Even before colonization, our First Nations co-existed as a multi-cultural entity. The complexity of distinct tribal cultures, with fifty-three distinct languages such as the Inuit, Haida, Blackfoot, Iroquois, Huron and Beothuk, mirrored the mosaic that modern Canada has become. This multiracial, multicultural, multilingual multifaith reality, from the very origins of human life on this continent, as well as from the inception of the nation is a central pattern in the fabric of our culture and identity.

The remarkable record is marred regrettably by many examples of racism, and while progress has continuously been made we are still not free of the destructive forces of racism. Dark moments in our history cast light on how we came to be who we are and are beacons to our future actions. It is important to study and explore how various groups have been marginalized and excluded from full participation in Canadian society while understanding the power and importance of our immigrant groups in the creation of a vibrant Canadian society.

6. Canada: A nation committed to providing a social safety net for all.

Canada is a nation that prides itself on its ability to look after all its citizens. Brian Mulroney as Prime Minister referred to this characteristic of our national culture and identity as “a sacred trust.” One might argue that the roots of this tradition lie in the size of Canada with its small population resulting in the need for more government control or the Tory tradition of greater government control that arose out of the counter revolution that resulted from the American Revolution. It is interesting to note however that this tradition was long established in Canada by native peoples. When Etienne Brule, at Samuel Champlain’s request, wintered over with the Hurons on the shores of Georgian Bay in 1610, a Huron chief’s son was sent to Paris for the winter in exchange as an insurance for Brule’s safety. When the Huron returned from Paris he shocked his people with stories of the beggars on the streets of Paris, the brutal public treatment of children, and even the barbaric punishment of criminals in public square. These practices were all so foreign to the Hurons whose traditions involved looking after all of its members, - where no-one was destitute or everyone was. The notion of care “from the cradle-to-the-grave", has a long tradition in Canada.

Robertson Davies referred to Canada as “a socialist monarchy”, while our neighbors to the south have always abided by Thomas Jefferson’s adage that, “The government that governs best, governs least.” Canada’s social safety net certainly distinguishes itself from the United States. It is one characteristic of our identity that most Canadians would agree on. In a 1988 poll for example, 95% of Canadians preferred their own medicare system to the American one, as did 61% of Americans! (Lipset, 1990). Canada early embraced comprehensive social welfare programs including compensation for widows and persons with disabilities, enriched unemployment insurance benefits, post-secondary education programs covering three-quarters of student costs, universal old age pensions, man-power training allowances, subsidized housing, and family allowances, in addition to the universal medicare system mentioned above.

Public support, as well as support by civil servants and legislators for social initiatives is very high in Canada. For example, Canadian conservative legislators scored much higher than even American Democratic legislators on a scale of support for economic liberalism or social welfare issues. Even in recessionary times when cutbacks to social services are often in evidence it is important to recognize
the short and long term trends remain the same -
Canadians continue to support the distinguishing
characteristic of our identity and we continue to move
inexorably forward. For example, just twenty years ago
half the people living in poverty were over 65 years of age,
by 1990 the proportion was less than 15%.

In a series of polls and surveys (Gregg and Posner 1990,
Lipset, 1990), Canadians continue to view themselves as
more tolerant, less violent, more concerned about the
environment and the disadvantaged, both at home and
abroad, and more peaceful. When 93% of respondents
indicated they believed Canada to be the best place in the
world to live (Gregg and Posner, 1990) Ninety percent
thought this to be true because of our health care system,
78% thought it was our education system and 74%
thought it was because of the way we welcomed
immigrants of different races, religions and cultures into our
society. This type of prevailing attitude is indicative of the
characteristic of a "quieter, gentler nation."

7. Canada : A Nation of Regional Diversity

Canada's distinctive regions particularly British Columbia
and the Rockies, the Prairies the North. Southern Ontario,
Quebec and the Maritimes, have contributed to a unique
character to Canada's cultural identity. Regional loyalties
are powerful in Canada and regional cultures are
distinctive. Confederation, with a carefully articulated
division of powers between the provinces and the central
government, recognized this diversity and enshrined this
characteristic of our identity. The continuing struggles over
these regional identities manifest themselves daily in
everything from large scale examinations of power sharing
at constitutional conferences, and inter provincial trade
discussions, to squabbles between English-speaking
Canada and French Canada, or between the West and
Bay Street, the symbol of central Canadian power.

But aside from these perennial power struggles, Canadians
generally cherish this regional diversity as they have other
forms of diversity. The icons of our regionalism conjure up
the flavours of our nation. Majestic snow-capped
mountains and deep fjords, totem poles, lush temperate
rainforests, prosperous urban streets with a variety of
Canadians including Sikhs, and Chinese evoke our
Pacific region; the skyline of Quebec city, French Canadian
villages centered in the seigniory system, around the local
church, along the shores of the St. Lawrence, maple syrup
runs, Carnival, Sovereignists parading the streets on St.
Jean Baptists Day, conjure up another. Our distinctive
rugged sea-torn Maritime provinces rooted in Acadian,
Micmac and Scottish cultures, our immense Prairies
crowned with grain elevators, immense herds of cattle and
oil wells, peopled by hard-working decedents of many
central European countries,-- Ukrainians, Poles, Germans,
Finns, as well as Chinese descendants of labourers from the
building of the TransCanada Railway, reflect two other
regions.

Some analysts argue that Canada has no distinct national
style (Lipset, 1990) and is reflected more in its
regionalism. As George Woodcock (1987) stated,
"Canadian literature like Canadian painting has always
remained regional in its impulses and origins" (p.32).

Saturday Night Magazine (January, 1987) in a special
issue entitled Our Home and Native Land concluded that
what makes Canada like no other is the variety of its
regions and communities -- in effect, that Canada's identity
is defined by its regions. Certainly our regional richness
has always been one recurring characteristic of our
national identity and this reveals itself through our arts, our
economy and our political process. Lipset (1990) argues
that this emphasis on region in Canada results in a
stronger sense of place than in the United States.

This strong regional loyalty has been apparent through
many surveys, yet this strong sense of place regionally is
positively correlated to high rankings of loyalty towards
the country. David Elkin (1980) noted that except for
Quebec Separatists, that Canadians' "deep and abiding
sense of place covers both nation and province" (p. 209).
Canada is more decentralized politically with stronger
regional identities than the United States. This is clearly
one of our distinguishing characteristics.

8. Canada: A land of adventurers, innovators and
entrepreneurs

Historically this continent was explored, settled, developed
and populated by individuals with a willingness to venture
to a new land against unknown odds and under difficult
circumstances. Canada shares with its neighbour to the
south many of the same characteristics of adventurerseness, to take on new challenges, to be
inventive and innovative, - a penchant for risk-taking and
entrepreneurialism. The continuous wave of new
immigrants, and refugees, has ensured an ethos of energy,
renewal and risk taking. While it can be argued that
conditions in the United States have led to a greater spirit
of adventure and risk-taking than in Canada, it is still only
a matter of degree. By any standard world-wide,
Canadians have demonstrated this adventurous spirit in
many fields (Nader et al, 1992).

Certainly our mythology is replete with characters that
attest to this characteristic of our identity. Whether it be
historic icons like Jacques Cartier, Henry Hudson, Samuel
Champlain or Lief Erickson, the Coureur de Bois, the early
Jesuits, the early pioneers of Upper and Lower Canada,
the crew of the Blue Nose, the hardy men in sheep skin
coats, the "sod-busters" of the prairies, gold rush miners,
the Chinese "Coolies" working on the Canadian Pacific
Railway, or Black American slaves escaping to Canada on
the underground railway, they all share remarkable traits of
courage and daring and a willingness to take risks. Many
Canadians have demonstrated this entrepreneurial courage
and initiative through business enterprise and have
become household names in other parts of the world. The
Bronfms, the Reichmans, Lord Beaverbrook, Conrad
Black, the Mirvishes, Lord Thompson and David Nichols,-
the President's Choice , and innumerable real estate
barons are a few examples of Canadians who have ventured
into the international arena with great fanfare and
with remarkable success.

Canada has encouraged through its immigration policy,
entrepreneurs from other countries. Chinese immigrants in
particular have found Canada a conducive environment for
entrepreneurial activity. Is it surprising that the Deans of
the leading three business schools in the United States are all Canadian?

Risk-taking is also a required trait for invention and innovation. Nader et al., in their book Canada Firsts (1992) and Brown in Ideas in Exile: A History of Canadian Invention (1967) have chronicled the remarkable number of inventions and innovations Canadians have made, including five Nobel prize winning scientists. From Fuller brushes, the zipper, the paint-roller, Pabulum, frozen and instant foods and Trivial Pursuit, to ground breaking medical discoveries by Banting and Best, Hans Selye and Wilder Penfield, to high tech. communications firsts such as the first communications satellite, Telesat, the Canadarm, the Imax film format and remarkable innovations in mapping technology.

The paradox exists that in comparison to many nations, Canadians are very conservative with their money, for example they have higher insurance coverage per capita than other countries, invest in the stock market far less than Americans and have shown to be less inclined to participate in high-risk investments or to develop their inventions or innovations at home, often leaving development to their neighbours to the south (Brown, 1967).

But modesty is also a Canadian trait and we are less inclined to tout our achievements. Certainly the record stands of an highly inventive and innovative population with a long tradition of adventure, exploration and entrepreneurialism, even though it often takes an American like Ralph Nader to point this out to us.

9. Canada: A land of rich cultural traditions

Canada's unique history, it's vastness and its complex multicultural mix has contributed to a rich cultural tradition. Cultural in this section pertains particularly to all of the arts, leisure and pastimes that occupy or entertain the citizenry. From the folk arts of fiddling, spoons and square dancing, decorated Easter eggs, totem poles, quilts and ceramics, to ballet, opera, symphony, theatre, movies and television, poetry and literature, as well as popular participative sports across Canada like curling, hockey, skiing, golf, bowling, softball and t-ball, to spectator sports like baseball, ice skating, football and hockey. One would also include a whole range of other popular activities or pastimes, from such diverse activities as camping, and canoe tripping, attending movies and multicultural events such as the Highland Games in Nova Scotia, Caribbana, Quebec Carnival, the Calgary Stampede visiting art galleries, and attending rock, classical, jazz or choral and folk performances, picnicking, camping, watching television or jogging. The list could go on but the unique combination of these many activities by region and nationally paints a distinctive picture of who we are as a people. Though many of these activities are common to all North Americans, together in a particular place, in a particular combination they enter into a union with other cultural characteristics to provide a unique Canadian perspective and flavor. The culture of the hockey rink or curling rink presents a unique Canadian image.

Yet when the Toronto Blue Jays, playing the game the Americans call their own, played and won the World Series, in both 1992 and 1993 Canadians rallied round the Blue Jays from coast to coast, in a unique Canadian way, even though only one player was a Canadian. It was ironic that this American spectacle, the World Series, became such a unifying national event in Canada.

Our visual arts evoke a powerful image of our nation particularly in its physical splendour. The work of the Group of Seven artists and painters like Emily Carr, Alex Colville, William Kurelek and Mary Pratt captured images of Canada that haunt us and delight us. Contemporary artists like Jean-Paul Riopelle, Michael Snow, and Jack Bush have contributed to new art forms and styles in a Canadian setting.

Our many authors have described and contributed to our culture through story and have achieved world wide recognition in doing so. Margaret Atwood, Gabrielle Roy, Robertson Davies, Rohinton Mistry, Margaret Lawrence, Austin Clarke and Michael Ondaatje are a few recent names with such a claim. The legendary Northrop Frye and Marshall McLuhan, as well as Charles Taylor, have distinguished themselves in their respective literary fields.

The Canada Council has made a unique contribution to our rich cultural heritage. As a federal funding agency to support the arts, humanities, and social sciences, it has contributed millions of dollars to support individuals and organizations. Along with other provincial Arts councils and a variety of Canadian content requirements in CRTC, as well as other legislation, have reaped considerable rewards in the promotion and development of Canadian artistic talent. Many successful artists profess they would not have been able to carry on in their chosen artistic careers had it not been for the support of such legislation and government grant support. Certainly the thriving regional theatre system, and the internationally regarded National Ballet, the Royal Winnipeg Ballet, Ballet Jazz De Montreal, the Vancouver, Toronto, Regina and Montreal symphonies, the Canadian Opera Company, and the Stratford and Shaw festivals would be hard pressed to survive without this kind of support. This public support for a wide variety of cultural activities from opera to rodeos is unique in North America. It is certainly in marked contrast to our neighbour to the south where the free market rules the arts or groups are dependent on private foundations.

A unique manifestation of this kind of support is the National Film Board created by an act of government in 1939. Famed world-wide for its documentaries and animation, it has won thousands of film awards. Fifty-seven films have been nominated for academy awards and nine have won. The work of the NFB in both the English and French divisions has been a remarkable achievement and has made a major contribution to our cultural heritage and identity.

CBC, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, has similarly had a profound influence on our Canadian identity. The creation of the CBC, initially as a radio network, was designed to link the country together by the airwaves. It has been a powerful antidote to the continuous barrage of American mass media that many Canadians feel puts Canadian culture at risk. For many English speaking Canadians, Don Messer's Jubilee, The Happy Gang, Fresh Air, As it Happens, Morningside and the Airfarce are part of their cultural heritage. For French-Canada, the rich melange of programs on Radio Canada provide the same ties that bind. While television has not been as successful in creating a national image, non-the-less a legacy of outstanding programs linger on in our collective memory. Ann of Green Gables, the Famille Plouffe, Sunshine
Canadians have consistently lived up to. Despite the tragedy and shame of Somalia. Canada has been involved in hundreds of successful peace-keeping missions on behalf of the United Nations, most particularly in Israel, Cyprus, former Yugoslavia and the Congo. Canada was called on by other international organizations to serve in a mediator role, most notably in Laos and Cambodia as part of a three nation International Commission.

As well, Canada has a long tradition of peace movements from within its private citizenry. The Quakers and Mennonites in Canada, for example, have always spoken out against war and militarism. Dozens of organizations sprang up in the fifties and sixties such as The Pugwash Conference of Scientists, The Canadian Peace Research Institute, Voice of Women, Project Ploughshares, and Canadian Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. These groups have had a significant influence on Canadian public opinion over the years and thus have made a contribution to the way this commonplace of Canada as a peace-keeping nation has entered into our cultural mythology. The fact that Superman was a Canadian creation perhaps symbolizes the fantasy of Canadians as defenders of good against evil, with not an aggressive bone in our bodies. Even Clark Kent, quiet and unassuming, seems to fit the image of the stereotypical Canadian.

But we are far more active internationally than just peace-keeping. Canada is committed to active involvement worldwide and we have made our mark internationally in a number of political ways. Our involvement in NATO, the OECD, OAS, GATT, G7 represents a few of these involvements. Canada has also provided leadership to developing countries through CIDA, CUSO, WUSC. All are well known acronyms world wide. Canada World Youth and Canadian Crossroads International are successful youth initiatives. Canadian involvement in assisting developing nations is quite remarkable and contributes significantly to our conception of Canada as a nation of global citizens. With citizens with relatives and heritages in every 'nook and cranny' in the globe, it is perhaps fitting that we show leadership in creating a single global perspective as opposed to our present preoccupations with nationalism. This view of ourselves as a peace-keeping, global nation is part of our identity.

How could these commonplaces be used?

These ten commonplaces then, represent a structure or format for a dialogue on the understanding of our culture and identity from a multicultural perspective.

As examples, I propose a number of curriculum projects that would use these conceptions as the organizing principles around which the curriculum would be constructed.

Proposed project 1. A discussion program for grades 7-12/OAC

This initiative would involve producing a document for teachers of grades seven to senior high school which would be comprised of a compendium of discussion starters designed for teachers wishing to implement a regular program of explorations on the nature of our Canadian culture and identity based on the commonplaces of our identity that I have identified so far and any others that students and teachers would be willing to add ... or delete.
In many schools, for example, an extended home group of smaller classes is being employed in order to have students discuss issues of group or school concern as well as values and social issues. These discussion-starters could be used within such a program. Other possibilities would include the use of these discussion-starters as part of a current affairs component. Teachers could also use these items two or three times a week for twenty to thirty minutes each. It would also be possible to develop a unit of two to three weeks in which a selection of these discussion starters could be an integral component. Teachers are searching for appropriate materials to bring a deeper understanding of Canadian culture and identity to an increasingly diverse student population.

While there would be a positive bias toward Canada in the selections to be included, many of the items would offer differing views about a commonplaces. For example, one item might explore the view of Canadian mainstream authors, such as Margaret Atwood, about the myth of the Canadian north, while another item would articulate the emergence of a strong immigrant literature that reflects a largely urban Canadian view.

A revisionist intent would be strongly evident through the inclusion of items that reflect a more balanced view of the contributions of women, First Nation and minority Canadians. These oft-forgotten voices are an important part of the evolution of our culture. In trying to provide a forum for discourse between the two conflicting views of traditionalist and multiculturalists/liberationists these materials would raise concerns from both. While some might argue that the items reflect too Eurocentric a viewpoint, others will feel that sufficient due regard for the founding nations has not been provided. These issues would need to be discussed. Only through discourse do I believe that some of these conflicts can be ameliorated.

Students need the opportunity to have our culture revealed to them through debate and discussion. It is my belief that through these discussion-starters, students would have an opportunity to share their perceptions of Canadian culture and identity and in so doing a clearer image of our identity will emerge and a greater appreciation of multiculturalism will result.

Proposed Project 2. Children’s literature and media: Toward understanding Canadian culture and identity

A second way of using the conceptions is to identify children’s literature that exemplifies these conceptions by inference. That is, teachers would be aware of the conceptions when selecting books for read-aloud or study but would not teach to the conception directly. A parallel can best be shown when considering the transmission of culture in homogeneous societies. In a tribe or village the adults induct the children into the tribe through the sharing of tribal stories and lore. As J. D. Hirsch has pointed out this process is completed by the age of thirteen (Grade 6).

There is now a rich body of Canadian children’s literature which can provide children with insights into our culture and identity. It would be practical to identify a minimum list of stories, children’s books, folk songs, films, art, and poems that begin to reveal our Canadian identity for school children.

These titles if shared across Canada would bind all Canadian school children together to know that in every school from White Horse to St. John’s, whether Black, First Nation, Chinese, French Canadian or fourth generation English Canadian, they would all be reading and learning the same Canadian stories. Through this process they would be inducted into the Canadian “tribe”. These central conceptions and the shared stories, tales, histories, art, poems, films would be the starting point for the beginning of our student’s understanding of a Canadian culture.

This project would promote the identification of a core body of quintessentially Canadian materials that reveal a revised Canadian culture consistent with the heritage of our young Canadians of all races, religions, and cultures.

The heart of this shared culture would be Canadian materials about Canada. Included would be everything from pre-primer alphabet books such as: A Canadian Child’s ABC (R.K. Gordon), ABC (Elizabeth Cleaver), A Northern Alphabet (Ted Harrison), A Beautiful City, ABC (Stephanie Poulin); to children’s stories by some of our finest writers such as Olden Days Coat by Margaret Lawrence, Clip Tail, Gabrielle Roy, Jacob Two Two and the Hooded Fang, Mordecai Richler, Jake and the Kid, W.O. Mitchell, Owls in the Family, by Farley Mowat, and of course Ann of Green Gables, by L.M. Montgomery; to richly illustrated picture story books such as Cremation of Sam McGee (1986) and The Shooting of Dan McGrew (1987) by Robert Service illustrated by Ted Harrison, Prairie Boys Winter (1973) by William Kurelek, The Hockey Sweater by Roch Carrier; to stories of our multicultural heritage such as Chin Chiang and the Dragon Dance by Ian Wallace, Mary of Mile 18 by Ann Blades, From Anna by Jean Little, Curses of the Third Uncle and Tales from Gold Mountain by Paul Yee, A Child in Prison Camp, Shizuue Takeshama The Tin-lined Trunk, by Mary Hamilton and West Coast Chinese Boy by Sing Lim; to historical novels such as the Kings Daughter, Susanne Martel, Underground to Canada, by Barbara Smucker, The Boy With An R in His Hand, by James Reaney, Glengarry School Days, by Ralph Connor, the ‘Bookey’ series by Bernice Thurman Hunter and The Root Cellar by Janet Lunn; to powerful realistic novels such as Angel Square by Brian Doyle, One Proud Summer by Marsha Hewitt and Clare McKay, and Harriet’s Daughter by Marlene Nourbese Philip.

The readings should also include wilderness survival tales such as Jasmin by Jan Truss, and Hunter in the Dark by Monica Hughes; First Nation stories such as Harpoon of the Hunter by Markoosie, The Adventures of Sajo and the Beaver People, Grey Owl, Tikta Liktak: An Eskimo Legend by James Houston and Blood Red Ochre by Kevin Major; Fairy Tales and Legends Selected from Canadian Fairy Tales by Eva Martin, and The Golden Phoenix and other Tales from Quebec, by Maurice Barbeau, and First Nation myths and legends, such as How Summer came to Canada or The Loon’s Necklace by Beverley Cleary; Poetry should be included such as Confederation Lament by Chief Dan George and selections from anthologies such as the New Wind has Wings: Poems from Canada, by Mary Alice Downie and Barbara Robertson, and Till all the Stars have fallen by David Booth. Films from the National Film Board, the art of the Group of Seven, Emily Carr, First Nation artists and folk songs collected by Edith Fowkes would also be included.
While debate and dialogue would be necessary to identify and agree on these materials, it is important that they be Canadian, reflecting the central commonplaces of Canada's culture. There is a growing wealth of such material to choose from. The selection of these stories, tales, songs, films, and poems would be like creating a patchwork quilt, each patch or story would be a 'gem' in its own right but collectively they would blend together to create a total image. They would tell the revised Canadian story.

While we do have some outstanding resources to begin. It is not enough. We still need to find new ways to tell tales about our heroes and heroines, not textbook biographies but fireside tales - fireside tales about our First Nations, our explorers, our fur traders, our pioneer women, our Nobel Peace Prize winner, our great athletes and scientists, the settlement of the west, the discovery of our minerals, our artists and musicians, the building of our railways and our international accomplishments.

We need to tell stories that capture our multicultural heritage; the Jewish fur traders, and settlers who were here even before the English. About the black Canadian man and woman who lived in Nova Scotia two hundred years ago in greater numbers than Scots; about the Chinese workers who built the railways; about the English, Scottish, Irish, Ukrainian, Finnish, German, Sikh, and Japanese immigrants, to name just a few who broke ground across this country to make Canada what it is today.

I believe the 'big' themes of Canadian culture outlined in the commonplaces of our culture and identity can assist us in selecting a core of readings for read aloud, or discussions, for every grade from kindergarten to grade nine in every school in Canada. Through this collective patchwork quilt of shared stories we can reveal our Canadian identity and Canadian culture in a way that says, "this is who we are."

Proposed Project 3. Canadian Icons For Primary Junior students

This project would bring together the visual icons of our culture, revisioned to include those who have been systematically excluded from sharing our culture in the past. For example the classic icon, Driving the Last Spike, an image of all white males, would be counterbalanced by an image of the Chinese workers who actually built the railroad. The selection of images would reflect the commonplaces of our culture outlined here.

Proposed Project 4. Canadian Intellectuals speak out on Canada For Senior division students

Again, using the commonplaces as a framework and organizing principle, short selections of writings by Canada's seminal thinkers and intellectuals, that reveal aspects of Canada's culture and identity would be included in this anthology to stimulate debate and discussion. Writers and thinkers such as Northrop Frye, Nelly McLu, Marshall McLuhan, Lise Bissone, Margaret Atwood, Michael Ondaatje, Paul Yee, Charles Taylor, Pierre Trudeu and Austin Clarke would be included. The selection would ensure representation of a wide range of Canadians of all backgrounds, regions and ethno-cultural groups. A short biography would be included that would provide students with a familiarity with significant Canadian thinkers, while providing provocative thoughts for debate and discussion.

Conclusion

I have stepped into controversial territory in daring to articulate ten commonplaces of our culture. I offer them up as suggestions for consideration. I believe it is possible to put forward a set of commonplaces that reveal a Canadian identity that is different from any of the other ethnic and regional identities that exist in Canada, but that includes all of them. However, these may not be the right commonplaces, or there may be a different way of organizing or presenting them. They are one initial attempt. If they promote further discussion and debate about Canadian culture, I have reached my goal. Henry Giroux(1992) quotes Bhikhu Parekh's definition of multiculturalism, which appropriately fits within the intent of my conception of the commonplaces of our identity:

Multiculturalism doesn't simply mean numerical plurality of different cultures, but rather a community which is creating, guaranteeing, encouraging spaces within which different communities are able to grow at their own pace. At the same time it means creating a public space in which these communities are able to interact and enrich the existing culture and create a new consensual culture in which they recognize reflections of their own identity (p. 7).

I believe these discussions can lead to a dialogue on the commonplaces of our culture that will further our democratic goals, provide a climate for further equity and contribute toward a more racist-free society. The disintegrating forces of ethnicity evidenced in other parts of the world, often with violent results, is paralleled by disintegrating forces of a more subtle nature in Canada, but ultimately the results may well be not much different. It behooves us to argue, debate, and discuss our commonplaces rather than to focus always on our differences. While this dialogic discourse on commonplaces needs to take place in many areas of our society, I have outlined a number of approaches of how this can be done in the schools.

References


Schafer, D. P. (1990). The character of Canadian culture, World Culture Project, Markham, UNESCO.

Note
1. Jerry Diakiw is a former Superintendent of Schools with the York Region Board of Education. He is currently completing his doctoral studies at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. He has been active on a variety of fronts as an advocate for multicultural and anti-racist education.
From Tolerance to Appreciation: Strategies, Guidelines and Procedures for Preventing and Deterring Racism, Sexism and Inter-Racial Conflict within Multi-Ethnic Settings

Jonathan L. Black-Branch (Ph.D.), Oxford University

Introduction

There is little doubt that racism, sexism, and inter-racial violence perpetuate social injustice and inequality within Canadian society. As Canada becomes increasingly multicultural, multi-denominational and multi-linguistic, studies relating to injustice and inequality, as they pertain to race and gender are vital, particularly within the broader school community. This study addresses some concerns in this area of inquiry.

Demographic Trends in Canada

Citizens and residents of Canada do not share a common ethnic ancestry. This is directly related to the fact that Canadian immigration patterns have varied dramatically over the years. The first peoples infiltrated the North American continent thousands of years ago from land bridges across the Bering Strait. In later centuries, still before Canada was the Confederacy which it is today, European exploration led to immigration trends that were mainly British and French in origin.

This pattern changed drastically throughout the 20th century, however. Immigration transformed to being largely Western European, Eastern European and Scandinavian after the second world war. It later moved to being Southern European and American in the mid 1960s.

The 1970s and 80s saw immigration patterns shift to being primarily Asian, African, Caribbean, and Central and South American (Statistics Canada, 1986). In 1968-69, for example, 1% of new immigrants were from Asian countries (Statistics Canada, 1970), compared to some 46% in the period of 1980-89 (Employment and Immigration, 1991). At present, Chinese is the fastest growing group in Canada (Statistic Canada, 1993).

Between 1990 and 1995 it is predicted that some 311,000 young immigrants under the age of 14 years will come to Canada (Lacey, 1993). The majority of these children will come from non-anglo-based countries. In fact, demographic trends clearly indicate that conglomerates of minority populations are incrementally forming the majority in certain metropolitan areas of Canada. Fifty-nine percent of the population of the City of Toronto, for example, consists of minority individuals (Statistics Canada, 1993). Other urban areas, particular large ones, report similar trends.

These varied demographic trends over the centuries, invariably contributed to a wide mixture of ethnic and racial profiles in the so-called Canadian mosaic. Recent immigration patterns, particularly in the past 50 years, inevitably broadened the Canada's cultural, linguistic, and religious fabric. Although residents of Canada do not share a common ethnic ancestry, per se, they do share a common land. Parents share work environments, whilst children share school communities. A question for research is determine how to assist in making these institutions more productive, without racial and sexual harassment.

Relevance of the Research

As evidenced from the statistics presented above, Canadian society is incrementally becoming multi-ethnic in character. Canadian schools are de facto multi-cultural in nature (Glaze, 1993). That being the case, it stands to reason that there is a growing need to formulate better understandings as to how children from minority backgrounds fit within traditional school structures. But, more appropriately, and hence the focus of this research, there is a growing need for traditional school structures to foster better understandings, both between, and amongst, cultural groups, which will allow all children, and teachers alike, to be full participants in the school community, regardless of their race or gender.

The Literature

A review of the current literature reveals that very little is known about how schools accommodate students from multicultural backgrounds. Studies tend to concentrate on issues such as managing multicultural resources; institutional responses; curriculum materials; and, community and school responses to diversity (Morris, 1988). Whilst these studies are of vital important for advancing knowledge in the area, they do not focus on the link between educational practice, that is on a comprehensive level, and more inclusionary practices which will effectively deter and prevent issues of racist and sexist behaviour as well as address issues relating to inter-racial violence. There is thus a need to understand...
exemplary systems which embrace and promote school structures which aim at enhancing the creativity of all students and teachers, regardless of gender, ethnicity, religious beliefs or ethno-cultural heritage.

Glaze (1993), writing on "life chances, life roles, and career education", prompts deep questions pertaining to issues of multi-culturalism, cultural sensitivities, equity and schooling as a process that shapes one's perceptions for life and the world of work. Lacey (1993), also raises a number of significant questions regarding "education for prosperity in a multicultural, multiracial society". What these and other authors identify in the literature is the need to rethink traditional educational policy and practice as they pertain to accepted and expected behaviours. Academics and practitioners purport that Canada is no longer an Anglo-based society where the traditional manner, or slight modifications thereon, is the only way of doing things.

More and more, educational policy and decision-makers are calling for change. Much of this change is predicated on broadening and deepening understandings of issues pertaining to race, gender and conflict within school systems. In that regard, there is a need for a deeper analysis relating to how racism, sexism and inter-racial conflict is fostered and perpetuated in the school community. Moreover, there is a need to deter and prevent such social injustices.

The Research

This research is the second part of a larger, longitudinal, study regarding issues of racism, sexism, and inter-racial violence within Canadian society. The first portion of the broader study met three goals. Firstly, the study identified factors which foster racism and sexism and contribute to inter-racial violence within the school community and in society at large. Secondly, it developed strategies to prevent and deter these incidents. Thirdly, the study generated guidelines and procedures to assist in conflict management relating to racial, gender and inter-ethnocultural-related violence.

This second stage intends to go beyond the first report, seeking ultimately to revise the framework, strategies and guidelines presented in the findings of the first part of the larger longitudinal study and ultimately to offer further commentary on these issues. In particular, the purpose of this second stage of the study is three fold: to test, to assess and to revise the framework on each of the three levels.

The purpose of Level One of this study was to:

- to test the framework of factors which foster racist and sexist behaviours and inter-racial conflict, relating to peer interactions within the school and the larger school community which foster racist and sexist behaviours and inter-racial conflict;
- to test the strategies developed with the aim of preventing or deterring incidents of racism, sexism and inter-racial conflict; and,
- to test the guidelines generated for educators to assist in managing conflict (or defusing it) both in the school and in the community at large.

The purpose of Level Two of this study was to:

- to reassess the framework of factors which foster racist and sexist behaviours and inter-racial conflict, relating to peer interactions within the school and the larger school community which foster racist and sexist behaviours and inter-racial conflict;
- to reassess the strategies developed with the aim of preventing or deterring incidents of racism, sexism and inter-racial conflict; and,
- to reassess the guidelines generated for educators to assist in managing conflict (or defusing it) both in the school and in the community at large.

The purpose of Level Three of this study was to:

- to revise the framework of factors which foster racist and sexist behaviours and inter-racial conflict, relating to peer interactions within the school and the larger school community which foster racist and sexist behaviours and inter-racial conflict;
- to revise the strategies developed with the aim of preventing or deterring incidents of racism, sexism and inter-racial conflict; and,
- to revise the guidelines generated for educators to assist in managing conflict (or defusing it) both in the school and in the community at large.

In essence, the main purpose of this study was to test the initial hypotheses with the ultimate goal of revising and modifying them in preparation for the third stage of the study which is to conduct a comprehensive study on a national scale. The following research design and methodology was implemented to complete the study.

The First Stage of the Research

The first stage of the study traced the experiences of students, teachers and community workers in large inner-city, multi-ethnic community secondary school settings. Emphasis was placed on understanding how the experiences of adolescents, educators and professionals alike, could assist in understanding how barriers of conflict and violence are constructed and what can be done to promote a pro-active stand aimed at eliminating such situations.

The methodology employed to complete this stage of the research was aimed at procuring data from a wide variety of sources so as provide multiple understandings of the issues at hand. Each stage was conducted individually and were subsequently triangulated to offer final conclusions (those which will be tested, assessed and revised during this phase).

The Current Stage of the Research

A multi-faceted research methodology was employed to complete this study. The setting for the study was in both large and small urban areas. Participants were affiliated with mid-sized and large secondary schools, with populations of 1000-2500 students. The schools have a high multi-ethnic mixture of students and offer a wide range
of programmes, ranging from academic to vocational in nature.

Stage One: Perceptions and Experiences of Students

Stage one consisted of observing and interviewing various students. Specifically, students were interviewed regarding their attitudes and beliefs as well as their daily routines and behaviours. Participants were selected from a variety of ethnic backgrounds and particular care was taken to include females from both minority and mainstream backgrounds, that is both born in Canada and recent newcomers to Canada, speaking English-as-a-Second language. Males of Euro-Anglo ancestry and minority status were also included in the study.

Stage Two: Perceptions of Educators

Stage Two consisted of interviewing a number of educators, in a variety of positions, including teaching, administrative and guidance work. Once again, participant selection was based on eliciting a wide-range of views on issues relating to racism, sexism and violence.

Stage Three: The Perceptions of Professionals and Informed Individuals

Participants from a variety of professional backgrounds, including case workers, counsellors and psychologists were asked to comment the issues presented under the enclosed conceptual framework, as they relate to racism, sexism and inter-racial violence within the educational context.

Analysis

Interview questions focused on factors which contribute to sexism, racism and inter-racial conflict, the strategies devised to prevent or to deter incidents and the guidelines submitted relating to conflict management, as per the first phase of the study. The interview data were analysed with the view of testing, assessing and revising the enclosed frameworks in order to gain a clearer understanding of issues relating to racism, sexism and inter-racial conflict. Interview data were analysed for common themes, apparent differences and other salient issues according to the techniques set by academics such as: Bogdan and Biklen (1982); Eisner (1990); Hammersley (1990; 1991); Hammersley and Atkinson (1983); Lincoln and Guba (1982); McNeill (1991); Miles and Huberman (1984); Silver (1993); and, Taylor and Bogdan (1984).

The data from each of the interviews were treated separately and then together as one large pool of data. In addition, cross references were made to determine whether there were similarities or marked differences in the information presented within professional camps.

Findings

The following discussion is divided into three main sections, each with individual subsections. These are: (1) Elements which Contribute to Sexism, Racism and Inter-Racial Conflict; (2) Strategies to Prevent or to Deter Incidents of Sexism, Racism and Inter-Racial Conflict; and, (3) Conflict Management Pertaining to Sexism, Racism and Inter-Racial Conflict. Each is discussed in turn.

Elements which Contribute to Sexism, Racism and Inter-Racial Conflict

The data collected in this study indicate that racist and sexist behaviours and inter-racial conflict can be attributed to five main features, namely, stereotyping; socialization; mis-information; personal taste; and, personal disposition. It should be noted that these five features are inextricably linked, nevertheless, they are addressed separately for purposes of facility in discussion.

The most prevalent of these elements is stereotyping which can be attributed to socialization. Moreover, the strongest forces of socialization appear to occur at home and at school. The socialization of stereotyping may be referred to as negative socialization which is usually caused by mis-information. It may also be attributed to personal taste and personal disposition. This framework is as follows:

(1) Stereotypes
   - Mirroring
   - Parroting

(2) Socialization
   - home
   - school
   - church

(3) Mis-Information
(4) Personal Taste
(5) Personal Disposition

Each of these are discussed in turn.

Stereotyping

Staff from all schools in the study admit that they are aware of the problems associated with stereotyping. They report that it is one of the most common complaints of students. Indeed some administrators admit that the spin-offs of such behaviour is the root of many of the disciplinary problems they face concerning students. Counsellors and guidance people report that stereotyping can be attributed to low self-esteem and in some instances alienation suffered by some students.

In trying to understand the reasoning behind such behaviours, it seems that students tend to mirror and parrot behaviours which, effectively, perpetuate racial and gender stereotypes.

Mirroring

Mirroring is what the author sees as the reproduction of stereotypic images. It is where the students first learns and subsequently mirror the images they have learned. They hence formulate a set of characteristics as to what someone stands for, or represents, based on the stereotype they learned. These images are quite derogatory and thus perpetuate racist and sexist behaviours.

Shattering the process of mirroring is difficult. It is a very complex process to change these sets of preconceived notions of particular classes of people, be they gender or racially based. Breaking the mirror is done with great
difficulty. It may be only by confronting students with evidence to the contrary that you can shatter their mirror image. This must be done in a non-threatening manner. After all, it is understandable that they may feel as though their whole world is threatened when they realized that their knowledge base is not only inaccurate but, it is inadequate.

**Parroting**

Students also exhibit actions of what the author calls Parroting. They parrot the behaviour which they had heard in the past. Behaviour which has invariably been rewarded and thus they perpetuate it. It appears that many students parrot phrases which they have heard in the course of their peer relations. As a result, on at least a surface level, they accept stereotypes, be they related to gender or race, which they perpetuate. Like Mirroring, changing Parroting behaviours must be done in a non-threatening manner. It must be accomplished in the least threatening manner possible.

Students themselves admit that they participate in Mirroring and Parroting stereotyping behaviours. Many do not reflect on the harm they are inflicting on their fellow students. In most instance, they do not even understand why they do it. It seems that they do so because it is an reflex action. An action that may be attributed to socialization.

**Socialization**

Psychologists and those in the health care and social work professions have written widely on the topic of socialization. It is both a complex and somewhat contested area. It is therefore not the intent of this discussion to explain the socialization process. It is, however, the intent of this study to examine some of the influences which may contribute to the reinforcement of racist and sexist behaviours.

Most would agree that socialization consists of a continued reinforcement of events which lead children to reproduce certain behaviours. That being the case, it seems that certain children reproduce negative behaviours. The important word in this scenario is "reproduce". That is to say, they repeat a behaviour which they have been privy to in the past. They mimic their role models in hopes of acceptance. It is this acceptance which reinforces the behaviour.

So a student who hears one of their role models (perhaps their hero or idol) making certain claims or comments (be they racist or sexist in nature), is left with the imprint that, in order to be like the role model, this is accepted and expected behaviour. They thus emulate the hero and repeat the comments. If they are permitted to conduct such behaviour (that is get-away-with it, so to speak), then it becomes reinforced as appropriate behaviour. This is what the author means by the socialization process of reproducing stereotypes. And, it would be naive to think that such reproduction is not value-laden.

The child learns to internalize these behaviours as proper, in that they receive attention for them (be it positive or negative) and thus it becomes more-and-more ingrained in his or her value system and continues to reproduce such negative commentary in the form of stereotypes. It would seem that much of the behaviours reproduced are based on three important elements, namely, mis-information, personal taste and personal disposition. These are discussed in turn.

**Mis-information**

It seems that many students are ill-informed and mis-informed about the abilities, talents and strengths of others. They are not taught to appreciate how people are different, nor are they taught how they are also similar. Cultural barriers, in particular, are often difficult too transgress.

Unless people challenge the stereotypes they hear, be they racist or sexist in nature, they are unable to go beyond that which they have internalized. So returning to the earlier example stated in the section on socialization, a student who hears a negative commentary about certain classes of peoples, is more likely to accept it under these conditions.

Firstly, a student is more likely to accept information if he or she does not have the analytical tools required to dispel or question the information received. Secondly, the student is more likely to accept the information if he or she is not taught otherwise. That is, if they are not taught the reality. And thirdly, the student is more likely to accept the information being presented if it is being relayed by his or her role model. The child wants to believe what he or she hears and indeed, emulate such behaviour. Unless the student has the necessary analytical skills to dispel or, indeed are taught differently, he or she is likely to accept mis-information about people.

**Personal Taste**

Indeed, this discussion would be incomplete without treating the subject of personal taste. It would be naive to think that individuals did not have their own personal tastes and preferences. Some people prefer the colour red over blue, others prefer pop/rock music to the opera and so forth. In that regard, it is only fair to allow a person to exercise his or her personal taste.

The difficulty arises when children develop preferences in terms of race. Moreover, it is difficult when they try to enforce their preferences on others as the predominant ideology. They try to present their preferences in terms of dominance over those of other genders or races. Whilst it is rather innocuous to allow a student to have a favourite colour, a favourite rock group, or indeed a favourite subject in school, the danger arises when he or she is permitted to express his or her preferences in terms of gender or race, particularly when the student actively promotes malice and hatred against others. It is at this stage that a personal taste (or preference, as it were) crosses the line into prejudice and discrimination.

No doubt, there is a fine line to be drawn between one's personal preferences and their actually performing acts of racist or sexist discrimination. Needless to say, all students, and adults alike, have certain preferences and biases. The main difference between discrimination and prejudice is when one actively encourages her or his feeling to be accepted as the dominant ideology. Many times this assertion is attributed to the manner in which he or she perceives the world, and his or her place in it. That is to say his or her personal disposition.
Personal Disposition

For the purposes of this discussion, the term disposition refers to the frame of reference or viewpoint from which an individual views issues. This is similar to personal taste in that it is individual to each person in question but, it is different in that personal taste refers to how one may perceive a specific person, and thus a personal dislike is formed.

Personal disposition, on the other hand, is more deeply rooted in one's personality. It is their dominant view of the world at large. Their epistemological beliefs and values. These are formatively linked to socialization. Some children, for example, are much more happy-go-lucky, whilst others on the other end of the continuum are more guarded and skeptical about people. And then, of course, there are the others in between these two extremes. The ones who are more cynical are sometimes more difficult to deal with and thus give other people a difficult time. This is often manifested in racist and sexist behaviours.

Strategies to Prevent or to Deter Incidents of Sexism, Racism and Inter-Racial Conflict

Educators generally agree that, regardless of the contributing factors behind racist or sexist behaviours, they are inappropriate and must not be tolerated under any circumstances within the school community. The data collected indicate that the guidelines listed below will assist in preventing and deterring racist, and sexist behaviours.

These guidelines will assist in socializing students into different behaviours by providing correct information to students and by assisting them to develop analytical tools from which they can reach their own conclusions rather than being smitten by the allure of romantic role models. It is hoped that such strategies will encourage students to be reflective and assess their own behaviours as responsible critical thinkers rather than fall into the hegemonic reproduction of stereotypes and negative socialization. The guidelines are as follows:

1. Encourage students to question stereotypes. Challenge them to think critically about what they hear and not Mirror and Parrot without question.
2. Encourage them to question their preconceived notions of particular classes of people, be they gender or racially based.
3. Assist students in recognizing stereotypes. Encourage them to shatter the Mirror images they have learned.
4. Discourage students from making sweeping generalizations. Assist them to see individual differences between and amongst peoples.
5. Encourage contact with the home so as to discuss concerns which may be established or reinforced at home. Assist students to see beyond certain stereotypes or generalizations which are being fashioned at home.
6. Encourage open dialogue with students at school. Assist them in reaching broader understandings of issues relating to gender, race and conflict. Discussion is important and an effective means of achieving this.
7. Encourage positive school interactions. Assist students in exhibiting positive actions and conforming to appropriate behaviours. It is sometimes difficult to change attitudes but educators can shape behaviours thus preventing and eliminating inappropriate actions and verbal responses.
8. Encourage positive peer interactions. Assist in developing appropriate social behaviours by modelling ones which are exemplar.
9. Provide accurate information about subjects of discussion. If a student is mis-informed make it a point to Inform him or her. Correct the error.
10. Teach the difference between personal taste and the application of sweeping generalizations about groups of people.
11. Assist students to distinguish between personal preferences and making stereotypes.
12. Encourage students to be positive. Challenge them to overcome their personal dispositions.
13. Educate students who are at the receiving end (the victims) of personal dislikes or negative personal dispositions to protect themselves from such anti-social behaviours by not Internalizing these comments as being their fault. Assist them to realize that sometimes people have problems of which they try to project on to others in an inappropriate manner. Students should not ignore these behaviours but, they must not let them weight them down and lower their self-esteem.
14. Teach children that all people are equal. Assist them to extend the same level of dignity to others of which they themselves would want or expect.
15. Do not reward negative behaviours. Work on developing them into positive features. Conversely, do not allow positive behaviours to go unrewarded. They must be reinforced.

School Policy and Practice

When queried which of these guidelines are currently practised in schools, it is revealed that there is little consistency. There is a patchwork quilt of policies and practices, from school board to school board and even within boards. Moreover, there is even inconsistency within individual schools. Whilst some teachers, teaching some courses assist in promoting the above listed principles, not all teachers share equally in the responsibility. It seems to vary from one school to the next, based on both the board of education in question and indeed, the local school.

44
Some schools promote these principles widely across the curricula, emphasizing that it is the responsibility of all teachers, in all subject disciplines, to incorporate these principles into their everyday teachings and routines. Other schools, however, are more scattered in their policies. Individual teachers take the task of integrating these principles into their daily lessons, and others reportedly do so rarely or never.

As a result, students in schools with inconsistent policies on racist and sexist strategies report receiving mixed messages as to what is expected and indeed accepted within the broader school community. These students learn how to avoid problems by acting out the expectations as they perceive them in relation to specific teachers. They do not internalize the values of non-discrimination. They simply learn when and where to say and do that which is expected of them.

Students in schools which espouse anti-discrimination policies across the curricula, however, are very different. It seems that most of these students adopt and internalize such values. They are more certain as to what is expected of them and indeed, what is accepted within the school community. Moreover, they carry these values beyond the school house gate, into society at large.

Conflict Management Pertaining to Sexism, Racism and Inter-Racial Conflict

Whilst it is evident that negative behaviours are manifested in the form of racial and gender harassment, it is important to be versed in effective means of dealing with such negative circumstances. In that regard, two components are important. Firstly, it is essential to encourage the victims of such anti-social behaviours to come forward and report such incidents. Students must have both faith and trust in their school system. Secondly, the school must be committed to dealing with such behaviours. The administration must tend to such matters in both a professional and decisive manner.

For when issues are dealt with properly there will be a two-fold change of culture within the school community, thus making it a more healthy and productive environment. Firstly, by dealing directly with issues of racism and sexism, the victims of such harassment will feel more secure about their positions within the school community. They will receive the clear message that issues of this nature are important and thus will be addressed. Secondly, it will send the unequivocal message, to those who are perpetuating such inappropriate behaviours. The administration must tend to such matters in both a professional and decisive manner.

It stands to reason, therefore, that students will be less likely to victimize others simply because they will know that they will be dealt with and disciplined by school authorities. There is thus an incentive for students to come forward and report incidents of racial and sexual harassment and, there is a deterrent for those who perpetuate such negative behaviours. Listed below are a few suggestions in that regard.

(1) Establish channels for dealing with students who are displaying inappropriate behaviours.

(2) Encourage students who are subjected to inappropriate behaviours to pursue the appropriate channels for dealing with these matters.

(3) Discourage the exchange of words between individuals or the exchange of force. If not, things may escalate, creating further problems.

(4) Establish channels for dealing with students who are identified as perpetuating stereotypes.

(5) Encourage students who are subjected to racist and sexist stereotypes to pursue the appropriate channels for dealing with these matters. Once again, discourage the exchange of words between individuals or the exchange of force.

(6) Make it abundantly clear that the school will support complaints regarding inappropriate behaviours and stereotyping. Students must be aware that action will be taken. This will encourage those who have been perpetrated against to come forward and hopefully deter those who are perpetrating such inappropriate behaviours.

(7) Educate students to understand that issues of racism and sexism are everybody's concern. They are not to be tolerated under any circumstances. This message must be succinct and unambiguous.

(8) During instances of physical confrontation, it is best to separate those involved and have them sit in separate rooms until the situation calms down. Having them remain in the same room may only serve to escalate the situation. Face-to-face discussions may occur in due course, if deemed appropriate in that particular situation.

(9) Allow students an opportunity to explain their side of the story. Denying them the opportunity to speak may only compound their frustration. Let them participate in the process. But remember that participation does not mean an acquiescence of responsibility.

(10) Teach students courses pertaining to the management of anger. Assist students in developing strategies for controlling or containing their anger. This must be done in advance. Waiting until an episode breaks out is often too late to begin to teach such skills. Having taught them in advance will allow students to draw on their skills when needed.

(11) Teach courses pertaining to crises management. Assist teachers in developing strategies for controlling or containing crises situation. Once again, this must be done in advance rather than when it is too late to effectively utilize the needed skills.

(12) Teach students, and staff alike, skills in conflict management. Assist them in developing strategies for dealing with situations before they escalate out of proportion.
Preventative Measures

Regardless of how reactive a school can be in relation to racist and sexist behaviours, it is essential to remember that prevention is always the best remedy. It is always best to be pro-active in these matters.

Conclusion: Calling For a Holistic School Community Approach

Conflict relating to racism, sexism and inter-racial tension induces a number of adverse effects on people (including teachers and students alike). Research indicates that conflict situations can cause frustration and impatience (Kahn et al., 1964); anxiety (Chinoy, 1987); low tolerance (Miles & Petty, 1975); and even, burnout (Crane & Iwanicki, 1987).

Indeed, this study indicates that racist and sexist behaviours lowers self-esteem. It is widely accepted that low self-esteem leads to failure in school (Glasser, 1969). Elkind (1974) agrees, contending that many problems in education are directly related to feelings of self-worth as a person. Glasser emphasises that developing positive self-esteem in children leads to success in school which inevitably carries throughout life. This study indicates that racism and sexism not only lower self-esteem, but perpetuate injustice and social inequities both in the classroom and in the community at large. In addition, they reinforce a host of negative anti-social behaviours in the perpetrator.

As Canada moves more-and-more in the direction of being a pluralistic society, as evidenced by the statistics presented earlier in this discussion, there is a definite need to work towards eliminating racist and sexist harassment. In relation to formulating better understandings as to why children in school perpetuate racist and sexist attitudes, it seems that it is essential to deal with these attitudes by first changing negative behaviours.

It seems that combating these behaviours on one or two fronts would be largely ineffective. Racism and sexism must be dealt with on a large scale implementing a variety of approaches, on a number of different fronts. All educators must take a stand and deal with all instances of inappropriate behaviours in a holistic fashion. A holistic school community approach must be taken towards eliminating racism and sexism in schools. It must be done in the broader context of the entire community. There must be racism and sexism awareness across the curricula. It is the responsibility of all teachers, in all subject areas, in all schools, in all boards of education, in all provinces of Canada.

This requires leadership development at every level, ministerial, board and within local schools. It affects administrators, teaching staff and students alike. Concomitant to these efforts is the need for co-operation within the whole community, involving parents as well as educators. This type of network is what the author refers to as: Contributory-Alliance. This is where educators work toward an alliance with the entire community to effectively address and indeed eliminate racist and sexist behaviours.

Once again, varied demographic trends over the centuries, contributed to a wide mixture of ethnic and racial profiles in the so-called Canadian mosaic. Recent immigration patterns, particularly in the past 50 years, broadened the Canadian cultural, linguistic, and religious fabric. Although residents of Canada do not share a common ethnic ancestry, per se, they do share a common land. Whilst Canada is widely-known throughout the world for its high level of racial and ethnic tolerance, it is time to move beyond a simplistic, and somewhat superficial notion of tolerance, and learn to appreciate other cultures, languages and religious traditions and beliefs. Education plays a pivotal role in such a Contributory-Alliance. It is hoped that the enclosed guidelines and strategies will assist in this regard.

References


Notes

1. Dr. Jonathan L. Black-Branch is a Junior Research Fellow at Wolfson College, Oxford University where he is currently completing research in law. He has conducted legal studies at Harvard University and has received a masters degree and a Ph.D. from the University of Toronto.

   His doctoral thesis is entitled: "Traditions, Rights and Realities: Legal, de facto and Symbolic Influences of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms on the Administration of Education in Canada". He has written widely in the area of law and administration and is particularly interested in policy development.

2. Special acknowledgement is accorded to the Canadian Association of Second Language Teachers (CASLT) for funding of this project as a part of their national effort entitled: Multicultural Education: The State of the Art.
Multicultural Education as Prejudice Reduction: Exhortation and Holocaust Education

Daniel McDougall, The University of Calgary

Prejudice and discrimination continue to trouble Canadians. Gilbert Abraham's disturbing experience emphasizes the debilitating effects of discrimination. And his final comments implicitly challenge educators to redouble their efforts to promote tolerance and understanding:

... I was sent to Elkhorn, Manitoba, to a boarding school run by an Anglican mission. I remember my grandfather putting me on a horse wagon and saying in our language, "You're going away," and that's all I can hear today. In school, everybody was warned not to speak our Indian language, but the day came when I had been caught too many times speaking it, and I was punished. That was in 1928... The person who punished me was an Anglican missionary. He was slapping my face left and right, saying: "Jesus Christ died for you. Your people are savages. You're no good." My tender face was red-hot, but I didn't cry. I couldn't understand why he was hitting me. (p. 112)

Gilbert was five years old when this episode happened and during that same session the missionary sexually assaulted him. Gilbert recently expressed the following thoughts:

It was a long time before my spirit was healed. Before my body was healed. Before I could eat. Before I could play. Even with my fellow Indians, I was afraid. I was afraid of life.

When I was 13, my father took me out of school. I began to listen to my elders telling me how my ancestors had suffered, how they died like flies, how bounties were put on their heads, And everything came back to me. It was because of my language, my colour, my culture. "Aha," I thought to myself, "this is why I was punished."

And here I am today, 60 years later, and it isn't much different. Racism is in the papers every day; it's like a cancer, and you can't cure it. I call it Canadian stigma: it is made in Canada, and I meet it everywhere I go. (p. 113)

Although this sad observation has validity, and I agree with Mr. Abraham that we cannot cure prejudice, effective education, nevertheless, reduces prejudice and discrimination. How to design more powerful treatments is the challenge. But to reduce prejudice more effectively, educators must know what it is and how children acquire it.

This chapter begins with a definition of prejudice. With the phenomenon clearly defined and differentiated from discrimination, the discussion outlines and illustrates a theory of prejudice acquisition and how it applies to education. The chapter continues with an explanation of the role of multicultural education in prejudice reduction. Subsequently, the argument considers the effects of exhortation in reducing prejudice. Indicative of their faith in exhortation as a method of reducing prejudice, teachers often tell their students to treat each other fairly and to accept others. Does exhortation have the desired effect? Examination of the research yields encouraging conclusions. The last section outlines Holocaust education, including its purpose within the context of modern Canadian society. This part also contains a list of objectives for Holocaust education as well as illustrations of its content and instructional practices. After describing an evaluation of a Holocaust survivor's presentation to students, the chapter ends with a list of important research questions that arise from Holocaust education.

The Meaning of Prejudice

Prejudice is a negative attitude taken against a person or group of people without regard to objectively determined characteristics. Since it is an attitude, prejudice predisposes a person to act in unfair ways toward certain other people. Biased selection of information enables prejudiced individuals to ignore differences between two members of the same group (Simpson & Vinger, 1985). Prejudiced individuals categorize others into groups and apply presumed group qualities to individual members. For instance, if biased individuals think that all Scots are miserly, then they predispose themselves to think that any given Scot is extremely cautious with money. Whereas any particular attribute may cause prejudice, Alcock, Carmant, and Sadava (1994) observe that the selected characteristics vary from society to society. For example, in Quebec language has considerable relevance for prejudice.

---

Analysis of prejudice indicates that it has cognitive, affective and behavioral elements. The cognitive aspect customarily involves stereotypes that are highly over generalized and simplified beliefs about other people. Mackie (1985) reminded us that stereotypes are not always wrong and that we usually think in categories to reduce the burden of an information overload in our everyday lives. Nevertheless, their oversimplified nature may produce prejudice although, as Alcock, et al. concluded, simply being aware of a stereotype does not condemn one to prejudice. Emotions are associated with prejudice. For example, Simpson and Yinger observed that when we challenge their misjudgments of others, prejudiced individuals will strongly defend the misjudgments rather than relent. Despite new, disparate information, the affective or emotional component of prejudice ensures its persistence. The behavioral element concerns discrimination and that is the subject of the next section.

**Discrimination**

Discrimination is a deed. Prejudice being an attitude toward a person or group often suggests particular behaviour, but the action does not always occur. Bowd, McDougall, and Yewchuk (1994) noted that this inconsistency highlights the central distinction between prejudice and discrimination: discrimination is the overt behavioral manifestation of the covert predisposition. People with negative attitudes may or may not demonstrate their prejudice through action. It depends on many situational and personal variables. When a teacher establishes expectations that students will learn cooperatively, for instance, situational constraints may prevent them from treating each other unfairly. And habitual personal standards of common courtesy may override the tendency toward unfair treatment. Simpson and Yinger concluded that prejudice and discrimination are frequently interactive, either may cause the other, but each may also endure separately. Discrimination may occur at the personal level as this chapter's opening, tragic scenario demonstrated, and it may manifest itself at the institutional level finding expression in laws such as the Manitoba language law of the 1980's or, perhaps, the Quebec language and education laws of the 1970's (Alcock, et al., 1994). Driedger (1990) drew an important distinction: treating others differently does not mean that one is discriminating against them, unless the treatment damages an individual or group.

**The Acquisition of Prejudice**

How do children become prejudiced? Over the years several theories have been proposed to account for how children acquire prejudice. For example, Katz (1976) described an eight-stage developmental mechanism and Goodman (1964) outlined a three-stage theory. More recently, Aboud (1988) provided a three-step developmental process. Aboud linked the advancement of prejudice acquisition to the development of fundamental, overlapping social and cognitive processes. Two sequences of development interact with each other. One progression describes how the child develops from early reliance on affective and perceptual processes to increasingly greater dependence on cognitive functions.

The other progression stresses how children alter their attention from initial self-absorption to interest in the group, and finally to attention to individuals. The two sequences relate to each other such that the preference for affective functioning coincides with children's interest in themselves.

As development proceeds and children's perceptual processes become dominant, they will show greater relative interest in groups. Preference of older children for intellectual processing of information promotes attention to groups, but eventually leads to interest in individuals. With these assumptions about child development as her starting point, Aboud elaborated a social-cognitive developmental theory of the acquisition of prejudice by children.

**Three stages of prejudice acquisition.** Since different processes dominate children's thinking at distinct stages of development, these processes tend to control children's attitudes toward members of visible minorities. Aboud suggested that affective processes such as emotions and needs control children's ethnic attitudes between the ages of three and six. As children develop beyond the age of six, the influence of affective processes fades. During the initial stage, however, fear and attachment underlie a young person's ethnic attitudes. Aboud assumed that children fear the unknown and different in their environment, especially when the unknown phenomena are people.

In the first stage of prejudice acquisition, strangers may present a problem for children because the youngsters' capacities to explore new and different objects are not readily adapted to coping with newcomers. When confronted by a stranger, children will often remain aloof and become watchful. On the other hand, attachment develops between children and nurturing care givers. Meeting children's needs for comfort and security the care givers ensure that powerful emotional bonds, that is, attachments, develop. Attachment in the form of love and respect may generalize to people who look similar to care givers. When children meet people who are different from those who have nurtured them, they may become fearful. This fearfulness forms the basis of children's ethnic prejudice and stems from the more general fear of the different and unknown.

The overshadowing of perception and cognitive processes by children's affective nature leads them to focus on themselves. This egocentrism is characterized by an inability to see the other person's perspective. Egocentric young children fail to understand other people's feelings. However, they are not completely egocentric: it is just that they are more likely to give an egocentric response than older children. Egocentric affective functioning underlies ethnic attitudes because children at this stage tend to reinterpret communications from others consistent with their own affective functioning. That is, children's fears and attachments influence their ethnic attitudes and preferences.

As children mature, the initial stage of prejudice development gradually gives way to the second period in which perceptual processes become dominant. This second phase begins around age six and lasts until about
The third stage of prejudice development occurs about age seven and continues for the next three or four years. In the early part of this stage, children focus on the attributes of groups but gradually they attend more to the characteristics of individuals. The shift to cognitive dominance of thinking in the social sphere reflects the development from preoperational to concrete operational cognitive functioning. Children's understanding of conservation of matter identifies the period of concrete operations. This central cognitive process of the concrete operations stage of cognitive development underlies the formation of three significant thoughts about ethnicity.

The first of these ethnic thoughts concerns awareness of the attributes of ethnic groups. During the early stages of ethnic attitude development, as noted earlier, children focus on external attributes in distinguishing ethnicity. From a child's perspective, for instance, to be a Native one would need to wear particular clothes such as a headdress. These attributes seem unchanging to younger children. Aboud observed, however, that young children understand that ethnic minorities prefer their own group members, although emotions such as dislike of peers interferes with this understanding. Later, from about the age of eight, children show greater awareness of the internal attributes of ethnic group members. As development proceeds, youngsters moderate the influence of attitudes on thought demonstrating that they can reduce formerly strong prejudices. Children's thoughts, or cognitive processes, influence their ethnic attitudes.

The second ethnic cognition concerns the flexibility of children's understanding of ethnicity. Aboud explains that this flexibility appears when children of about eight comprehend that two people belonging to different ethnic groups may have similar characteristics. It also manifests itself when children recognize that two members of the same ethnic group may have different characteristics. More tolerant individuals show greater flexibility in their understanding of ethnicity. For example, they tend to minimize differences among individuals who belong to different ethnic groups.

Constancy, the third ethnic cognition, means that children correctly identify ethnic group membership of others despite changes in surface attributes. For example, young children assume that we can change our ethnic membership by altering surface features such as hair colour. Aboud concluded that children lack ethnic constancy throughout the years from four to about nine. But ten year olds perceive that ethnicity does not change with alterations to, say, clothing or other superficial characteristics.

These three ethnic cognitions, constancy, flexibility, and awareness of internal attributes of others, once fully developed, explain the dominance of cognition in the third stage of ethnic attitude development. Their importance lies in the observation by Aboud that children who possess these cognitions show less prejudice.

The strength of prejudice changes as the nature of children's social-cognitive development alters. At the stage when differences between ethnic groups are most salient (the second stage and early part of the third), prejudice will clearly exist. As children begin to notice similarities and to minimize differences among groups, prejudice fades. The capacity to discern differences among members of the same ethnic group should foster additional reductions in prejudice. Aboud goes on to say that the progression from concern about self, to groups, and finally to individuals affects what information will most likely influence children's ethnic attitudes.

Educational applications. Based on Aboud's social cognitive developmental theory of prejudice, Swanson and Bowers (cited in Aboud, 1988) created More than Meets the Eye, a program to reduce prejudice among grade five students. The following processes underlie the unit: emphasizing internal rather than external attributes of others, noticing similarities among ethnic groups, seeing that members of the same ethnic group may be dissimilar in certain ways, and acknowledging that more than one perspective may be acceptable. Corresponding to the foregoing processes, Swanson and Bowers divided More than Meets the Eye into three sections: pupils practice understanding the internal attributes of themselves and others in the first two parts whereas they analyze different viewpoints in the third part. Many of the activities have game-like qualities. While conducting the unit, teachers promote discussion and model acceptance and appreciation of differing cultural perspectives.

Since More than Meets the Eye was created for 7 to 12 year olds, Aboud suggested that a special unit might be developed for 4 to 7 year olds. Congruent with social cognitive developmental theory, children should practice enlarging their emotional repertoire and developing awareness of more than one cultural perspective by experiencing how other people live. McPhie's (1989) experiential unit of Squamish longhouse life achieves the latter objective. She cooperated with Native leaders to immerse grade four students in a traditional Squamish longhouse community. Students were to understand and appreciate the Squamish culture and respect the Native people. The immersion experience lasted two days during which the children lived as the Natives might have before contact with Europeans. To begin their SKW'UNE-WAS, or partnership experience, the children travelled by train to a place near their destination, and then to reach the campment they hiked through the woods for about a mile. On arrival, a Squamish leader took them on an imaginary journey back to an earlier time. She gave the children cedar boughs and told them to brush away any distracting thoughts. Through singing and drumming, the Squamish leader helped settle the children in preparation for entering the longhouse, specially built for the immersion program. Once inside the house, the Native leader explained the expectations: the youngsters were to cooperate and participate in such activities as weaving, cooking, and splitting wood in traditional ways. Special attention was given to respect for the elders (all those present in the longhouse) and the environment. Special trained teachers and volunteers helped the Native leader and her Native assistants carry out the program. Results of qualitative and quantitative data analyses showed that a partnership had developed and that the program achieved greater understanding and respect for Native culture.
Although the unit was tested with grade four pupils, it seems ideally suited to downward extension to four through seven year olds. The latter group's developmental characteristics allow for beneficial outcomes.

The advancement of children's thinking about interpersonal relations, especially in the context of ethnicity, forms the foundation of how Aboud's theory applies to the reduction of prejudice through education. To accomplish this goal teachers and curriculum experts could model the design of future units after the Squamish longhouse program and More than Meets the Eye.

Canadian Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism means that all ethnic groups within Canada have equal status and that each ethnic group has the right to maintain and advance its cultural heritage while sustaining the national identity of Canadian society. From this perspective, cultural pluralism becomes a defining trait of societies that promote multiculturalism. According to McLeod (1984), the principle of equal status has been difficult to achieve in countries such as Canada because the majority group (English Canadians) prefers to dominate and feel superior to other ethnic groups. Both English and French speaking Canadians resist calling themselves ethnic groups. They choose to think of minorities such as Asian-Canadians as "ethnic," but not themselves. In a multicultural society, however, all groups that form "...an involuntary group of people who share the same culture or to descendants of such people who identify themselves and/or are identified by others as belonging to the same involuntary group." (Isajiw, 1985, p. 16) are ethnic groups regardless of their position in the economy and their history of dominance.

Canada's multicultural policy has been analyzed by Berry (1984) who identified four main elements of the policy: (a) Own group maintenance and development refer to the goal of helping ethnic groups survive and flourish as cultural entities within Canadian society. (b) Other group acceptance among the various ethnic groups. (c) Intergroup contact and sharing facilitate appropriate relations among groups. (d) Learning of official languages places a unique Canadian emphasis on multiculturalism.

Berry's analysis of the relationship among the four elements revealed a major assumption: when individuals feel good about their own ethnicity, they will be accepting and tolerant of other ethnic groups. This multicultural assumption was not intended to imply that groups excessively glorify their own heritage. Instead, it was meant to imply a sense of self-worth that leads to greater recognition of the value of other ethnic groups. Research support for this assumption derives, for example, from Aboud and Skerry (1984) who found a positive correlation between high self-esteem and positive attitudes toward members of other groups.

The Role of Multicultural Education in Prejudice Reduction

Multicultural education refers to methods and content that help minority students succeed at school and that reduce prejudice and discrimination among all students. This definition conforms to Mansfield and Kehoe's (1994) call for a rapprochement between multicultural education and anti-racist education. In other words, multicultural education primarily intends to promote tolerance and understanding among the people of different cultural groups within a society while facilitating the academic achievement of minority group students. The advancement of tolerance and understanding implies that people who have experienced multicultural education will become more egalitarian and will press for greater equality for all. They would advocate changes in society such as employment equity to redress the wrongs of the past.

As Bennett (1990) observed, multicultural education encourages a pluralistic society where people with diverse cultural backgrounds have equal status and honour each other's customs. Rather than creating a "melting pot" where immigrants and Native people are assimilated by shedding their cultural trappings, multicultural education fosters diversity within a well-developed sense of national identity, including Canada's pluralistic nature (McLeod, 1984). That is, the preservation of minority cultures does not mean the fragmentation of Canadian society. On the contrary, it means that responsible citizenship includes primary allegiance to Canada while recognizing its multicultural character. For example, teachers aid this recognition by having their students study history from various perspectives other than the Eurocentric view.

Effective multicultural education is integrated throughout the curriculum (Rickard, 1994). SPEDS, the Society for the Prevention and Elimination of Discrimination and Stereotyping, illustrates this integrated approach. It grew out of the need for prejudice reduction among school children in Calgary, Alberta (Clark, 1986). Based on a program used in Madison, Wisconsin, SPEDS is not just a series of lessons. It is a method of approaching multicultural education. It is used throughout the school year, and it is applicable to various subjects and to all grades. SPEDS emphasizes interaction among members of different ethnic groups at school. Field trips to places of worship, community centres and Indian reserves coupled with visits by resource people from various segments of society ensure student awareness of cultural differences and similarities. Lunch and family dinner exchanges occur among classmates or schoolmates of different cultural backgrounds. Greater cohesiveness, respect and understanding are the goals. SPEDS has a clubs aspect which involves, among other items, examinations, club buttons, T-shirts, membership cards and a code of behavior. Membership implies responsibility for understanding, accepting, and respecting all people. Two independent assessments have demonstrated the efficacy of SPEDS in reducing prejudice among participants (Carswell, 1978; McDougall, 1986).

Multiculturalism, then, is not exclusively relegated to a particular day or week or to the exotic. It simply becomes a way of life at school. According to Nieto (1992), this pervasiveness manifests itself through the fundamental multicultural philosophy of a school reflecting the pluralistic nature of the community it serves.

When the local community is culturally homogeneous, however, the need for prejudice reduction is probably greater because culturally homogeneous groups may lack opportunities to contact minority group members in ways that would reduce prejudice. The point is that while the immediate community may be culturally homogeneous, the wider Canadian society continues its multicultural expansion. And appropriate education prepares children for the realities of the society in which they must participate. Effective citizenship requires cultural
sophistication for life in an ethnically diverse Canadian society.

Exhortation to Reduce Prejudice and Discrimination

Teachers promote tolerance and understanding among their students in various ways. Exhortation is one such method. Exhortation refers to teachers urging students to treat others fairly, equally and without discrimination. With the implicit assumption that such appeals reduce prejudice, for instance, a teacher might tell students to stop calling each other racist "names" explaining that it is hurtful and discriminatory. This statement could take the form of a short lecture. Teachers may express other appeals in directed discussions such as teacher-led considerations of inequity on the playground. Still others show films with anti-prejudice messages. Although the following review shows that it sometimes fails to gain empirical support, most of the studies confirm the efficacy of exhortation.

On the negative side, Crawford (1976) found that anti-racist sermons by Roman Catholic priests in a large, Midwestern American city did not affect the attitudes of their parishioners. In an earlier study, Weider (1954) compared a traditional lecture-discussion to non-directive group therapy for their effects on prejudice reduction and found that the lecture-discussion method did not modify attitudes related to prejudice. Another study conducted by Greenberg, Pierson, & Sherman (1958) investigated the effects of three techniques: debate, lecture, and discussion on prejudice. Although the trend of the results was in favour of the discussion method, there were no significant differences among the three methods as compared to a no treatment control group.

Several studies, however, confirm exhortation for reducing prejudice. Knowler's (1936) results showed that factual and emotional lectures changed attitudes. Litvack-Miller and McDougall's (1991) findings indicated that peer exhortation as compared to urging from adults produced greater anti-utilitarianism among junior high students. Anti-utilitarianism precedes altruism which is related to tolerance of others. In another investigation, McDougall and Litvack-Miller (1992) studied high school students' reactions to appeals by a Holocaust survivor. Findings indicated students who received the live presentation by a survivor blamed the Jews less after the session than before. Gray and Ashmore (1975) tested three ways of reducing prejudice: the presentation of information that contradicted stereotypes, a value-discrepancy approach, and role playing. Exhortation played a part in the informational and role-playing treatments because the information was presented with the intent to persuade the subjects that African Americans should be viewed favourably. Results confirmed that all three treatments produced significantly higher equalitarian scores on posttests as compared to a control group. Class discussions seem effective in reducing prejudice. Using survey questionnaire data, Slavin and Madden (1979) demonstrated that teacher-reported, class discussions about race by grade ten students significantly affected students' behaviour such as telephoning a minority student.

Implications from exhortation research for classroom instruction. Teachers will continue to urge their students to treat each other with fairness and tolerance, and the research literature provides support for their actions. That is to say, lectures that give more than information by attempting to persuade students to accept a particular anti-prejudice position, teacher-directed discussions about the negative effects of prejudice and discrimination, and emotional lectures changed attitudes. Litvack-Miller and McDougall's (1991) study may have influenced the results, uncertainty about the effectiveness of persuasion remains. However, Mitnick and McGinnies (1958) studied the effects on the ethnocentrism of high school students of a persuasive film and without a follow-up discussion. Findings showed that both treatments reduced ethnocentrism, but the discussion groups retained their attitude change for a longer period.

Movies were also involved in workshops by Sedlacek, Troy, and Chapman (1976) who compared three strategies for eliminating prejudice among American university students. One strategy, a six-stage model workshop, contained elements of exhortation in its last two stages. These two stages included short- and long-term goal setting concerning prejudice reduction and featured techniques that emphasized responsibility by the majority group for discrimination. Sedlacek, et al. measured the effects of this strategy against two other workshops one of which was a simulation social game and the other was a persuasive movie workshop including an unstructured, follow-up discussion. Although several methodologies that may have confounded exhortation were used within a given treatment, the authors concluded that the movie workshop was best for reducing prejudice. This conclusion obtained further support from Houser's (1978) finding that a short film about disregarding skin colour reduced prejudice among elementary school children.

Persuasive messages in movies reduce prejudice. Goldberg (1956) studied the effects of film on adults' attitudes toward minorities. One group viewed a film showing a persuasive approach to prejudice with strongly emotional narration, and the other group saw a film depicting a realistic intergroup conflict situation. Results showed that the realistic film reduced ethnocentric attitudes. Since group membership of the adults in this study may have influenced the results, uncertainty about the effectiveness of persuasion remains. However, Mitnick and McGinnies (1958) studied the effects on the ethnocentrism of high school students of a persuasive film and without a follow-up discussion. Findings showed that both treatments reduced ethnocentrism, but the discussion groups retained their attitude change for a longer period.

Movies were also involved in workshops by Sedlacek, Troy, and Chapman (1976) who compared three strategies for eliminating prejudice among American university students. One strategy, a six-stage model workshop, contained elements of exhortation in its last two stages. These two stages included short- and long-term goal setting concerning prejudice reduction and featured techniques that emphasized responsibility by the majority group for discrimination. Sedlacek, et al. measured the effects of this strategy against two other workshops one of which was a simulation social game and the other was a persuasive movie workshop including an unstructured, follow-up discussion. Although several methodologies that may have confounded exhortation were used within a given treatment, the authors concluded that the movie workshop was best for reducing prejudice. This conclusion obtained further support from Houser's (1978) finding that a short film about disregarding skin colour reduced prejudice among elementary school children.

Implications from exhortation research for classroom instruction. Teachers will continue to urge their students to treat each other with fairness and tolerance, and the research literature provides support for their actions. That is to say, lectures that give more than information by attempting to persuade students to accept a particular anti-prejudice position, teacher-directed discussions about the negative effects of prejudice and discrimination, and emotional lectures changed attitudes. Litvack-Miller and McDougall's (1991) study may have influenced the results, uncertainty about the effectiveness of persuasion remains. However, Mitnick and McGinnies (1958) studied the effects on the ethnocentrism of high school students of a persuasive film and without a follow-up discussion. Findings showed that both treatments reduced ethnocentrism, but the discussion groups retained their attitude change for a longer period.

Movies were also involved in workshops by Sedlacek, Troy, and Chapman (1976) who compared three strategies for eliminating prejudice among American university students. One strategy, a six-stage model workshop, contained elements of exhortation in its last two stages. These two stages included short- and long-term goal setting concerning prejudice reduction and featured techniques that emphasized responsibility by the majority group for discrimination. Sedlacek, et al. measured the effects of this strategy against two other workshops one of which was a simulation social game and the other was a persuasive movie workshop including an unstructured, follow-up discussion. Although several methodologies that may have confounded exhortation were used within a given treatment, the authors concluded that the movie workshop was best for reducing prejudice. This conclusion obtained further support from Houser's (1978) finding that a short film about disregarding skin colour reduced prejudice among elementary school children.

Implications from exhortation research for classroom instruction. Teachers will continue to urge their students to treat each other with fairness and tolerance, and the research literature provides support for their actions. That is to say, lectures that give more than information by attempting to persuade students to accept a particular anti-prejudice position, teacher-directed discussions about the negative effects of prejudice and discrimination, and emotional lectures changed attitudes. Litvack-Miller and McDougall's (1991) study may have influenced the results, uncertainty about the effectiveness of persuasion remains. However, Mitnick and McGinnies (1958) studied the effects on the ethnocentrism of high school students of a persuasive film and without a follow-up discussion. Findings showed that both treatments reduced ethnocentrism, but the discussion groups retained their attitude change for a longer period.
observable communication effects, for example, attitude change. Researchers have studied and extended these persuasibility variables. For instance, recently they have explored the effects of various types of involvement with issues (an internal mediating process) and their relation to the strength of the persuasive message (Maio & Olson, 1995).

Here is a brief illustration of how one persuasibility variable, credibility of source, might be applied in the classroom. Since recipients of a persuasive communication more readily believe credible sources, teachers can influence the credibility of the messenger. For example, through sociometric testing (where students might be asked, "On a class field trip, which three students would you like to take with you as passengers in your car?"), teachers could identify potential influential student leaders. These students might lead a subsequent discussion about intergroup relations, or talk to their classmates about the importance of fairness in interpersonal relations. Of course, such talks and discussions would not be held in isolation but would be embedded in relevant parts of the curriculum. With an appropriate theory guiding their efforts, teachers ensure that persuasive messages reduce prejudice.

Holocaust Education

Holocaust education illustrates another method of facilitating tolerance and understanding. Holocaust education tells the tragic, horrifying story of Nazi Germany's annihilation of Jews and other people during the Second World War. The disturbing nature of this segment of European history raises questions about whether it should be taught to Canadian youngsters. Indeed, Bialystok (1986) warned against teaching the Holocaust for the wrong reasons. For example, it would not be helpful to exploit the Holocaust solely to arouse interest in the study of history. Elevated attention to history as a beneficial side effect, however, remains acceptable. Since the Holocaust evokes strong emotional reactions among students, teachers must go cautiously by first clarifying reasons for teaching the subject. With a rationale clearly in mind, teachers will avoid pitfalls like finding their students overwhelmed by the horror of the death camps. Effective instruction recognizes the horror, but never dwells on it to the point where students become traumatized.

What is the purpose of Holocaust education? Beyond recognition that it occurred, knowledge of the causes of the Holocaust may prevent repetition of past mistakes. Farnham (1982) argued that understanding of the Holocaust provides insight into human motivation. He said that "The Nazis, for example, did not cease to be people: to call them "beasts" is an evasion that allows us to flee from the fact that they were our fellow human beings. It is precisely because the Nazis were human beings that we must protect ourselves from the potential in people to become Nazis." (p. 279). Farnham acknowledged that we should avoid the naive optimism of the past that assumed that rational problem solving would necessarily lead to an improved society. But he concluded that knowledge of history enables us to shape present and future actions in light of the past.

Analysis of the gradual dehumanizing and separating of the Jews from the remainder of European society under the sway of the Nazis allows students to understand the significance of protecting individual rights and freedoms for the survival of democracy (Wells & Wingate, 1986). Students will realize the importance of reducing prejudice and discrimination wherever it occurs. Holocaust education promotes tolerance and understanding across a wide spectrum of activities in any society, including Canada.

The Holocaust is relevant to modern Canadian society. Bialystok, for instance, has observed that the Canadian government discriminated against Jewish immigration from Europe during and shortly after the Second World War. It has obvious connections to the Zundel case and the prolonged Kegedon affair. More than this, the sophistication about intergroup behaviour that derives from Holocaust education informs the debate about current immigration policy as it relates to visible minority immigrants and refugees.

Graduating into an increasingly complex society, students must not base their decisions as citizens on a too simplistic view of history. Bialystok has argued that teaching the Holocaust helps students appreciate the complexity of the history of western societies. For example, democracy has been viewed historically as a vehicle for the emancipation of the oppressed. Yet study of the rise of National Socialism reveals that the perversion of democracy enabled Hitler to gain power in prewar Germany. And the illusion of democracy sheltered his regime's corrupt activities, at least in its early stages. Increased sophistication in thinking about the strengths and weaknesses of democracy may improve our preferred mode of government. A well-informed electorate falls less easily for superficial, distorted arguments that could ultimately lead to democracy's end.

A more fully developed view of history would include the notion that technology does not always enhance the human condition. Bialystok noted that the Holocaust reveals how technology placed in the hands of those driven by hatred can have disastrous results. The same technology may be used for good or evil: it can free humanity from excessive drudgery or it may enslave and slaughter as in the Holocaust. Again, the purpose is to make students more sensitive to the complexity of history rather than to overwhelm them with its more horrifying aspects.

A social psychological analysis of everyday life in Nazi Germany provides material for deeper understanding of various phenomena that vex modern society: the consequences of indifference in the face of wrongdoing; the need for individual responsibility to self and others; the ways propaganda can shape public opinion and distort issues; the pros and cons of censorship; the influence of peer pressure, something with which most young people can readily identify; and, most important, the Holocaust illustrates the effects of extreme prejudice and discrimination combined with excessive chauvinism (Schwartz, 1990).

At the same time teachers can help students identify positive human traits. They might examine the Danish refusal to permit the collection and deportation of Danish Jews and Jewish resistance in the Warsaw ghetto. Students should learn that Jewish resistance took a passive form as well. For instance, Jews while living under desperate, dehumanizing conditions in the concentration camps frequently used their religious faith to live and die with dignity (Friedman, 1985). Models of independent, responsible action in the face of unreasonable, threatening authority flow from a study of the heroism of people like
power. He views Holocaust education as the central case

Content and methodology of Holocaust education. The purposes of Holocaust education lead to the development of particular instructional objectives. Although objectives would differ according to the age of the students and the nature of the overall curriculum, the following list illustrates goals for a high school social studies unit (Samuleuski, 1986; Schwartz, 1990).

After studying the Holocaust, students could do the following: (a) describe the antecedent conditions that led to the rise of National Socialism in Germany, (b) outline the gradual deprivation of human rights as experienced by European Jews during the Third Reich, (c) define and distinguish between Holocaust and genocide, (d) illustrate how the Holocaust provides evidence for the uneven progress of Western civilization, (e) define and describe discrimination as the social psychological mechanism underlying the Holocaust, (f) define concepts related to understanding the Holocaust such as anti-Semitism, responsibility, leadership, bystander phenomenon, propaganda, censorship, cultural relativism, (g) outline the major events of the Holocaust and set them into the context of the Second World War, and (h) describe principles of positive and negative human behaviour derived from the Holocaust and apply them to current events in Canada and elsewhere in modern times. This list of objectives does not exhaust the possibilities, but it indicates the direction taken by Holocaust educators.

Content and methodology of Holocaust education. The actual content and methodology varies considerably across units of study. For example, Friedman (1985) described the content for a post-secondary sociology course on the Holocaust that included brief overviews of suitable textbooks, short descriptions of patterns of discrimination, identification of the roots of prejudice, and reactions of minority group members to discrimination. Friedman noted important cautions for instructors. He argued, for instance, that distinction between holocaust and genocide provides more accurate understanding of the Holocaust, especially if it is set in the context of the history of European anti-Semitism. Referring to minority reactions to discrimination, Friedman explained how Jewish religious tenets provide insights into the spiritual resistance that many victims practised in the face of an overwhelming power. He views Holocaust education as the central case study of twentieth-century prejudice and discrimination.

In another example, Samuleuski (1986) outlined fourteen lessons for a Scarborough high school unit that included a list of resources and methods of instruction. She identified relevant maps, major textbooks (Facing History and Ourselves; The Holocaust Years: Society on Trial), other readings such as poems, films (e.g., The Rise of Hitler) and film strips (e.g., Anti-Semitism). Methodology ranged from class discussions of the readings and films, short talks by the teacher, invited addresses from survivors, to the writing of reports and essays. Lesson nine of the unit entitled, Responses within the Camps, begins with students reading children's poetry from a concentration camp and other readings on victims' behaviour and the issue of resistance. A survivor speaks to the class and a discussion emphasizes the dehumanization and depersonalization of the experience in concentration camps. The lesson has room for small group activities. During the entire unit, students keep a journal to record both cognitive and affective reactions to their studies. Guidelines aid the teacher's assessment of journal entries. Samuleuski even provided an essay test question, including helpful suggestions for students when writing an answer. Students create position papers that form a major part of the evaluation. Samuleuski, unfortunately, did not report cognitive or affective assessment data on the effectiveness of the unit.

Since an extensive Holocaust literature exists, teachers sometimes help students approach the topic through fiction. Carrier, Walther, and Lass (1986) of the English Department at Northern Secondary School in Toronto classified selected fiction into several categories: fiction, poetry, drama, art, interpretative works; young adult literature; and, anthologies. Their annotations provide a basis for choosing among the materials. Coles (1983) described the importance of literature in teaching the Holocaust as follows:

Without question its lessons ought be taught, with factual recitations and thorough, intelligent discussions. Toward this end, the good novel is an invaluable moral resource. Through it, the texture of experience can be rendered so truly and forcefully that we are, for a while, transported into quite another world and thereby challenged by its messy (but quite realistic and terribly scary) ethical choices. (pp. 45-46)

Zack (1991) depicted how she and three Montreal, grade five, private school students read and reacted to Yolen's, The Devil's Arithmetic. Zack expressed concern about the effects of the horror. However, she gave the children a choice of books only one of which dealt with the Holocaust. Pupils could stop reading at any point. With the three who chose Yolen's work, Zack carefully discussed several crucial worries (e.g., How could anybody do such a thing?), and only went beyond the details about concentration camp life as depicted by the author on one occasion. Yet she noticed that the children felt the strain of the powerful emotions evoked by the book. Zack, nevertheless, concluded that the reading was worthwhile, and that children through their reading will remember those who died. This knowledge, Zack contended, will help counter denial of the Holocaust.

The need for empirical investigations. Holocaust education contains well-constructed units, considerable amounts of resource material, and sound, innovative instructional methodology. The effects of these efforts too often remain
unexamined except at the level of teachers' anecdotal accounts and achievement tests. For example, Wells and Wingate reported that "Students start to question their previous assumptions that the bystander could play a neutral role" (p. 207). After her students studied the Holocaust, Meisel (1982) observed that "... many students were outraged by the torture and torment of the Cambodians and Vietnamese boat people... they wrote letters" (p. 44). Zack quoted her students to illustrate their learning, "Irene: Then there were gas showers also. Harle: Ya, there were. And there were other things. There were executions, there were all kinds of stuff, the way they killed them. Disgusting" (p. 46). Although the usefulness of these anecdotes is undeniable, Holocaust education now requires more systematic assessment.

Anecdotal records and achievement tests constructed by teachers as well as student journals create a basis for more systematic qualitative and quantitative assessment of Holocaust education. The time has come to go beyond emotional appeals to teachers and provide them with implications for making their efforts more effective based on empirical investigations. As noted earlier, McDougall and Litvack-Miller (1992) studied high school students' reactions to appeals by a survivor and concluded that presentations by Holocaust survivors were effective. McDougall and Litvack-Miller suggested further study of the following questions: Would merged video and live presentations reduce prejudice more than either alone? Do children of differing ethnicity respond uniquely to Holocaust education? Do those who have experienced discrimination react differently as compared to individuals who have not had this experience? Besides these questions, researchers might further explore Holocaust education by examining various problems: What is the role of moral development on children's reactions to course material? Do youngsters at different levels of cognitive development respond in unique ways when confronted by knowledge of the Holocaust? Is providing information about the Holocaust sufficient to reduce prejudice and discrimination? Can the study of fiction aid students' understanding of the issues? Systematic investigations of the foregoing questions as well as other problems would provide the necessary empirical basis for decisions about instructional strategies within Holocaust education.

Conclusion

Multicultural education reduces prejudice and discrimination. However, knowledge of how young people acquire prejudice as set forth by Aboud (1988) in her three-stage developmental theory will allow teachers to design more effective instructional strategies. Programs such as McPhie's (1989) experiential unit of Squamish longhouse life illustrate how teachers might use Aboud's theory to meet the needs of children in the four to seven year age group. The time has come for teachers to expand the available units based not only on classroom experience, but on appropriate theory and relevant research, perhaps by modelling their new units, in part, after those that have already been tested.

Exhortation and Holocaust education illustrate the methods and content of multicultural education as prejudice reduction. Most of us have faith in the spoken word as a means of changing our students' behaviour. As it turns out, this faith might not be entirely misplaced. Although the research is inconsistent, exhortations through lectures, directed discussions and films with a message reduce prejudice. Active student participation produces the most robust outcomes. Just as theory about how children acquire prejudice informs practice, teachers should base their exhortations on communication theory for more powerful effects.

Since every society harbours the seeds of extremism, and Canada is no exception, Holocaust education is relevant to contemporary Canadian society. Study of how the Nazis created the Holocaust, especially how the early prewar phase contributed to the situation, may help students see how the protection of individual rights and freedoms in everyday life is vital to the integrity of democracy. Through Holocaust education, students learn that discrimination may have dire consequences and that it should not be tolerated under any circumstances.

Student achievement may be assessed in various ways. As part of their normal evaluation responsibilities, teachers measure outcomes by noting student responses from discussions, interviews, journal entries, and achievement tests. Researchers must now aid teachers in discovering the most effective practices in Holocaust education by subjecting these strategies to systematic evaluation, including their replication in various situations.

More effective Holocaust education, more powerful exhortations as well as other methods within multicultural education such as applications of contact theory like cooperative learning will lead to increased reductions in prejudice and discrimination. Gilbert Abraham's condemnation of current Canadian society as racist should not stand as a prophecy of what lies ahead. Multicultural education is an important bulwark in the struggle to create a more egalitarian, liberal democratic Canadian society.

References


55
Crawford, T. J. (1974). Sermons on racial tolerance and


intercultural teaching. Multicultural Education: The


Holocaust and today's kids. Learning, 12, 43-46.

Crawford, T. J. (1974). Sermons on racial tolerance and

the parish neighborhood context. Journal of Applied

Social Psychology, 4, 1-23.


Hagedorn (Ed.), Sociology (pp. 252-279). Toronto:

Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Farnham, J. F. (1982). Teaching the Holocaust: A

rationale for dealing with the absurd. The Journal of

General Education, 33, 273-283.


hero: A role model for students of social studies.

Canadian Social Studies, 26, 102-106.


Teaching Sociology, 12, 449-461.

Goldberg, A. L. (1956). The effects of two types of sound

motion pictures on the attitudes of adults toward

minorities. Journal of Educational Sociology, 29, 386-

391.

Goodman, M. E. (1964). Race awareness in young


effects of informational, role-playing, and value-
discrepancy treatments on racial attitude. Journal of


effects of education techniques on prejudice attitudes.

Journal of Educational Sociology, 31, 82-86. Houser,

B. B. (1978). An examination of the use of audiovisual

media in reducing prejudice. Psychology in the

Schools, 15, 116-122.


and persuasibility. New Haven, CT: Yale University.


Bienvenue and J. E. Goldstein (Eds.). Ethnicity and

ethnic relations in Canada: A book of readings (2nd

ed.) (pp. 5-17). Toronto: Butterworths.

Katz, P. A. (1976). The acquisition of prejudice attitudes in

children. In P. A. Katz (Ed.), Towards the elimination

of racism. New York: Pergamon.


Knowles, F. H. (1936). Experimental studies of changes in

attitude. II. A study of the effect of printed argument

on changes in attitude. Journal of Abnormal and

Social Psychology, 30, 522-532.


effects of peer influence and empathy on altruism of

young adolescents. Paper presented at the annual

convention of the Canadian Psychological Association,

Calgary, Alberta.

Mackie, M. (1985). Stereotypes, prejudice, and

discrimination. In R. M. Bienvenue and J. E.

Goldstein (Eds.), Ethnicity and ethnic relations in

Canada: A book of readings (2nd ed.) (pp. 219-239).

Toronto: Butterworths.

Maio, G. R., & Olson, J. M. (1995). Involvement and

persuasion: Evidence for different types of

involvement. Canadian Journal of Behavioural

Science, 27, 64-78.

Mansfield, E., & Kehoe, J. (1994). A critical examination of

anti-racist education. Canadian Journal of Education,

19, 418-430.


ethnocentrism in small discussion groups through a

film communication. Journal of abnormal and social

psychology, 56, 82-90.

McDougall, D. (1986). The effects of the Society for the

Prevention and Elimination of Discrimination on

Achievement and Attitudes. Calgary: Calgary Board

of Education.


Generation, gender, and empathy effects on

adolescents' views of the Holocaust: A just world


Berry, and M. Laferriere (Eds.), Multiculturalism in

Canada: Social and educational perspectives (pp. 30-

49). Toronto: Allyn and Bacon.


immersion: A fourth grade enrichment curriculum. In

S. V. Morris (Ed.), Multicultural and intercultural


Meisel, E. (1982). "I don't want to be a bystander!":

Literature and the Holocaust. English Journal, 71(5),

40-44.


culture of multicultural education. New York:

Longman.

Rickard, D. (1994). Group calls for standardized anti-

racism instruction. Education Leader, 27 (2), 3.

Samulewski, M. (1986). Teaching the Holocaust at the

intermediate level: A course outline. The History and

Social Science Teacher, 21, 228-231. Schwartz, D.

(1990). "Who will tell them after we're gone?":

Reflections on teaching the Holocaust. The History

Teacher, 23, 95-110.


evaluation of three methods of racism-sexism training.

Personnel and Guidance Journal, 55, 196-198.


minorities: An analysis of prejudice and discrimination

(5th ed.). New York: Plenum.

Slavin, R. E., & Madden, N. A. (1979). School practices

that improve race relations. American Educational


Wells, M., & Wingate, J. (1986). Holocaust studies as anti-

racist education. The History and Social Science

Teacher, 21, 205-208.

Wieder, G. S. (1954). Group procedures modifying

attitudes of prejudice in the college classroom. Journal

of Educational Psychology, 45, 332-344.

Zack, V. (1991). "It was the worst of times": Learning

about the Holocaust through literature. Language Arts,

68, 42-48.

Author Notes

Daniel McDougall is a professor of educational psychology

at the University of Calgary. He was a founding member

and president of the Alberta Association for Multicultural

Education.
Building an Anti-Racist School: The Story of Victor Mager School

Jan Smith, Victor Mager School and Jon Young (University of Manitoba)

Introduction

Fullan (1991) reminds those contemplating educational innovation that all educational change is difficult, and that large-scale changes are more difficult than small changes. The processes of creating schools in which principles of multicultural/anti-racist education pervade all aspects of school life invariably speaks of a process of large-scale and difficult change (May, 1994). Despite the considerable efforts of many teachers and administrators across Canada over the last twenty years, multicultural education remains for the most part a fragmented and partial reality, and one that, on several fronts, is in danger of losing some of its momentum (Winnipeg Social Planning Council, 1994). With few exceptions, policy efforts at the provincial and school board (usually urban) level appear to stumble in the process of implementation, and "grass roots" efforts by individual teachers and community groups remain relatively isolated efforts at the level of individual classrooms. The "multicultural school" remains a relatively rare phenomenon, and the "multicultural school system" more so.

It is this transition to systemic multicultural education at the school and system level that represents a major challenge for Canadian public education in the 1990s and beyond. The case study described in this paper is important, we believe, for two reasons: first, because it describes the way in which one school's staff has struggled with considerable success to develop a whole-school orientation and commitment to multicultural education (within a context of a school board where this was not a system-wide priority); and, second, because the paper attempts, albeit briefly, to show how the developments connect to the literature on educational change (Fullan, 1991, 1993; Fullan, Hargreaves, 1991; Levin, 1992). In particular, the case-study serves to illustrate the following aspects of educational change:

- that significant educational change is invariably a complex and difficult process of personal growth and change that requires new skills, behaviors and beliefs (Fullan, 1991).

- that educational change is resource demanding. Often additional and external funds are influential in supporting change, but the rethinking and reallocating of existing resources may be just as important.

- that educational change is "a process, not an event" (Fullan, 1993) - it is non-linear and uncertain, and it takes a lot of time. Schools that are successful in creating and sustaining a multicultural climate and curriculum invariably commit to the process as a long term agenda and attach professional development resources to its achievement (Derkatz, 1994; May, 1994).

- that educational change is in substantial part idiosyncratic. No two schools are ever the same. Change is not therefore a process of "adopting" an innovation but rather a process of creating or "becoming". Schools change one at a time.

- that educational change is fragile. Changes nurtured carefully over a considerable period of time can often wilt in the face of loss of leadership, withdrawal of resources, and participant "burnout".

- that educational change is supported by administrative commitment and vision, but that authentic visions evolve in the change process rather than proceeding it (Fullan, 1993). Leadership is a process and not a position, it may be exercised by different people (students, parents, teachers) at different points and in different ways in the change process.

The account that follows is a description of the efforts over a six year period by staff, students, and parents to re-form life in a single Kindergarten to Senior 1 (Grade 9) school in Winnipeg in a way that was explicitly informed by a multicultural and an anti-racist philosophy.

Background

Victor Mager School is a Kindergarten to Senior 1 (Grade 9) school with a student population of around 350, located within a generally affluent suburban Winnipeg school division. Nevertheless, the school's catchment area constitutes a quite distinct enclave within the division, its population characterized by many of the indicators that the provincial Department of Education and Training uses to identify "inner city" schools. Included in these are: high levels of unemployment, an over-representation of families living below the poverty level; substantial numbers of single parent, mother-led, families, high transiency rates, and a large number of English as a Second Language students (Victor Mager Job Re-Entry Needs Assessment, 1994).

Situated in a relatively new area of urban development, over 40 per cent of the catchment area's housing units are located in apartment blocks of five storeys or higher. Rental levels here are generally in the lower end of the city's rental market or are operated as low-income housing. In part reflecting this housing profile, more than one-third of the residents of this area were living in poverty in 1991, a figure almost double that of the city of Winnipeg as a whole.
Census data for 1991 shows that single-parent families constitute the most prevalent type of families within the catchment area. Over 47 per cent of families with children were, at that time, headed by single parents, and the vast majority (89 per cent) of these single parents were women.

Single, mother-led, families in the catchment, relative to all other family types, are dramatically income disadvantaged. The average income of single mother-led families in the Victor Mager catchment area, in 1991, was about 25% of the average income of two parent families in the School Division as a whole. Indeed, poverty in the catchment area was, and remains, highly concentrated among single mother-led families.

Another characteristic that distinguishes Victor Mager School from many other schools within its school division is the degree to which its student population is characterized by ethnic and cultural diversity. The availability of low cost rental housing and a reputation with provincial settlement agencies as an area responsive to the needs of recent immigrant families, has led to the development of a student population that is now one-third from recent immigrant and refugee families, as well as being characterized by quite high levels of mobility - 35 per cent for the 1990-1991 school year (Manitoba Education and Training, 1992).

The purpose of this brief summary of selected catchment area demographics is to attempt to provide some context for the description of the school-based initiatives that follow. We do this in the belief in the importance is no single model of effective or appropriate multicultural or anti-racist education, but rather appropriate responses are worked out by teachers and others in response to the needs and aspirations of specific situations. Furthermore, we document the characteristics above while at the same time standing in explicit opposition to the perspective, either stated or implied, that characteristics such as poverty or family structure are associated pathologically with student potential or abilities. This is a case-study about "fixing schools" not about "fixing students!"


The seeds of change for Victor Mager School were sown in the spring of 1987 when a new principal and vice-principal were appointed to the school effective from September of that year. It was to be the task of these administrators to breathe new life into a school that had come to be known in the school division as "a problem school", where both staff and students often felt overwhelmed, overburdened, and under-appreciated.

The new principal, who had taught at Victor Mager earlier in her career, brought to the school a strong conviction that every child had the right to be valued and to experience academic success in her school and that teachers and school practices had to change to enable this to happen. Her new vice-principal, whose previous position had been as Inner City Coordinator for a neighbouring school division, brought to the school a strong knowledge of the multicultural/anti-racist education and school improvement literature. (For two years these administrators worked together. In September 1989 the principal moved to a new school in the division and the vice-principal took over from her and continued the work that they had begun.)

Convinced from the outset that substantial changes were required at the school, the principal started the staff on a process of collaborative planning designed to move the school beyond it existing image and level of functioning, where students at the school were three times more likely to be two or more years behind their age group in reading and numeracy skills than children in other schools in the Division.

As soon as her appointment was announced in March of 1987 the principal began meeting with the staff at the school, meeting individually with each three or four times before officially taking over in September 1987. These meetings enabled the new principal to hear from the staff as well as for her to articulate to them her vision for the school. A result was a turnover of some 40% of the staff at the end of the year - either as the result of a request originating with the principal. These moves opened the way for the principal to begin a build a staff that would share her outlook and philosophy for the school.

Developing a shared understanding of the challenges to be faced was one of the first major undertakings for the school, and an important element in this process at Victor Mager School was the role of a newly appointed Community Liaison Worker who was hired on a grant from the Provincial Department of Education and Training. Although initially hired on short-term funding, the school has been able to maintain the position ever since, and the Community Liaison worker has come to play a key role in the leadership team that has created, resourced, and sustained the multicultural and anti-racist vision of the school that has developed from these initial explorations.

The 1987-88 school year was a time for reviewing, rethinking and regeneration. It was a period when staff were required collectively to identify the specific educational needs of the Victor Mager student population and to begin to restructure and reframe educational thinking and educational practices at the school. The administration and the Community Liaison Worker spent much of the year collecting information related to the family circumstances and educational needs of the school's student population. Available resources (and lack of resources) were identified together with a close questioning of staff as to what they felt was necessary to initiate and sustain positive change for their students. Throughout, the administration saw to it that reference was made to educational research materials. From this process of self evaluation four primary areas of concern emerged as barriers to learning: systemic barriers, poverty issues, ethnocultural considerations, and a lack of parental involvement in the school.

This was not an easy transition period for many staff and led again to a significant turnover of staff at the end of the year. However, among the staff that remained there was developing a clearer understanding of, and commitment to, the multicultural and anti-racist work to be undertaken in the school.

Restructuring the School (1989-1992)

The restructuring process at Victor Mager School, that began in earnest in 1989 and which occurred throughout the next several years had many different strands, but was focussed by four interconnected processes.

The first was aststematic and ongoing process of school-based planning and professional development. Prior to the beginning of each year all staff members including instructional assistants and support staff participated in a
planning process which led to the formation of committees responsible for various aspects of a whole school plan for the year. While the administration set some broad parameters for the planning process staff developed the plan for the year based upon their own classroom needs and experiences. Chairpersons of these committees became the representatives on the Professional Development Committee and as a consequence all professional development activities planned and supported by the school were undertaken in response to expressed needs identified by the whole school plan.

Second, the administration focused on structural changes which would enable the students and staff to establish a more effective community of learners in the school. Illustrative of this would be the establishment of a non-departmentalized junior high school format from 1987 onwards, designed to facilitate more relevant and integrated curriculum development, and the introduction of multi-aged classes across the primary grades in 1989.

Third, over this period of time substantial curriculum development activities took place in the school as levels of awareness and commitment shifted from assimilation and "benevolent multiculturalism" to anti-racist and human rights education foci.

Fourth, the Community Liaison Worker sought out and initiated specific programs, resources, and collaborative working relationships with various government, non-profit, and service organizations, in order to generate external resources and supports for educationally relevant programs for families who are members of the Victor Mager school community. It was around these points of focus, that an anti-racist school took shape.

| March, 1987: | New principal designated to the school. 40% staff turnover at the end of the school year. |
| September, 1987: | New principal and vice-principal begin the school year by establishing a collaborative planning process and non-departmental junior high school classes. |
| November, 1987: | Community Liaison Worker appointed. |
| December, 1987: | First meeting of the Multicultural Committee. |
| April, 1988: | School's First "Open House". |
| September, 1988-June, 1989 | School-based planning fully in place and tied to professional development activities for the year. Whole school theme, open house and assemblies. Cross grade sharing. |
| October, 1988: | Early Years Intervention Program begins |
| January, 1989: | Planning for Job Re-entry Training program |
| April, 1989: | Citizenship Court held at the school |
| June, 1989: | Principal moves to new school, vice-principal takes over. |
| September, 1989-June, 1990 | Three interconnected themes in Anti-Racist Education for the year based on Human Rights Day (December) International Day for the Elimination of Racism (March) and Citizenship Week (May). |
| September, 1990-June, 1991: | Black History month expanded. Teacher/Librarian position used to assist anti-racist curriculum infusion. |
| June, 1992: | Principal and Vice-Principal move to new schools. Two new administrators appointed. Several staff leave. |
| September, 1992-June, 1993: | Staff and administration re-assess their vision. Some staff call for focusing away from Anti-racist education. |
| September, 1993-June, 1994 | Multicultural Committee becomes Equity Committee. E.S.L. instruction and Ambassador Program become key elements of a re-focusing of the equity vision. |

1. School wide planning processes

Prior to the official beginning of each school year, the Principal and Vice-Principal would invite all staff to an informal gathering in order to bring people back together and set the scene for the coming year. This would be followed by an intensive first day or two days at the start of September which would be devoted to a process of identifying the issues needing to be addressed in the school. Usually small group discussions would occur and then the main points relayed back to the whole staff, together with input from the administration. From there, discussions would be initiated as to how particular challenges could be met and committees were formed to work on specific aspects of an overall school plan.

It was the task of those committees to continue to meet on a regular basis, to report back to colleagues at staff meetings and to collaborate together as whole school projects became identified throughout the year. Representatives from each committee formed the school professional development committee and all inservices and professional development opportunities were channelled through that group. Towards the end of each school year, opinions would be sought from staff as to the effectiveness of particular projects and strategies and recommendations would be carried forward into the following school year for implementation.
2. Structural Changes at Victor Mager School

Multi-Aged Classrooms

The purpose of the structural changes which have occurred at Victor Mager School has been to make every effort to provide equality of educational opportunity for all. The process has incorporated a variety of teaching and learning strategies to: create an open, caring, and academically challenging atmosphere for students and their families; to provide and encourage opportunities for all parents to work in partnership with the school; and, to develop new curriculum and adapt existing curriculum from a multicultural, human rights and anti-racist perspective.

As staff explored the research on student learning there developed a strong belief that heterogeneous groupings or mixed ability groupings were the most effective way for the school to facilitate student success. In September 1990, Victor Mager School organized it’s entire Grades 1, 2, and 3 student body into 5 (later 6) multi-age classrooms; an approach that has proved an especially effective method of organization in an area with high transiency rates and a large multi-ethnic community, as teacher/student and student/student interactions are not disrupted at arbitrary points during the critical early years of a student’s school career. It has been far easier to accommodate incoming students throughout the school year when the teacher and other students are already comfortable with each other and the classroom routine. Students who enter the school from outside of Canada have the opportunity to adapt to their new setting over a greater period of time and can begin to participate in curricula activities to a greater or lesser extent according to their current capabilities.

Similar reasoning led to the Junior High section of the school becoming largely non-departmentalized. During the year, the homeroom teacher is responsible for delivering all core subjects (occasionally sharing the teaching of specific subjects with one other junior high teacher) apart from Art and Physical Education. In this way staff have the opportunity to learn more about, and work more closely with, the students in their classroom. A non-departmentalized setting also allows for considerable flexibility in programming and can better accommodate an integrated, thematic approach to learning which can build on student strengths and experiences.

Early Childhood Education

Another critical component of the restructuring process focused the school’s attention on preschool and early childhood intervention programming and strategies. In the word’s of the school principal, "The smart money in education is spent on the youngest children". Therefore, Victor Mager School developed an Early Childhood Intervention Program which has now been ongoing since October 1988. The intended purpose of the program is to positively impact on those early years students (ages 5 to 8 years) already within the school system who require additional assistance and to facilitate learning for those children who are not yet in the system (aged from birth to five years) but who might be considered "at risk" within the school if early intervention does not occur.

The Early Childhood Intervention Program is based in the Early Childhood Centre, a classroom-sized space equipped with educational resource materials. It is a place within the school where parents and children come to learn together in an informal and welcoming atmosphere under the guidance of qualified teaching personnel. The Early Childhood Centre is funded by a grant from the Manitoba Department of Education and Training and is considered an integral part of the school. Many issues are addressed through the Early Childhood Program, including academic, social and emotional development, parenting skills, family literacy, assessment and referral to appropriate professionals or service agencies and linking parents to other services directly available within the school and community.
The Early Childhood Centre provides a unique opportunity for families recently arrived in Winnipeg from other countries to learn more about the education system in Canada and to begin to establish friendships as their young children adapt to a new environment and quickly begin to interact with other children. For those families who remain in the community, the relationship established with the school initially through the Early Childhood Centre continues to provide an important support throughout the remainder of the child's school life.

Educationally relevant student and family supports

Poverty and the growing ethnic diversity in the community place special demands on Victor Mager School. Whereas similar levels of need exist elsewhere in the city, the school catchment area is relatively small and geographically isolated. As a consequence, residents in the area depend heavily on the school for services and supports. In responding to this reality, Victor Mager has taken on a role as the focal point for the community. The provision of additional in-school and community oriented resources and programs were developed by the administration so that families within the catchment area might feel valued, supported, and have the opportunity to improve their personal, educational and socio-economic circumstances.

Two critical elements of the school philosophy in terms of educational outcomes are addressed through this means - (i) it is much easier to engage parents in the education process when they already feel a comfort level in their dealings with the school and its staff, and, (ii) when parents are able to access resources and supports, are able to upgrade their own education (i.e. literacy, E.S.L., job training, parenting programs) the benefits impact on the future of their own children by providing a more secure economic environment and by becoming positive role models.

To this end the school has entered into collaborative partnerships with a number of government departments and non-profit organizations to maximize a community education model of service delivery. Pre-school and Before-school, Lunch and After-school Daycares, An Adult Job Re-Entry Program, Adult Evening Programs in E.S.L., Literacy and Computer Skills, Parenting Programs and Support Groups, After School and Summer Programming for students, connections with Winnipeg Harvest - the major Winnipeg food bank - and two local church groups have all been established to more adequately and appropriately meet the broad educational needs of students living within the catchment area of Victor Mager School.

These partnerships have become a central feature in the school's development. They have provided substantial additional resources that the school can draw upon in creating a learning community within which all students are able to experience success. Accessing provincial and federal grants that enabled many of the projects to take place requires time to seek out the appropriate funding agencies and to write well thought out proposals that would get funded. Classroom teachers often do not have the time need for this, and at Victor Mager School it was the Community Liaison Worker who, with some assistance from the school's administrators, assumed this role.

3. Curriculum Development and Cultural Infusion: The Evolution of Multicultural, Anti-Racist and Human Rights Perspectives Across the Curriculum

The process of moving away from a Euro-centric curriculum to a more inclusive curriculum that incorporates multiple voices and contributions and which also recognizes issues of racism, discrimination, power, and equality as central curriculum agendas, invariably develops in stages over time. At Victor Mager this process has been ongoing for the last seven years.

In the early years of change a small but growing number of immigrant and refugee families for who English was a Second Language moving into the school's catchment area provided the impetus for curriculum initiatives. Few teachers at the school had any training in English as a Second Language instruction and in the beginnings communication between non-English-speaking students, their families, and school personnel was difficult. This led, in 1987, to the formation of a staff "Multicultural Committee" to look for ways for the school to connect effectively with students and families, taking into account language differences, previous life experiences, cultural differences and unfamiliarity with the Manitoba school system.

From these first meetings an initial response was developed that sought to facilitate the integration of ESL students within the school by: celebrating the growing cultural diversity of the community; promoting understanding between different groups of people; and, developing an appreciation in students of different cultures (Victor Mager Multicultural Committee, March 1988). It was decided that for a period of several weeks in the school year each classroom would spend time learning about different cultures and providing opportunities for all students to share aspects of their lives with each other. Resources were prepared for the staff, special guests were invited into classrooms, and students undertook their own research projects. This led in the spring of 1988 to an evening "Open House" which showcased the learning that had occurred in classrooms about specific cultures and countries.

This first attempt at multicultural education and cross-cultural awareness was of a very limited nature, both in terms of its duration and its focus on aspects such as foods and dances. It was, nonetheless, an important beginning that left many teachers convinced that such activities linked to a public "Open House" served a key role in creating a welcoming climate for parents and students and provided a basis on which to build more substantial curriculum initiatives.

Complementing the work of the Multicultural Committee, the Community Liaison Worker was, at this time, searching for ways to overcome language barriers and facilitate meaningful communication between the school and newcomer parents. This involved approaching organizations such as, The International Centre, Manitoba Interfaith, The Canadian Polish Congress, The Immigrant Women's Association of Manitoba, and the Cross-Cultural Counselling Clinic, to request assistance with interpreter and translator services as well as the provision of background information concerning the circumstances of immigrant families prior to their arrival in Canada together with the initial settlement process upon reaching Winnipeg.
The more staff grew to know and understand about the family lives and circumstances of newcomer students within their classrooms, the easier it became to see the importance of moving beyond the mere celebration of cultural diversity. It became apparent to many of the teachers that newcomers and their children were likely to face many forms of discrimination. Through the school-wide planning process and the knowledge and sensitivities gained by staff through in-service sessions, responding to the needs of a multi-ethnic community increasingly became the main focus, with the celebration of cultural diversity as one aspect of a wider approach which by this time was expanding to include anti-racist and human rights perspectives.

The 1988-89 school year included an Open House once again but this time there were whole school themes, opening and closing assemblies to mark the "theme" period, scheduled opportunities for cross-grade sharing and primarily the learning focussed on the similarities amongst people and respecting each other as individuals rather than showcasing cultural diversity. Even so, the second year was still somewhat superficial in terms of major changes in student learning. However it proved highly successful as a vehicle for reaching out to and including newcomer parents in the education process and the school received a great deal of positive attention for its efforts.

By 1989-90, the school planning process was firmly established and the stated goal for the school year was to implement a whole school integrated approach to continued recognition of the multicultural nature of our community and Canada as whole, with specific reference to the meaning and significance of Canadian Citizenship from three perspectives: human rights...dismantling racist/prejudiced attitudes...and political participation in mainstream society (Victor Mager Multiculturalism Report, September, 1989)

In order to achieve that goal, resources and professional development opportunities focussed on thematic unit planning, related evaluation, specific teaching strategies (e.g. co-operative learning and style differentiated learning), curriculum adaptation skills and increased provision of reference and resource materials for staff together with some culturally and linguistically appropriate materials for students. The three main activity areas established for the year were:

Human Rights: a) how are human rights defined in the Canadian context, and, b) what are some of the issues concerning human rights for recent immigrants?

Discrimination: dismantling prejudiced values and attitudes, and eliminating discrimination.

Participating in politics: a) exploring political actions of Canadians: b) examining specific role models (the individual's and/or cultural group's) for examples of effective political actions: and c) providing opportunities for Victor Mager students to participate in politically meaningful situations.

Early in the school year, members of the Multicultural Committee met in planning sessions with Primary, Intermediate and Junior High teachers as distinct groups in order to facilitate the implementation process. Those sessions were used to explore curriculum planning issues and learning needs specific to grade levels, to identify and assist in the location of resources, to systematically plan for and implement cross-grade team-teaching plus peer learning and sharing experiences, and to plan for the ongoing staff inservice requirements necessary to successfully accomplish the task.

Instead of having only one major activity period during the year, three interconnected spells of classroom-based and whole-school activity highlighted Human Rights Day (December), International Day for the Elimination of Racism (March), and Citizenship Week (May). In December classrooms undertook projects which helped students to learn more human rights issues at the local, national and global levels, a number of Junior High students participated in a Human Rights Day conference organised by C.L.E.A. (Community Legal Education Association), and invited guests spoke of their personal experiences in the Human Rights field at a whole school assembly. In March, each classroom worked on a package of materials and activities supplied by the Multicultural committee and a whole school assembly was held so that classes were able to report their findings on racism and how to eliminate prejudice. Also in March, Intermediate students participated in a cross-cultural simulation game and Junior High students organized and hosted an anti-racism workshop at the request of Manitoba Association for Rights and Liberties. During the month of May, students learned about citizenship within the context of the school, the community and the wider society. Many opportunities for cross-grade sharing of the students new knowledge and the Junior High students once again played a key role in a large scale "official" event which was held at the school - a second fully functioning Citizenship Court.

The Open House format for 1990 was a significant departure from the previous two years in that it was a deliberate attempt to move away from a festival atmosphere and instead concentrate on the more indepth experiences which had occurred throughout the past several months. It was clear that parents found a more structured and academic format unusual after the first two years of less formal and 'lighthearted' activities. At the end of the 1989-1990 school year therefore, staff knew there was a need to continue to search for a balance between the serious and far reaching nature of the work being undertaken and the way it can be shared with parents to allow them a sense of celebration and involvement in the process.

The 1990-91 school year brought new challenges. This was the beginning of the large scale influx of federally sponsored refugee families, and by the end of the year over 100 students in the school had English as a Second Language learning needs. Within months, students had arrived from Afghanistan, Equador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Ethiopia, India, Iraq, Iran, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia and the West Indies.

Teaching staff began to feel under pressure as more and more newcomer students joined their classrooms. Many additional supports were required to assist students as they began to learn a new language. Emphasis was placed on finding adult volunteers to work directly with students, to arrange for the audio taping of books which could be of use to students both at home and in the classroom, the planning and purchase of resource materials to be
available on loan to parents of E.S.L. students who wish to assist their children in learning the English language but are themselves still at the beginning stage-picture dictionaries, preschool books in various languages. Most importantly, a peer tutoring program was initiated involving E.S.L. students from Victor Mager School and Senior 3 (Grade 12) students from Dakota Collegiate, the high school located nearby. Translation and interpreter supports became increasingly important and parents/students were approached to undertake these duties as soon as they were proficient in English providing the communications were not of a confidential nature. Confidential issues continued to be dealt with in collaboration with the settlement agencies or through cross-cultural counselors. The Cross-Cultural Counselling Clinic began to work more closely with the school and regular sessions were facilitated by their staff for newcomer students during the school day. The format for these sessions would later be adapted for use by the school counsellor who would meet with language and age specific student groups to discuss adjustment issues with the help of a translator.

Despite increased emphasis on the need for supportive measures to assist students in very practical ways, the Multicultural committee continued to place anti-racist and human rights approaches at the forefront during whole school planning sessions. However, in recognition of the war torn home countries of many of the students, this years focus would include a theme on Peace (in the world, locally, within the school and classroom, and what it means for each student as an individual) in November-Remembrance Day - and in recognition of the growing number of visible minorities within the school there would be a Black History Month (February) which would highlight the contributions of people of colour to society in general. Once again the committee met with teachers in distinct groups, resources were provided and staff were requested to undertake projects with their students according to those themes.

The 1990-91 school year promised to provide the most indepth exploration and adaptation of materials, strategies and approaches to date. Over the year, 5 days of comprehensive inservice training took place where all staff participated in anti-racist workshops and were provided with opportunities to develop classroom-based and whole school themes in keeping with an anti-racist approach to teaching and learning. In addition, two other major and inter-related projects were begun in the school. Firstly, the school was successful in its application to be included in a Human Rights Pilot Project which offered the opportunity to examine the day to day operation of the school from a human rights perspective. A Human Rights Committee comprised of parents and staff played a valuable role monitoring the project as comprehensive questionnaires on a variety of human rights topics were completed by staff. The information gathered was helpful to the school in that it clearly highlighted how far Victor Mager had already progressed in programming and practising from a human rights perspective. It also served to show that there were areas which were not being adequately addressed i.e. gender equality and the area of mental and physical disability, and consequently staff members later raised these issues as needing attention within the school setting in addition to multicultural and anti-racist programming.

The Library

The 1990-91 school year also saw significant changes begin to take place in and through the library. Prior to June of 1990, the library at Victor Mager School had been staffed by a full-time library technician only. School Division policy then emphasized the need for libraries to be staffed by teacher-librarians. The principal of Victor Mager viewed this change in policy as an opportunity to provide more specific supports and resource materials for staff in terms of anti-racist curriculum development and enhancement. He therefore changed the full-time classroom teaching assignment of an existing staff member to that of half-time teacher-librarian/half-time junior high teacher while retaining a library technician to facilitate the day practical running of the library.

The teacher-librarian had been a member of the Multicultural Committee from the outset and over the previous three years had demonstrated a commitment to implementing anti-racist and human rights strategies within her classroom. Her particular interest was in curriculum development combined with a strong belief in and understanding of thematic planning. It was natural then that this person became a key figure over the years as the school progressed in its efforts to respond appropriately to multicultural and anti-racist issues. It was also natural that this staff person's time, knowledge and expertise would be utilized within the library setting to co-ordinate and collaborate with classroom based teachers as they undertook curriculum enhancement projects as participated in whole school thematic units. One such thematic unit involved students having the opportunity to write, direct, produce and act in videos focused upon anti-racist themes.

As the teacher-librarian became more familiarized with the contents of the school library, two factors became very apparent - (i) no review of the appropriateness of existing library materials had taken place since the school had been opened 22 years earlier, and, (ii) few additions had been made in the areas of teacher resource materials and student materials to reflect the school's multi-lingual and multicultural population. The teacher-librarian devoted much time and energy to addressing these two issues.

The review of library materials was begun in 1991 and continued through the following academic year. A Library Review Committee comprising of the teacher-librarian, classroom-based teachers and instructional assistants met to formulate a plan and establish criteria in order that they could systematically review all current materials. The purpose of the review was to identify materials which portrayed individuals or groups in racially biased, gender biased or stereotypical ways. The library was closed for a two week period to allow some basic sorting and re-cataloguing to occur and then the review of books got under way in accordance with the pre-established criteria. Members of the Library Review Committee spent numerous hours on this task. In addition, certain classrooms also became involved in the review process. Initially the focus was on non-fiction works and once this area had been examined in depth, early years fiction books became the next focus.

Altogether 26 boxes of books were found to meet the definition of negative bias according to the Committee's
guidelines. Those boxes of books remain within the school for student and staff use as tools to demonstrate bias and stereotyping which has been evident in the past and for use as a springboard for students as they learn how to counteract such attitudes and approaches. [3]

The acquisition of bias-free, culturally and linguistically appropriate materials was a somewhat more straightforward yet still time consuming task. Fortunately, many new and excellent materials were out on the current market and the teacher-librarian was able to choose valuable teacher resource and student books to be available through the library.

Of particular importance were a number of early years books in the primary languages of origin of some of the main student groups. Also specifically purchased were books which showed no language at all and to which words later could be added in both English and another language. The purchase of these materials was made possible by additional funding from both the Manitoba Department of Education and training and the St. Vital School Division in recognition of the special circumstances of Victor Mager School.

4. Community Liaison Function

The fourth strand of Victor Mager School's restructuring process focused on improving linkages with parents. Over the years, the community liaison position at the school has evolved to encompass three primary purposes which impact directly on the school, families and the community:

1. Support to parents - The community liaison worker meets with parents when they are new to the school to emphasize the importance of parental involvement in a child's school life, to explain about the various programs available within the school and to answer any questions which may arise. From that point on, the liaison worker is available to parents whenever they wish to contact her for further clarification and/or assistance.

2. Support to staff - the community liaison worker assists staff in their understanding of students and their families by providing particular information about individual families and also by sharing general information which leads to a greater awareness of issues confronting families. Contact is also facilitated for staff and parents through interpreters and translators where necessary.

3. Provision of educationally focused community resources - in this area, the community liaison worker acts as catalyst, facilitator, program planner and developer, networker, negotiator, co-ordinator and advocate depending on the resource required. At times, programs have been developed entirely on the school's own initiative, other times the school has approached organizations to work jointly on projects to benefit a shared client base, occasionally organizations approach the school expressing a wish to develop a collaborative project, and yet at other times opportunities arise "out of the blue" which simply cannot be missed.

The Victor Mager Parents Association Multicultural Group grew from an idea of one parent who wished to reach out to parents from minority groups who might be feeling somewhat unsure of their place within the school, the community and wider society. By January of 1990, 4 parents and 5 staff members had met to discuss the formation of such a group and from that point parents and staff researched further the needs of the target group. Contacts were made with a number of service organizations e.g. the International Centre, Interfaith House, the Provincial Department of Immigration and Settlement, the Immigrant Women's Counselling Service etc. etc. - and interviews were conducted with a number of parents in the community who had arrived in Canada within the past few years. Information was gathered from school records to identify families new to Canada. Several planning meetings occurred between February and April until this project was able to "open the doors" of the group by inviting target families to join in an evening of fun activities for children together with an opportunity for parents to meet each other. 11 adults and 15 children attended. Letters and a questionnaire had been sent out in English, Polish and Spanish and translators were on hand to facilitate communication. The consensus was reached that the group could play an important role in providing information to new community members as well as offering a supportive environment which is so much appreciated by families struggling to establish a new life. A second meeting was held in June where representatives of the Federal and Provincial Immigration and Settlement Departments were invited to answer questions and share information with the group.

This group was later instrumental in securing funding for a joint project between the school and the Immigrant Women's Association of Manitoba whereby a Spanish speaking parent from the community was hired on a part-time basis to co-ordinate a series of evening workshops in the school covering a wide variety of settlement topics. The sessions were particularly successful with between 20 and 50 parents attending on a regular basis.

Institutionalizing Change at the School (1992 - 1994)

By the end of the 1991-92 school year the changes at Victor Mager School had gone a long way to creating an anti-racist/multicultural education orientation that pervaded the everyday life of the school. While still evolving, it was an orientation not limited to the activities of only a few teachers, a few subject areas, or a few days of the year. Conceptually, the orientation that was promoted in the school had developed beyond an introductory vision of multicultural education as a reception and a cross-cultural awareness activity to a sustained and critical analysis of the role of the school in promoting anti-racist education. It was sufficiently broad-based and informed to warrant being described as a "whole school approach to multicultural/anti-racist education" and the school was receiving widespread recognition as a model school in this regard [4]

This school culture was formed from a multitude of interlocking strands, but central in this were at least three
elements. First, was the leadership role of the school's administrators. It was they who: in large part brought to the discussions of multicultural/anti-racist education a familiarity with the existing research literature; nurtured and sponsored other staff who extended the vision; and, legitimated the vision both within and outside of the school. Second, was the planning process that was established in the school whereby annual plans, committee structures, and resourcing strategies supported in very practical ways the implementation of the multicultural vision throughout the course of the school year. Third, was a sufficiently large group of teachers, support staff, and parents who contributed, sustained and promoted the vision, and put in the hours of extra work that were involved in making it a reality.

At the end of the 1991-92 school year each of these elements underwent substantial change, requiring that the culture and vision of the school be re-generated, and putting into question the existing anti-racist focus in the school. At that time the principal was assigned to a new school in the division and the vice-principal also accepted a transfer. In addition, a small number of staff members chose that time to move elsewhere for various reasons including the opportunity for staff on temporary contracts to obtain a permanent position elsewhere. Once again, the school underwent a transitional year during 1992-93 with several more "established" staff members eventually requesting transfers to other schools.

The arrival of a new administrative team at the school provided the moment for the "Victor Mager Vision" to become once again contested and the dominant culture of the school re-formed. Within the school staff, as with any staff, there had always been a range of different beliefs and levels of commitment to the school vision, from strong support, to general but not necessarily enthusiastic support, to passive, and sometimes open, resistance to the multicultural/anti-racist orientation. Personnel changes had seen the school lose several key members of the strongly committed staff, and among the committed staff who remained some were approaching a stage of exhaustion and were looking for other people to take over some of the responsibility for defining the vision of the school. For those teachers who were opposed to the priority afforded multicultural/anti-racist education in the school over the preceding years this was the time to refocus the agenda of the school, and what followed was in a sense a power struggle for influence with the new administration (Derkatz, 1994).

The new principal, who had previously been the senior administrator in a school serving severely physically and mentally challenged adults and children, and the vice-principal, who had worked for a number of years in a school close to Victor Mager, entered this situation and met with staff individually to discuss their views on the directions that they wished to see the school take in the upcoming year. They clearly heard from some staff the opinion that there had been too much emphasis on multicultural and anti-racist practices at the expense of other agendas. Furthermore, even some staff who had been supportive of the school orientation expressed the view that this was an appropriate time to "focus on other areas for a while".

As a result during the 1992-93 school year, as the administration developed their awareness of what "the school was about", multicultural/anti-racist education was afforded a less central role in the culture of the school. The beginning of the year planning process that had been a key element in directing the school's focus was not continued, and staff were informed that inservice resources for the upcoming year would be used to focus on areas other than those related to multicultural/anti-racist education. The school's existing committee structure continued to exist, including the Multicultural Committee, but without the direction of the annual plan and a clear sense of purpose most committees met irregularly and they no longer served as the vehicle for establishing a coherent vision and focus for the school year.

Much that had been established over the proceeding years did not disappear. Existing arrangements such as the Early Childhood Centre, the Community Liaison Worker, and the Multi-Grade Classrooms, remained intact and important parts of the organization of the school. A smaller, but still substantial, number of teachers remained committed to the ideals of multicultural and anti-racist education and continued to see that this commitment informed their practice. What had become in jeopardy was the "whole school" character of this orientation.

By the beginning of the 1993-94 school year, the school administration saw the need to reaffirm explicitly to the staff their commitment to the anti-racist orientation that had been developed at the school. While the preceding year had been one of considerable struggle for the agenda of the school the outcome was a renewed commitment, albeit with some new directions reflecting both the strengths and philosophies of the new administration and the changing circumstances of the school population. In the 1993-94 school year the Multicultural Committee changed its name to the Equity Committee, reflecting an expanded focus for it. English as a Second Language programming became a central concern for the school year as did Behavior Management with a proposal for the formation of a Student Support Services Team.

Conclusions

The need in Canadian public school systems to progress from fragmented approaches to multicultural education to sustained, coherent, and anti-racist systemic approaches, seems to us to be both important and difficult. Schools are complex webs of social and political relationships and fundamental change not easily brought about. There are no blueprints for multicultural schools. There is a very real sense in which systemic change comes about "one school at a time" as educators and those concerned with education struggle imperfectly to make sense of their own unique circumstances and to respond appropriately to the needs of all of their students.

It is in this light that the case-study of Victor Mager is important - not as a description of an 'ideal school', nor as a model for other schools to emulate. Rather, it offers an account of something of the range of activities that one school, with a unique set of student, staff and environmental conditions, undertook in establishing for itself an anti-racist focus. Currently there exist few such case-studies within the Canadian multicultural/anti-racist literature.

Notes

[1] There is a continued debate surrounding the terminology of "multicultural education" and "anti-racist
education, and the extent to which they have similar or disparate meanings and agenda. In this paper the meanings are in large part defined by the practices described at the school. Where we use the terms other than in this way we have chosen to use them interchangeably in the sense that Sleeter and Grant (1988) talk of "Education that is Multicultural and Social Reconstructionist"

[2] Although the term "catchment area" is somewhat clumsy, we use it instead of the terms "community" or "neighbourhood" because we believe that the latter two terms are often misused when they imply a sense of common values, regular contact, and cultural coherence that is often not present in urban and suburban context.

[3] The process of conducting a library audit and making decisions about what books properly belong in a school library raises important questions of censorship and choice. These issues are discussed fully within a Manitoba context in Young, J and Jones, B (forthcoming), Focus on Bias, Manitoba Education and Training: Winnipeg.

[4] The principal in 1991, Gord Ptashnik received on behalf of the school, the Manitoba Human Rights Award from the Community Legal Education Association. By this time, also, a number of the staff had developed their own expertise in "doing multicultural education" and were conducting workshops locally and on a national level.

References


Beyond Celebratory Multiculturalism: Where Teachers Fear to Tread

R. Patrick Solomon, Faculty of Education, York University

Introduction

For teachers in emerging pluralist societies such as Britain, Canada and the United States walking through the Multicultural minefield can be a challenging, if not perilous journey. Navigating pedagogical and ideological mazes that conceptualize multiculturalism as: expressive or instrumental, additive or subtractive, benevolent or insurgent, democratic or indoctrinating, celebratory or resistant, can be overwhelming. Multiculturalism has also been variously conceptualized as: the maintenance and celebration of ethnocultural lifestlyes; the production of passive consciousness of cultural differences; an egalitarian vision of ethnocultural representation; and as a social movement for the disempowered. These are just a few of the contradictions of multiculturalism around which battle lines are drawn, countless volumes written, and interminable debates raged.

Those on the traditional, conservative right critique multiculturalism as ethnic and cultural divisiveness, cultural fragmentation, separatism, and even tribalism with the potential to destroy social cohesion, national unity and an harmonious citizenry. In the U.S., for example, Bradford's work reported in Giroux (1993:60) "exemplifies a dominant social order. That conceptualization of multiculturalism as identity politics and the preoccupation with a cultural distinctness that may easily degenerate into cultural relativism and cultural hegemony. They conclude that the maintenance of harmony and respect for different racial and ethnocultural groups would ensure a stable social order.

On the opposite side of the debate the more liberal multiculturalists label the conservatives' position as assimilationist and ethnocentric; as preaching cultural pluralism but practising ethnocentrism. They perceive western cultural traditions as fundamentally Eurocentric with other cultural norms occupying a marginal position. Radical, insurgent multiculturalists instead advocate a brand of pluralism that is political; one that interrogates the social and economic inequalities in ethnoculturally stratified societies with the intent of radically restructuring them for cross-group equality. Along the continuum from traditional to radical multiculturalism are many other intermediate positions which critics have aligned themselves and vigorously defended.

Of course, schooling within such complex pluralist societies is not immune to the politics and ideologies informing these debates. As microcosms or sub-systems of society, schools often become sites where educational philosophies, ideologies and political positions are posited and contested. Educators, strategically placed, become the main arbiters in such contestations and are instrumental in determining how the multicultural game is played and what outcomes are desirable. Indeed, teachers' central involvement in this process is informed by their own socialization in the dominant culture; a localizedness that is not culture-neutral by any sense of the imagination. For educators too ideologically predisposed or generally unprepared to work in such tension-ridden and contested terrain, sorting through the multicultural rhetoric and minefield can be quite a challenge. Bullard (1991/92:4) warns, "To find harmony in diversity, teachers must wade through the rhetoric to glean the best research on multicultural education and, as usual, rely on their own best instincts."

The research on teachers' perspectives and responses to cultural pluralism in schools is slowly emerging, and there appears to be some relationship between attitudes in the broader society and those within schools (For the British research see Troya & Williams, 1986; Bagley, 1992; Palmer, 1986; Troya, 1993; Canadian: Mock and Masemann, 1990; Solomon & Levine-Rasky, 1994; Solomon, 1995; and American: Sleeter, 1992; Banister and Maher, 1992; Washington, 1981.) Teachers in all three countries show uncanny similarities in the way they perceive and respond to MCE in schools and classrooms. Some major themes emerging from these studies are:

- **Cultural literacy**: the need for culture-specific information about children and the communities from which they come. There is the presumption that knowledge about cultures reduces inter-group conflict and increases opportunities for minorities. Emphasis is placed on inter-group similarities and differences (Sleeter, 1992; Solomon & Levine-Rasky, 1994).

- **Cultural sensitivity**: emphasis placed on human relations. MCE means the respect and tolerance for other cultures; the need for inter-group harmony essentialized (Banister & Maher, 1991; Solomon, 1995).

- **Cultural irrelevance**: there is no need for MCE in homogeneous school populations. Such an innovation should be implemented only in urban schools with a high degree of racial and ethnocultural diversity (Mock and Masemann, 1990; Sleeter, 1992; Banister and Maher, 1991).
The goal of multicultural education (MCE) is to include diverse cultural norms, values, traditions as part of the mainstream curriculum.
The instance of marginalizing (instead of mainstreaming) minority group knowledge forms is reflected in the practice of restricting multicultural education to specific events and times during the school year. During such events, variously labelled as Heritage Days, "Bread Days", Caravan, Multicultural Week, etc., parents and other ethnocultural experts from the community become sought-after school guests sharing knowledge about their customs and traditions. Here, one teacher reveals, "Well, you may have a lot of expertise and knowledge from their perspective of what reality is to the East Indian, what it is to be a Chinese, and they've got the historical context and I think we should try to use that. The value is tremendous, if teachers have time to go out and find someone representative to come in and get involved in the classroom."

To further enrich their knowledge base students and their teachers become anthropologists for a day, visiting ethnic enclaves and observing their customs and artifacts. These are no doubt highlights of schools' multicultural programs, as these teachers reveal, "We had the whole school at an assembly, this is during the Festival of Lights last year; we had 25 East Indians teaching how to do these dances;" and, "People from about 25 to 35 different cultures were walking around here for the week..." [It is the best of the best, that kind of approach.] Other teachers also conceptualize multiculturalism as celebratory and time specific; an innovation that generates information about different cultures, their holidays and festivals, an activity that enhances sensitivity to other cultures. Here is another teacher's approach:

I don't go into making a big deal about celebrating the different festivals during the year, we just live... We did things about New Year's around the world and they [students] got very interested in Chinese New Year and so we went off on a tangent... we have only one Chinese child... and they made a dragon and we went on an actual Chinese New Year's parade through all the classes... If they had shown a real strong interest in one of the other (cultures) we would have gone that way...

Many schools have made substantive changes to the ways cultural holidays are redefined and celebrated to better reflect student diversity. For example, Thanksgiving has become the Festival of Harvest, a theme common in many cultures. Halloween became the Festival of Superstition, while Christmas was retitled the Festival of Lights, and so on. Educators' preoccupation with culture as celebration is probably a legacy of an emerging tradition in the larger Canadian society when at various times during the year ethnocultural communities display their heritages and engage carnival seekers in an orgy of festivities. Of course, not all teachers subscribe to such conceptions and practice; some critique such events as superficial, tokenistic, and dated as is revealed here: "The old way of doing multiculturalism, what they do, eat and how they dress, didn't solve anything. I think that meaningful values can be taught and the educators' role is to pull those things out from our dark recesses and actually examine them." Some dismiss the practice of MCE as merely a thematic presentation. Such emergent critique of race as a sloganized celebration of harmony and diversity without lasting effects is echoed by a MCE advisor who believes that the practice of MCE as a theme is "a flash in the pan; it's like, 'We've done it, been there. Let's move on.'" As Quantz and O'Connor (1988) interpret it, there is a temporary suspension of dominant group social norms marked by festivities, vocalization, multi-voicedness, ribaldry and licentiousness. But as is the practice in such communal expressions of cultures, in the community as well as the microcosm of the school, such temporary liberation quickly gives way to the prevailing social order. And among the teachers interviewed and surveyed there is ambivalence toward the principle and practice of multicultural education and often outright rejection of minority cultural values, norms and traditions becoming mainstream curriculum knowledge (See Table 2). This is also evidenced in the following position of one teacher:

MCE for me is a state of mind rather than a kind of enforced policy. It's being aware of positions that other people take; putting yourself in the place of another person. If teaching from an MCE perspective means I am aware of other cultural perspectives, yes. If it means that I bring in particular materials dealing with, say the native American, no... Like I said before, it's more a state of mind than a state of prescribed materials.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey Item</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Ambivalent</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It is important to ensure that school symbols, songs, decorations, logo and celebrations reflect the racial/ethnic diversity of the school population.</td>
<td>64.1</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My approach to MCE is to enrich my curriculum with units about racially/ethnically diverse groups.</td>
<td>60.4</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christmas celebrations are threatened by other cultural traditions.</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>58.5</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>987</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Emerging from teachers' conceptualization and practice are the important issues of MCE's continued marginality to the mainstream curricula, the superficiality in its treatment and its failure to explore and to engage in the more essential meanings of culture, and teachers' preoccupation with inter-group harmony within school and community. The extent to which these pedagogical approaches can ensure equitable learning environments for all students are issues we will revisit in a quest for a more critical democratic multiculturalism. But first there are more ideologically driven perspectives of culture and MCE that must be explored.

**Canadianism vs Multiculturalism**

Teacher perspective that multiculturalism is impinging on Canadianism is pervasive in the data. From the outset, 33% of survey respondents resisted identification by heritage or ethnicity and articulated such resistance in additional comments to survey response and in follow-up interviews. The following are examples of these perspectives on multiculturalism and the Canadian identity:

People who live in Canada should adapt to the Canadian way. When in Canada do as Canadians do! Look at our culture and have new Canadians change to be Canadians first and not whatever it was they were before.

We shouldn't just recognize one group, we should recognize everybody and teach their background. Why just one group? Here we're trying to have everybody getting along together and here we're recognizing one group. Why not have White Canada Month or something? Even our Pakistani teacher across the hall is very upset about what's happening in Canada. Because everything is multicultural, what about white Canadians? You know the thing with Christmas - that has been a big issue. People come from other countries and here we're adapting to them instead of them adapting to us. So that has been a thing that has bugged teachers over the years. We can have a Christmas program, but don't do Christmas songs and don't mention Christmas and the whole bit. Instead of just having Black, instead of recognizing one group, we should recognize everybody.

We wanted to recognize all the countries, but how do we do that without basically ignoring the WASP notion of "Here's Christmas"? That created some tensions with the staff. If we don't have Christmas, what about the traditional Canadian Christmas? That's not good, we're not having that.

MCE is wonderful but we have forgotten something very basic. Our job is to teach or orientate new Canadians to the Canadian way, or history, or culture. If we only cater to multiculturalism we are doing our children a disservice. The Canadian way is to negotiate, live together, talk, work things out. We do have some traditions. Let us celebrate some Canadianisms. We have gone a little too far with multiculturalism.

Many teachers perceive the practice of multiculturalism as creating inter-group divisions and tensions within the social system of the school. For example:

We noticed a dramatic division in the school cafeteria; the Chinese students were sitting on one side and the students who were not Chinese were sitting on the other. So, in a sense, the cafeteria was more or less almost dominated by Chinese students and we didn't think that was healthy for the school... There is also resentment in the white community, partly because of ignorance and partly because there's no mixing going on... Chinese scholarship applicants [to university] work almost exclusively in the Chinese community, they're doing absolutely nothing in the larger community. This is not the case for those kids who've been acculturated...

To erase some of the cultural differences of immigrant communities and have them participate knowledgeably in the schooling process, teachers expressed the need for Canadian citizenship education:

For many of the Chinese families to be asked here and for them to have input is as ludicrous as if we were to go to an open house for medical centres. We're the professionals; that's our job, that's what we're paid for, to get on with it, run the school... They [Chinese immigrants] find it very strange to be asked for their input so we're also attempting to educate them that this is the Canadian way.

The salience of Canadianism over multiculturalism is summarized forcefully in the following catalogue of teachers' comments from the data:

- Canadians first, ethnicity after; equity comes from seeing ourselves as Canadians first;
- Canadians first; focus on similarities not differences;
- United States assimilationist model is preferred over multiculturalism; there is popular belief in the melting pot philosophy;
- MCE shows no respect for Canadian institutions, customs, values, traditions; it should not erase aspects of Canadian culture;
- Cultural assimilation should be encouraged, not MCE; unwillingness to assimilate causes friction, alienation;
- Some ethnocultural values, norms, traditions are unacceptable in a democratic society;
- Minority groups expect too much from society; they must adapt and adjust;
- MCE should include Canadian citizenship education including traditions and cultures; learning Canadian culture and values is important for new immigrants;
- This multicultural crap has gone too far!

From these perspectives have emerged a number of debatable issues. First, the argument that multiculturalism carries the potential to erase Canadianism needs interrogation. Canada, even before its declared federal policy of multiculturalism in 1971, was a nation of diverse ethno-cultural entities, each contributing significantly to the nation's resources and development. This mosaic, unfortunately, was structured hierarchically, with Eurocentric cultures, particularly the Anglocentric culture,
exerting power and dominance over others (Porter, 1965; Breton, Isajiw, Kalbach, & Reitz, 1990; Elliot & Fleras, 1992). This structure of dominance is what Porter (1965) labels as the "vertical mosaic". Do teachers fear that multiculturalism may weaken the structure of dominance or reduce Anglocentrism in Canadian society? Indeed, such an aggressive defence of Canadianism may well be a thinly veiled disguise for Anglo-conformity. Advocacy for a "White Canada Month" brings into the debate a number of contentious curriculum inclusion/exclusion issues in multicultural Canada. There is an uncritical tendency for some teachers to overlook the reality that every month the formal and informal curricula in public educational institutions from kindergarten to post-secondary, are dominated by the norms, values, belief systems and traditions of white-Europeans in Canadian society. Despite the long history and growing presence of Asians, Blacks, First Nations Peoples and other racial and cultural minorities, the curriculum is slow to reflect this reality in an unbiased way. "Black History Month" and other "heritage days" are essentially a "wake up call" or a consciousness-raising exercise to alert educators to the urgency of moving from the margins to the mainstream, from the extra-curriculum to the formal curriculum, "other" cultural knowledge forms.

In addition, the assumption that introducing other religious knowledge [in addition to Christmas] into the mainstream curriculum means "ignoring WASP notion of Christmas" may be an emotional or ideological response to provincial and local school boards policies that emphasize "a balanced consideration of world religions that have continuing significance for the world's people", and students' religious plurality in the classroom. Such policies were not meant to marginalize or erase the Christmas tradition from the curriculum, but simply to expose future citizens of a multifaith society to other religious traditions. If we accept the philosophy of multicultural education then teachers as school agents are morally obligated to expose those in their charge to an inclusionary, non-marginalizing ethnocultural curriculum. Such an equalitarian approach ought not to be perceived as a design to eclipse Canadianism, but rather a commitment to build a more egalitarian society. Some teachers' non-commitment signals ideological opposition to and dissonance with the national policy of multiculturalism.

Second, some teachers' preoccupation and ideological linkages with the American assimilationist, melting pot ideal contribute to their dilemma as educators in a Canadian society that espouses cultural pluralism. Yet, the preconception of American schools as cultural melting pots has always been in question. Historically, ethnocultural communities and their social, religious and cultural institutions (eg. social clubs, churches, newspapers, weekend schools) have maintained and transmitted their cultural heritages for generations (Seller, 1977; Greer, 1972). The projects of these communities may have been motivated by the realization that the melting pot rhetoric was a disguised erasure of difference so that minority cultures would integrate more smoothly into the dominant (Eurocentric) culture. As Banister and Maher (1991:11) point out:

From its conception, the melting pot has never intended the reciprocal equitable, interational/relationship that this notion, shared by the teachers, would imply. Melting pot has translated to so-called "Americanization" in policy discourse, which has focused on the erasure of "difference" with the aim of instilling mainstream language, values and behaviour. Rather, the melting pot plan maintains Eurocentric culture as central to values in schools and curriculum.

More recently, with the influx into the U.S. of non-European racial and ethnocultural groups from Asia, Africa, Central and South America, educators are forced to reexamine their assimilationist ideology and practice. These groups are taking their place of imposed marginality alongside African and Aboriginal Americans who are deemed "unassimilable" into the mainstream European-American culture. Although such groups have contributed overwhelmingly to the development of the "common culture" they continue to be denied the privileges and opportunities enjoyed by the dominant cultural groups (Bloom, 1987). The realization that this homogenization process perpetuates socio-economic marginality for the racial and ethnocultural minorities in "equal opportunity" America has driven some educators to consider multicultural education as the only equitable schooling solution for the diversity of cultural, linguistic and religious groups now in their institutions (Banks, 1991; Davidson and Davidson, 1991; Sleeter and Grant, 1993; Sleeter, 1991; Hawley and Jackson, 1995).4

There are interesting Canadian parallels to the Americans' selective assimilationist practices. Historically, Canada has implemented a policy of selective immigration to exclude those deemed "undesirable" and "unassimilable" by virtue of their race, culture and nationality. Winks (1971:313) writes:

The Dominion government retained the power to prohibit entry "to any nationality or race" if "such immigrants are deemed undesirable having regard to the climatic, industrial, social, educational, labour or other conditions" of Canada or "because of other probably inability to become readily assimilated."

In a more recent study The illusion of Difference: the Realities of Ethnicity in Canada and the United States, Reitz and Breton (1994) point out that despite the popular conceptions of difference between the Canadian cultural mosaic and the American melting pot models, dissimilarities between the two countries are more apparent than real. "Canadians are as much assimilationists as they are pluralists" (p. 37). In fact, Reitz and Breton conclude that their research results "do not support the notion that Canada is a society that values and encourages cultural diversity more than does the United States" (p. 40). So Canadian teachers who embrace the melting pot ideology or a cultural mosaic that is fundamentally Eurocentric must become aware of the inequalities inherent in schooling for "Americanization" or "Canadianization". If they advocate equitable schooling for all racial and ethnocultural groups, they must no longer support an educational model that is archaic and dysfunctional in heterogeneous societies.

Finally, implicit in teachers' catalogue of resistance to multiculturalism is the assumption that ethnic minorities who do not suppress their cultural differences and assimilate into the dominant [read Anglocentric] cultural
norms will create inter-group friction and tensions; in effect, become a threat to social cohesion. Such tensions, polarization and alienation of groups, they claim, may only be aborted by an erasure, not a promotion or celebration of difference. Schools should therefore implement Canadian citizenship education for new immigrants and minority groups, inculcating respect for Canadian institutions, customs, values and traditions. Such a transformation process, they argue, would ensure inter-group harmony. But these tensions, others have debated, may well be attributed to power relations and uneven distribution of resources in Canadian society (Elliot & Fleras, 1991; Ng, 1993; Solomon, 1992; Henry, Tator, Mattis and Rees, 1995). Educators must therefore become critical in their interrogation of schooling for cultural equity and diversity in Canadian society. No longer should issues of power and resource distribution remain marginal in the multicultural discourse.

Toward a critical, democratic, multicultural pedagogy

Critical multiculturalism seeks to use cultural diversity as a basis for challenging, revising, and relativizing basic notions and principles common to dominant and minority cultures alike, so as to construct a more vital, open and democratic common culture (Turner, 1994, p. 408).

To transcend their articulated conservative conceptualizations of multiculturalism toward Turner's more progressive stance, teachers are challenged to explore the following possibilities: movement beyond tokenistic, celebratory cultural practices to a deeper level of cultural literacy; movement from the institutional marginalization of minority cultural knowledge forms to curriculum centrality; and the development of an understanding that movement from ethnocultural injustices to social justice will, be conflictual and disharmonious. Critical of necessity, multiculturalists must adopt this transformative political agenda to effect any real change in the relationship between dominant and marginalized cultural groups.

First, how may the school community achieve cultural literacy and to what end? Culture is like an iceberg; the exposed dimensions: artifacts, music and dance, celebrations, without a deeper understanding of their significance, become trivialized and ritualized within schools. This is what Bullivant (1989) calls "expressive" culture. Here teachers use curriculum materials that enhance life styles of ethnic groups within society; their history, heritage, traditions and costumes. While Bullivant sees expressive culture as an important curriculum innovation, he urges teachers not to avoid addressing the more fundamental issues of access to socioeconomic power and social rewards in society. He concludes, "Instrumental culture enables a group to achieve life chances in the form of economic gains and reward from its environment" (p. 42).

In addition, this time-honoured charade of cultural celebrations now popular within schools, while at best may develop a superficial knowledge of culture, does not alter majority/minority group power relations in the classroom, community or society at large. At worst, critics argue that such reduction of culture to a tag for ethnic identity may further trap and maintain minorities in a marginal state of "otherness", disempowered, and outside the cultural mainstream (Turner, 1994). And to what end? Critical multiculturalism envisage MCE, not as an end in itself, but a means to an end. This Turner sees as the basic difference between anthropologist and multicultural educators working within schools. "Theories of culture have to contribute to the multicultural project to educational reform and, more broadly, to social, political and cultural transformation" (p. 408).

Further along the path to democratic multiculturalism is the creation of space within the curriculum for cultural knowledge forms traditionally marginalized. For too long Eurocentric knowledge forms were accepted as the cannon, the official discourse of the curriculum. Other realities, other viewpoints were not regarded as legitimate. Banks (1992:34) argues that progressive multiculturalists do not seek to purge the curriculum of the Western cannon, but to reformulate and transform it to reflect ways in which African, Asian and First Nations cultures have interacted with, influenced Western civilization, and contributed to its knowledge construction. Multicultural education, in its content and process, should therefore reflect the perspectives, experiences and values of the people and cultures that construct it. Astrada and McLaren (1993:32) urge:

Encourage teachers to recognize the importance of creating spaces for the multiplicity of voices in their classrooms and building a dialogical pedagogy in which subjects see others as subjects and not as objects.

This will be a challenge for educators socialized into cultural institutions that accept European knowledge as universal and sacrosanct. Competing minority viewpoints were perceived as blasphemy and a threat to dominant cultural traditions (See Table 2 that shows teachers' high level of agreement that Christmas celebrations are threatened by other cultural traditions). But teachers as professionals striving for democracy must no longer ignore the pedagogical and sociopolitical importance of a culturally inclusive curriculum. Probably the most contentious issue emerging from the findings of this study is teachers' preoccupation with the development and maintenance of harmonious inter-group relations.

Throughout the data there was expressed fear of "breaking existing harmony", "opening up a can of worms", "rocking the boat", and "creating a tension". Such a benevolent, consensual approach to cultural diversity does nothing more than reproduce the social order and its unequal relations between the dominant elites and subordinate groups in society. Teachers must come to the realization that any challenge to such unequal relations will, of necessity, be disharmonious and tension-ridden. Elite groups accustomed to maintaining socio-economic and political hegemony do not relinquish or share power and privilege voluntarily with groups they consider marginal or subordinate. Teachers for socio-cultural equality must therefore engage in what Estrada and McLaren (1993:31) term "resistance multiculturalism":

It refuses to see culture as non-conflictual, harmonious, and consensual. Democracy is understood as busy - it's not seamless, smooth or always in a relative state of political and cultural equilbrium... Multiculturalism without a transformative political agenda can just be another form of accommodation to the larger social order.
To conclude, this study identifies some major areas of teacher entrenchment in traditional cultural pluralism in pedagogy fashioned from a less critical, more celebratory manifestations of multiculturalism in the larger society. Such superficial implementation within schools and classrooms will certainly reproduce the unequal social order in an ethnoculturally stratified Canadian society. Dominant group teachers, because of their own privileged locations within the social order, and their limited professional preparation for cultural diversity, show the uncritical tendency to accept the status quo. A key developmental task for teachers as professionals, therefore, is to unshackle themselves from the reproductive institutional structures and processes and engage in issues of cultural legitimacy, democracy and equality. Parekh (1986, p. 26) advocates for "releasing our educational system from its monocultural prison and opening it up to the liberating influences of other cultural perspectives." Indeed, this may not be a comfortable or popular undertaking, especially for educators unaccustomed to labouring as cultural workers in the political arena. In his book: Living Dangerously: Multiculturalism and the Politics of Difference, Giroux (1993) conceptualizes multicultural work as a pedagogical as well as a political interrogation of cultural containment, monoculturalism and socioeconomic inequality. To deconstruct the scaffoldings that maintain these undemocratic structures means taking risks, facing alienation and "living dangerously". Any such movement beyond the safety of expressive, benevolent multiculturalism into the explosive minefield of cultural politics will be conflictual and controversial. Any such project will prove to be a daunting and alienating task given the traditional conservatism of educators in their professional roles. Furthermore, the emerging climate of neo-conservatism sweeping the nation today makes the task even more challenging. But as cultural workers entrusted with the responsibility of moulding the next generation of citizens for a truly democratic, multicultural society, the risk is worth taking.

Acknowledgements

Financial support for this research project was provided by the Department of Canadian Heritage and the Faculty of Education, York University. Thanks to Shiho Yamazaki and Cynthia Levine-Rasky for their research assistance.

End Notes

1. Further slippage in the support for MCE wa documented as we moved from survey to interview data. I speculate that this contradiction between the quantitative and qualitative data may be a result of a more professionally acceptable response to surveys on the one hand, and a more personalized attitudinal reaction in face-to-face follow-up interviews. Certainly, further research is needed in this area to explain this contradiction.

2. In urban multicultural communities such as Toronto ethnocultural festivals such as Caravan, Heritage Week, Caribana, Oktoberfest are very popular for the display of music, foods an other artifacts, customs and traditions. These practices have been embraced and reproduced uncritically the schools.

3. The Ontario Ministry of Education Policy/Program Memorandum No. 112 (1991, p. 3) states: The purpose of programs in education about religion is to enable student to acquire knowledge and awareness of a variety of the religious traditions that have shaped and continue to shape the world. The programs enable individuals to understand, appreciate, and respect various types of religious beliefs, attitudes, and behaviour.

The purpose of these programs is not to instill the beliefs of any particular religion. It is the prerogative of individual pupils and their families to decide which religious beliefs they should hold. Indoctrinational religious education has no place in the curriculum or programs of public elementary and secondary schools of the province.

4. Multiculturalism as a national ideal is not embraced by many Americans. In fact, this innovation is hotly contested by many critics who perceive multicultural education policy and practice as the balkanizing and disuniting of America (Schlesinger, 1992; Ravitch, 1990).

References


Within one generation of becoming official policy, multiculturalism has become a core value of Canadian society. This may be a bold statement to make to those who believe we still have a long way to go in accepting diversity and achieving equity in our society. While I agree the job is by no means done, I believe we need to acknowledge and celebrate how far we have come, in order to rekindle enthusiasm and energy for the next stage. Kehoe and Mansfield (1993) have started this process in discussing the successes and limitations of multicultural and anti-racist education. They report on research that shows that occupational inequality among Canadian ethnic groups has declined significantly, and that racial discrimination in hiring has also declined.

Further evidence of the secure position of multiculturalism is found, oddly enough, in the criticism that has been levied against it in recent publications (e.g. Bissoondath, 1994; Bernstein, 1995). The criticism does not address the concept itself, but the way it is sometimes practised. Specifically, it speaks to the issue of people not being allowed to choose their own identity. The most recent example of this is the reported removal of the category "Canadian" in choosing an ethnic background on the census form. In another instance, when I was interviewing a particular student and asked what her background was she replied "my history teacher told me I was an Afro-Canadian". On further discussion it was revealed that she considered her background to be East-Indian-Trinidadian. But an even more important issue raised, and I believe rightfully so, is the assumption by some multiculturalists and ant-racists that one's main identity is based on one's race/ethnicity/gender/sexual orientation. This last issue points to the fact that there are various perspectives on multiculturalism just as there are on feminism. There is usually more debate among the supporters of various perspectives than there is about the existence of multiculturalism, for it is a reality. Regardless of the political intentions of those who adopted the policy (Bissoondath, 1994), it would not have 'taken' had there not already been support for it in the community (McLeod, 1992). Certain aspects of multiculturalism are also criticised when they come in conflict with other core values such as Canadian unity and freedom of speech.

Earlier forms of multiculturalism with their emphasis on lifestyle have been evident in the schools for decades, but proponents of multicultural and anti-racist education have been disappointed at the lack of more meaningful forms. One such approach is multiculturalism across the curriculum. While the approach has been encouraged for over a decade (e.g., Kamra & Wood, 1987) it is only now starting to take hold. I am optimistic that this will be the next success. In our own faculty of education, multicultural education is moving from being a single optional foundation course to being infused throughout the teacher education program with the full support of all faculty members. My purpose in the rest of this paper is to examine the role of science education in a revitalized and more meaningful multicultural education that incorporates human rights education (McLeod, 1992) as well as global education (Bennett, 1992) without falling into a form of cultural relativism, of which the scientific community has such fear (Harding, 1991).

Just as in the history of multicultural education there have been many stages and levels of infusion, so has been the case with multicultural science education, with everything happening about a decade later. I would argue that the early roots of multicultural science education can be found in cross-cultural science education. In the post-Sputnik era, developing countries, many newly independent, could not afford the luxury of intense curriculum development. There was widescale adoption of American and British science curricula. In the case of biology it was recognized that some adaptation was necessary to account for local flora and fauna, but in chemistry and physics even such minor considerations for the local context were not addressed. Science, after all, was considered to be universal and by implication so was science education.

An early challenge to this view was raised by Holmes who maintained that systems of science education have their own nation-specific ethos whose "specifically educational features include general aims and objectives, teaching methods, curricular theory and a philosophy of science. Societal features include internalized national attitudes to politics, religion, economics, social class and so on" (1977, p. 83). Thus adopting curricula is problematic and this is over and above the obvious linguistic challenges. Maddock (1981) then addressed the cultural aspects of science teaching and learning and thereby made a considerable contribution by bringing these to the attention of science educators.

As in the early stages of multicultural education when the focus was on the 'dine, dress, dance' aspect of multiculturalism, so in the early stages of multicultural science education the emphasis was on adding content that would address students from different cultural backgrounds. This included things like talking about a variety of food sources from around the world in a nutrition unit, or worldwide sources of raw materials for chemistry, or the chemical bases for various technological processes found throughout the world (Craft & Bardell, 1984). It also included acknowledging the contributions to scientific discovery of scientists from various ethnic backgrounds. The tie-in of linguistic aspects of culture and the influence
of these on science learning was arguably the next stage and was often influenced by a constructivist view of science teaching (Hewson & Hamlyn, 1985). But it was with the challenge (both in philosophy and sociology) to the universality of science and the recognition of science as culture (e.g., Harding, 1991; Pickering, 1992), and therefore of science education as cultural transmission, that multicultural science education came into its own, at least among science educators. The number of articles and reviews on multicultural science education in the last couple of years is testimony to this (Hodson, 1993; Pomeroy, 1994; Aikenhead, 1996) and the evidence for the impact on classrooms is scarce.

Having presented this admittedly all too brief overview of the state of the art of multicultural science education, I would like now to turn to my own perspectives of where we should be headed. For me multiculturalism is an acceptance of the existence of multiple cultures not only across groups, but within any one individual. Before exploring this further, let me provide the working definition of culture that I use:

Culture can be thought of as the knowledge and conceptions, embodied in symbolic and non-symbolic communication modes, about the technology and skills, customary behaviours, values, beliefs and attitudes, a society has evolved from its historical past, and progressively modifies and augments to give meaning to and cope with the present and anticipated future problems of its existence (Bullivant, 1981, p. 19).

I find this definition useful for analytic purposes because it is comprehensive, precise and acknowledges the ever-changing nature of culture. Put simply, culture is shared knowledge with a central core of value orientations, or world-view. This notion of world-view is not totally consistent with a more recent understanding current in science education: "the culturally-dependent, implicit, fundamental organization of the mind...composed of presuppositions or assumptions which predispose one to feel, think, and act in predictable patterns" (Coben, 1991, p. 19 cited in Coben, 1995, p. 289). The existence of a fundamental organization of the mind determined by a world-view is problematic for the perspective outlined below.

"Every new generation in a society must learn its culture if the society is to survive" (Bullivant, 1981, p. 17). However, no one individual can learn the totality of a culture. Part must be learned by everyone, part applies only to those who perform selected roles with their specific patterns and other parts are learned by being members of various subgroups within the society. While it is an idealized version of the culture that is transmitted, it is never completely learned, and its idealism is recognized in practice. These aspects allow cultures to evolve and be adaptable, using the analogy of an organism's reproduction. It is during the process of transmission and acquisition that culture is modified, changed and reinterpreted, as well as reproduced, by individuals and collectivities (Trueba, 1991).

The totality of cultural knowledge any one individual possesses can be considered one's 'cultural capital' (apologies to Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Membership in a group depends on shared cultural knowledge, and one's possession of the necessary cultural capital to obtain membership is demonstrated by one's interactional competence with other members of the group (Goodenough, 1976). Because we all belong to different groups within a culture, with different shared cultural knowledge, we can all be considered multicultural. (I do not believe it is necessary to distinguish between a sub-culture and culture for the purposes of this argument.) It is through participation in these various groups that we develop an identity, or more precisely, multiple identities, with the self as the overriding core. In different contexts different identities take the forefront. Sometimes, which group we choose to identify ourselves with can be a political statement (see Cohen, 1994, for a perspective that I have not yet had a chance to incorporate into my schema).

One such group to which we belong is an ethnic group which is a type of cultural collectivity that "emphasizes the role of myths of descent and historical memories, and that is recognized by one or more cultural differences like religion, customs, language or institutions" (Smith, 1991, p. 20). Some people belong to more than one ethnic group as a result of parents from different ethnic groups. "The manipulation of language as a status marker can also be used by individuals aspiring to change how they are defined ethnically" (De Vos, 1995, p. 23). This then is another way it is possible to be multicultural, one can learn another culture. As mentioned previously, interactive competence and the appropriate cultural capital signals membership in a group, whether one takes one's primary identity from the group or not, and so membership is sometimes ascribed.

De Vos (1995) suggests that in a primary sense of belonging, an individual can lean toward one of three orientations:

1) a present-oriented concept of membership as a citizen in a particular state or as a member of a specific occupational group; 2) a future-oriented membership in a transcendent, more universal religious or political sense; or 3) a past-oriented concept of the self as defined by one's ethnic identity (p. 18).

These orientations are not static and can change over time and with changing circumstances.

By this point you may be wondering what identity has to do with science education. The answer lies in the fact that (as mentioned above) science can be considered a separate culture with its own value system, communication modes and accepted behaviours. As such, it can be transmitted and acquired. Science education has an obvious role in this process of learning the culture of science. The process is different than that of learning one's native culture (the one one is born into), just as it is for learning a language other than one's mother tongue. And just as some people are better at gaining a near native fluency in another language, so some are more adept at learning a second culture.
I would contend that one factor which facilitates the process of learning another culture is cultural congruence, that is, the similarity of the two cultures to each other at various points, whether that be language, behaviour, values or even more important, world-view. The more points of congruence, the easier to learn the other culture. This may partially explain the apparent over- and under-representation of different cultural groups in scientific endeavour. The analogy with language learning holds, although sometimes the apparent similarities between languages (and cultures) are deceiving. This is assuming, of course, that one wants to learn the other culture. There will be times when the very congruency leads to a resistance to learning the other culture when maintaining a border between the cultures is considered to be important. In such a case, the points on incongruency may be exaggerated. It is possible that one's orientation in choosing identities (as described above) may be a factor here, a point to which I will return shortly.

I would like to suggest, therefore, that those students who possess the appropriate cultural capital, or whose culture is close to that of science will find it easier to learn science, especially if that culture and/or its knowledge are valued. This view of learning science is not consistent with that of conceptual change, which "requires accommodating new knowledge within the prior framework, or in cognitive terms, the radical restructuring of prior knowledge" (Cobern, 1995, p. 291). It is a view of learning widely held in the science education community. Instead, I see it as adding another framework, as in additive bilingualism, adding cultural capital if you will. It is analogous to the distinction anthropologists make between assimilation and acculturation. I have concerns that the conceptual change proponents in science education, though many would argue not, consider the scientific framework should be the dominant one. They are after all talking about a "radical restructuring of prior knowledge" and a scientific world view would require a "fundamental reorganization of the mind".

This begs the question of whether there is one culture of science or many. When talking about a scientific world view there seems to be the implication that there is only one. There has been a world community of science scholars for a considerable time, and this is what has prompted the members therein to speak of a universal science (Shils, 1991). Membership in that culture is highly guarded. One becomes a member by interacting in the appropriate ways (as per Goodenough, 1976, referred to above) with other scientists.

They and he [sic] participate in a body of general propositions, very concrete particular propositions; techniques and rules of observation and analysis, and the scientific ethos...They also provide him with a body of judgements or opinions about which problems are worthwhile and which trivial, which methods are more appropriate than others, and which kinds of solutions are more adequate than others...To obtain certification and the reward of recognition, a scientist must conform to the standards which are applied by his colleagues (Schott, 1991, p. 441).

Most of the practising scientists in the world today (and just by calling them that we are granting membership) were trained within a Western scientific culture. The validation of membership still depends on Western scientists, as is clear from the quotation above.

Spurgeon (1995) describes the situation of two scientists, Patarroyo from Columbia and Talwar from India, each of whom was working on vaccines (against malaria and as a form of birth control respectively) and the difficulties they had in having their work recognized by the world (read Western) scientific community. He wonders whether these were cases of intellectual racism. While that may have been a factor, another explanation might be that the holdup for recognition was that inappropriate solutions, as defined by the 'border guards' of the culture were pursued. These cases illustrate how different cultural backgrounds of scientists can lead to "different science". Often different cultural metaphors guide the research and therefore different results are obtained (Stepan, 1993), but whether this is enough to consider these scientists as working in or belonging to a different scientific culture is debatable. Rather it appears to be a case of different paradigms and an example of the fluidity of any culture. Those apparently on the margins often have a significant impact on changes in the culture. The importance of loosening the borders has been discussed elsewhere (Krugly-Smolka, 1996) and will not be addressed further here.

One of the reasons that there is a world community of scientists appears to be that the scientists seem to have a present-oriented concept of membership, using De Vos' categorization as described above, rather than a past-oriented tie to ethnicity. This appears especially evident when teams of scientists from different countries work together on the same problem. (While there may be a certain national pride when a discovery can be attributed to a citizen of a particular country, I would hazard the observation that it is more often external.) It may be, therefore, that certain students who have a present-orientation in their identity may find it easier to learn and appropriate the culture of science. Likewise, it may be that certain ethnic cultural groups may encourage (or at least not hinder) such an identity, understanding that multiple identities are possible.

A possible danger may arise where science educators sensitive to multicultural issues may indeed overstate the incongruencies between scientific culture and the ethnic cultures of students and so inadvertently maintain borders, or focus on students' ethnic identities where the students' self-identities are more present-oriented. This is the opposite to what usually has been the case in science classrooms, that students' cultural capital has not been taken into account and has been assumed to be equivalent among all students. In the future multicultural science classroom a balance needs to be found between these two stances.

A new direction in multicultural education may make it easier to keep this balance. I am referring to the trend of linking multicultural education to human rights education and global education. It is a case of encouraging a future-oriented focus in identity in De Vos' (1995) sense as described above. One of the best examples of this direction is the model of multicultural education presented by Bennett (1992). She identifies four core values: acceptance and appreciation of cultural diversity; respect for human dignity and universal human rights; responsibility to a world community; and reverence for the earth. Out of these, six curriculum goals are generated: 1) to develop multiple historical perspectives; 2) to strengthen cultural consciousness; 3) to strengthen intercultural competence; 4) to combat racism, prejudice and discrimination; 5) to
increase awareness of the state of the planet and global dynamics; and 6) to build social action skills.

In discussing the first goal, Bennett suggests that "subject matter from the fields of history, literature and the arts can be used to provide understanding about people's contemporary culture, world view and differing interpretations of human events" (p. 177). There is no mention of science, and yet science can also play an important role. The acknowledgment of the early contributions of Chinese, Indian and Islamic culture to the development of science and technology as we know it can offset the Anglo-European bias that is so dominant. Likewise the acknowledgment that it is possible to see the world other than through scientific lenses is needed as is a discussion of their strengths and weaknesses. This leads into an understanding of different world-views and the role of cultures, including scientific culture, in their development and so work towards meeting the second goal of strengthening cultural consciousness. The third goal of intercultural competence can be addressed in science education by helping students cross borders (Aikenhead, 1996) in their multicultural lives. The fifth and sixth goals are already being addressed in the science classroom through environmental education initiatives. It includes addressing issues of the causes of the distorted distribution of resources and use of these resources as well as the resulting degradation of the environment.

But it is in meeting the fourth goal of combating racism, discrimination and prejudice that much more can be done by science educators. Bennett herself points to the role of science educators in showing the limitations of race as a biological concept. There is no doubt that in discussing genetic variability and population genetics as well as the nature-nurture controversy it is important to point out that given our current knowledge base, race is no longer a useful category for it explains so little variation. It is as useful as height, if you will, for if one were to line people up from light skin to dark skin, as one would from short to tall, where would one make the divisions, since colour like height is a continuum? However, science has had a role in introducing the concept in the first place and so has a responsibility in combating the uses to which that concept has been put by society. The collection of readings edited by Harding (1993) is an excellent resource for science educators in pursuing that end.

I have up to this point been fairly optimistic as to the state of multicultural education and where it is headed, as I have been for the role science education can play in that direction, that is, the move to a future-oriented identity that recognizes the dignity of all human beings and their right to respect. Furthermore, it is a direction that encourages us to consider ourselves to be citizens of the world and therefore take on the responsibilities that such citizenship entails, such as ensuring the survival of the earth and the well-being of all its citizens. Before that can happen, however, one needs to be confident in one's core identity and not feel threatened. When one is worried about one's own survival, it is difficult to be concerned about the survival of someone with whom one has no connection. The current economic climate could very well undermine all of the good that has been accomplished to date. We must be vigilant in not letting governments and trans-national corporations pit us against each other.

References


Constructing Identities:
The South Asian experience in Canada

Ratna Ghosh, Macdonald Professor of Education, McGill University, Montreal, Canada

This paper is about the experiences of Canadians of South Asian origin, especially students, which have implications for the construction of their identities. (Their experiences are not very different from that of other Asians). The term South Asian Canadians is used although it is acknowledged that hyphenated descriptions create borders. It is also recognised that the term is not a singular or a homogenous category. The expression is an umbrella term and refers to a broad category of heterogenous people originating in the subcontinent of Asia, namely, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal and Afghanistan. It is important to recognise diversity in representing ethnicity and within the category "South Asian".

The paper begins by briefly making explicit the author's understanding of the construction of identity, and why as teachers, we must concern ourselves about minority cultures. Then it discusses the issues related to people of South Asian background in North America.

Construction of Identity

Identity is a much used concept. However, teachers need to understand it because of its significance in constructing political and social identity, i.e., ideologies of Canadianess, student self-concept. The politics of identity has implications for educational success. Key questions relate to the implications of identity for self-esteem, empowerment and school achievement, and of ethnic identity for integration and relationship to the dominant culture.

Contemporary conceptions of identity are influenced by postmodernist/poststructuralist writers who seek to deconstruct what they call 'the logic of identity' in Western philosophical and theoretical discourse. The logic of identity conceptualizes objects (unity and substance) which can be measured rather than as process. Earlier discussions of identity were located in the area of personality as "a person's essential, continuous self, the internal, subjective concept of oneself as an individual" (Reber, 1985, p.341). Social identity research challenged this individualistic frame and subjective definition of the notion of identity as a stabilized factor, an essential personality trait. Identity is no longer seen as a static, unitary trait. Identity is not merely a result of socialization. People construct their identities within the social framework. Identity is now seen as being formed in social processes and is seen in terms of relations because human beings are always in the making. As such, identities are constantly shifting and renegotiable. To quote Stuart Hall:

> Identities are different names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past (Stuart Hall, 1990:225).

Identity is formed along multiple axes, such as race, gender, nationality, sexual preference, etc. Identity surfaces at the individual level but each person has many 'social identities' such as ethnic, sexual, and class which develop meaning in people's lives.

People's multiple identities are not apparent in all contexts and representing different spheres of reality in everyday life. Different ones are important at different times. What people define as real, are real in their consequences (Thomas, 1928, p.584). Reality is defined socially by individuals and groups of individuals who serve as "definers of reality" (Berger and Luckman, 1966, p.116).

At the individual level, those who identity with a group can redefine the meaning and norms of group identity. Individual and collective identities are constructed in three areas: the biological, the social and the cultural (Aronowitz, 1992, p.1993). Our biological attributes (gender, race and ethnicity) and become meaningful and are defined in our interactions with people. While gender, race and ethnic identities are ascribed and cannot be changed, class position is also assign at birth but can be changed. The given characteristics do not have meaning in themselves, but become defining factors identity is constructed relationally.

Cultural identities are a "conjuncture of our past with the social, cultural and economic relations we live within" (Rutherford, 1990, p.19.) Although we may be "...a precis of the past" (Gramsci, 1988, p.326), our cultural identities are not fixed. Identity is a constructed sense of self that also incorporates views of self held by others. Identity is influenced by one's location in relation to others and the way others identity and define us. It is influenced by the "dilemma of differences" (Minow, 1990) and the notion of "different degrees of othering" (Mercer, 1992). In this construction, schools play a significant role in reproducing racial, gender and class differences.

The South Asian (SA) experience in North America is an individual's attempt at making sense of the "self" and the "other", or of the personal and social modes. This makes North Americans of SA origin the subjects rather than the objects of study. It is a subjective experience which
explains the variety in experiences, and underscores the dynamic, often contradictory and conflicting dimensions of interactions and personal identity. Identities are not fixed or rigidified categories. Rather, to quote Stuart Hall, identity "is a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'... (a construct which is) subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power" (Hall, 1990:225). So, children of South Asian descent in classrooms are not what their parents are/were because of their positional identities in history and culture. Their experiences and identities are constructed in relation to their gender, class and race, as well as their ethnicity which is mediated by culture, and their location in history. The question, then, is how educators can facilitate student attempts at making 'sense of the 'self' and the 'other' in the process of empowerment.

The differences in cultural content of South Asian children, resulting in differences in communication and interaction styles, cognitive and learning styles, make it necessary for the teacher, as mediator in the education process, to develop a knowledge base on which to build understanding. Knowledge of students is imperative if teachers are to guide their learning experiences, and lead students to see the connections between what is learnt in school and their lived experiences. Education is not merely collecting disjointed knowledge, rather, it is acquiring conceptual schemes. Learning is to connect, to make meaning and must be built on students' experiences and what they know. It behooves us as educators to understand student experiences, and how identities are produced differently. Only then can teachers provide students with analytical tools to deal with problems of unresolved identities and challenge experiences of racism, sexism and other inequities.

Ethnic Identity

The dynamics of identity and identification in modern society is complex. An important component of ethnicity is ethnic identity. Ethnic identity is attachment to a group with whom an individual shares common ancestry and characteristics. The behavioral aspect of ethnic identity involves language, friendships, etc. Research in Canada (Isajiw, 1981; Reltz, 1980, Wienfeld, 1988) and U.S. (Nahirny and Fishman, 1985) indicates a generational decline in language usage, social and residential segregation, although a sense of ethnic identity may be renewed in later generations in a different form. Ethnic identity is not an entity. Rather its construction is a complex process in which a variety of factors have their impact. Some of these factors are strongly informed by gender (Woollett, 1994). But the impact of gender in the representation of ethnic identity is rarely examined in research, thus making women's experiences and gender-related aspects of ethnicity invisible (Phinney, 1990)

Ethnicity is a political process of positioning within the boundaries of a collectivity based on notions of common origin and interest. Research (Woollett, 1994) indicates that constructions of ethnicity and ethnic identity are fluid and changing according to the context of people's lives. Moreover, they are not homogenous categories and operate across gender and class.

Erikson, who started identity research, saw educational practices as significantly influencing identity development because identity is involved with the construction of the world around us. While the individual is influenced by culture, he/she is also influenced by the social experiences in school and society.

Research on ethnic identity (Phinney, 1990) indicates that (1) self-concept is related to how the dominant group views the particular group: positive self-concept may be related to positive ethnic identification in high status groups. Conversely, lower status ethnic group membership is related to poorer self-concept. (2) The stronger the ethnic identity the weaker the identification with majority society, but it is possible to have strong identification with one's own ethnic culture as well as with the dominant culture indicating integration, while weak identification with both is indicative of marginality. (3) Identity formation at the individual level can be seen to develop in three stages: from unexamined ethnic identity, a period of exploration to achieved ethnic identity. The first and second processes are especially crucial for schools. The first period may be characterized by a lack of interest in one's ethnicity which, in the case of minority ethnic group individuals, could lead to a preference for the dominant culture, or a view of ethnicity based on the opinion of others. The second phase involves development of a personal understanding of ethnicity. Teachers should be sensitive to these phases.

Historical Background

For centuries, Canada has attracted immigrants for various reasons. While the influx has traditionally been from Europe, more recently people from non-western societies have been coming in increasing numbers due to changes in immigration policy in both countries.

The terms used for immigrants in Canada are 'minority group' and 'ethnic group'. Minority status is derived from lack of power rather than from numerical size of the group. 'Ethnic' connotes non-western groups (as if western people do not have ethnicity). But ethnicity becomes nationalism in the majority group (as in Quebec), while having the effect of relegating non-western groups to a lesser status. The term 'people of color' is used in both in Canada and the US (as if others are colorless), and again refers to people who originate from the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Canadian official term to refer to these groups is 'visible minorities' (while acknowledging that they do not have ethnicity). But ethnicity becomes nationalism in the majority group (as in Quebec), while having the effect of relegating non-western groups to a lesser status. The term 'people of color' is used in both in Canada and the US (as if others are colorless), and again refers to people who originate from the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Canadian official term to refer to these groups is 'visible minorities' (while acknowledging that they are invisible in the corridors of power). The problem with all these terms is the assumption of homogeneity of groups in terms of culture, language, religion, educational levels etc. whereas the fact is a great deal of difference within the groups.

The immigration history of South Asians (SA) in the US and Canada are strikingly similar as well as interrelated. In 1907, British initiative through Canadian authorities proposed to American authorities, the exclusion of South Asians as they had done to the Chinese. Racist and sexist immigration policies were aimed at the exclusion of SAs for the protection of the country against the influx of aliens who cannot be readily and healthfully assimilated in our body politic (Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, Washington, D.C.,1914).

South Asian (SA) Canadians are a relatively new group, and the majority are first generation Canadians (except in the province of British Columbia). There were 314,040
South Asians in Canada according to the 1986 Census representing 1.2 percent of the total population (over half live in the province of Ontario).

The first South Asians to migrate to Canada in the early 1900s were all male. They were Sikhs in the British army and came to the west coast (British Columbia) from the Far East without their families. The population remained unbalanced till 1919 because immigration regulations denied entry to South Asian women (Buchignani, 1979:50). Initially, bio-cultural characteristics were used to justify discrimination against Chinese, South Asian, Ukrainian, and Jewish Canadians.

A general ban on South Asian immigration for the first half of this century was relaxed in 1967 when immigration regulations were liberalized and formally disregarded race, ethnicity and nationality in the selection of immigrants. This was a stage when the pressure on immigrants was to assimilate and Other groups were expected to relinquish their own culture and identities in favour of the dominant mode. Canada was mono-cultural, and the existence of Other groups was implicitly denied. South Asian Canadian women were viewed as being culturally very different from other Canadians (Buchignani, 1979:55) making them appear less able to assimilate. This evoked negative impressions (Naidoo, 1978) and difference was equated with inferiority. As custodians of cultural and religious convictions, they experienced disadvantages of race, ethnicity, gender and culture from men and women alike. Their exclusion was structural.

During the 1960s, Canada's human resource needs, specially in higher education, medicine and engineering, attracted South Asians in large numbers. Mostly from middle-class backgrounds the women had some education and several had graduate and professional degrees. The sexist immigration coding classified the women as 'dependents' (even when in some cases women were more qualified than their husbands). This made their experience one of greater dependence on their husbands because, on their own they were not eligible for welfare and were subject to deportation (Ghosh, 1994).

Perhaps because of their need for professionals, Canadians began to make overtures to help immigrants adjust to the dominant culture within an ideology of cultural pluralism. Between 1961 to 1981, the Asian population tripled in Canada and Asia was the principal source of immigrants between 1981-85 (Lessard & Crespo, 1992). Further changes in immigration policy in 1976 resulted in a shift from professionals to skilled workers of South Asian origin, some of them coming by way of East Africa, Britain and Fiji. By then Canada had officially adopted a Multicultural Policy (1971). Initially, Multicultural Policy led to a stage of accommodation. Attempts were made to accommodate ethno-cultural groups within the dominant societal framework. The liberal rhetoric implied equal opportunity by giving equal status to all cultures and encouragement (through funds) to maintain their language and culture. For South Asian Canadians, public assistance enabled the development of cultural organizations and heritage language classes, while in the larger cities several South Asian classical dance and music schools were set up mostly by women. For many who were isolated because of small numbers, language and dress problems in a hostile climate, these organizations were a socializing outlet. This did not, however, change their social relations with the dominant culture.

The term South Asian is recent. Although people originating in South Asia are heterogenous in language and religion, they share a common history and socio-cultural heritage which is among the oldest in the world. In India alone there are 18 official languages (over 8,000 dialects), and people of every religious persuasion (although they are predominantly Hindus). Vast differences exist in degree of industrialization both within and between countries. For example, India is the eighth most industrialized nation in the world with the third largest technical and scientific human resource. Yet, it is also among the very poor nations. South Asia is a land of contrasts, but North Americans tend to envision it in terms of the 'Oxfam image' (the starving child). Why is it poor? Do we as teachers, try to make connections between the industrial revolution and the underdevelopment of the subcontinent?

The Immigrant Experience

South Asian immigrants face a complex situation in the highly industrialized societies of North America which are predominantly White. There are several reasons for their varied experiences. First, not all South Asians who emigrate face the same problems and many may not perceive any particular problems in their lives. They may have positive experiences and do not have difficulties in living in North America. Secondly, their experiences, particularly in relations of class, gender, race and ethnicity (religion, language, customs) are by no means the same and vary with their education, class affiliation, and socialization experiences. However, all immigrants they come into contact with a society in which cultural norms and values are different from that of their parents and grandparents. Thirdly, for South Asian women, their additional cultural differences (related to dress, personal grooming and segregation) further set them apart from the mainstream. They are too much at variance with the majority culture, and the markers of race in Canada are cultural as well as biological (color). So, women potentially share some problems with South Asian men (racism), some with women in general (sexism), and others depending on class affiliations which define social distinction. Fourthly, the lived experiences of migrant South Asian Canadians are different from those of other groups when they relate to specific cultural factors. Among them, the experience of new immigrants are different from those who immigrated earlier. The experiences of their children are yet more different because they were either born and/or grew up in this society.

For both first and second generations, the physical and behavioral differences from the majority group, heterogeneity in education, linguistic ability, knowledge of western social etiquette and values, (difference in English accent in the first generation) all contribute to the construction of positive or negative experiences depending on how they are 'located' in social situations. Significant class differences cut across religious and ethnic lines, yet these are less obvious here than in the subcontinent. Most often, they do not maintain their original class affiliations.
For the first generation, the migration process itself causes psychic dislocation, and women in particular are subject to ambiguity and conflicts between traditional and new socio-economic roles. South Asia is still a distinctly hierarchical society, and inequities of gender, caste and class pervade social interactions at all levels. However, this neither prepares those who have emigrated for the double work they face here (most of the women, and definitely the men, are not used to doing their own housework and shopping); nor are they prepared for the racism they sometimes encounter. Quite often they are not aware of being discriminated against, or do not have knowledge of their rights. The absence of close kinship ties and extreme weather conditions combined with other factors (which can be classified as physical, biological, social, cultural and psychological difficulties) make women more prone to acculturation stress. Gender, race and class combine to produce cumulative difficulties for them.

Canadians of South Asian Origin

The children of first generation South Asian immigrants, while more comfortable with their surroundings, usually face conflicts. The first category of problems are related to the clash of culture and values of the home with those of their peers and the wider society. Confused parent-childen identity issues underscore the generation gap. Secondly, what is, perhaps, most difficult to cope with is that, while they feel "Canadian", speak with Canadian accents unlike their parents, they too may experience prejudice and discrimination. "Why am I called an immigrant when I was born here?" is a question a lot of them ask. The experience of visible minority groups shows that they tend to remain "immigrants" in the perception of mainstream North Americans.

It is not difficult to understand why children of SA origin are confused - who am I? They may feel Canadian, but others' perception of who they are, their experience of discrimination based on the social construction of ethnicity, race, and gender by others threaten a positive concept of self. The issue really is - where I am - because of one's position in the politics of subjectivity.

Identity

The identity of first generation South Asian Canadians (especially women) is framed by traditional family and cultural paradigms. The system of beliefs developed during their earlier years has an impact on their adult lives when they come to North America, and influence the lives of their sons and daughters. The cultural context mitigates against individuation and independence (seen as disrespect), and conflicts are averted through socialization into obedient cultural acceptance of familial hierarchy and parental authority in choice of field of study, career, marriage, denial of sexuality among girls, and differential treatment of boys and girls often causing sibling rivalry. Sexuality is still one of the most difficult issues (particularly for the father). Consequently, dating and dress are the most controversial issues for girls and cause considerable stress, friction and guilt. The South Asian family generally offers a secure and protective environment characterized by dependence and cohesiveness. Conflicts arise because of clash with western values of autonomous functioning, attitudes towards sex, socializing and authority (problems with older family members are only beginning to emerge).

South Asian Canadians value education very highly. For the majority, it is the most important issue. They also leave education to the teachers who they hold in high regard. They tend to participate less in school activity and would like more discipline for their children. They will help children with their homework, and put considerable pressure on them to achieve highly in school. There is a collective orientation in the South Asian community to high achievement in school, and social pressures such as gossip and ridicule are used. That becomes negative, however, when the pressure to achieve is traditionally valued in subjects such as maths and science, and in going into traditional careers.

The perception that South Asian students in North America are doing well academically has been supported by statistics, especially in the US. Yet, there are several problems with that perception. First, students who do not fall into the stereotype undergo tremendous pressure and their needs are not met. Some even drop out causing shame to parents and stress in their own lives. Secondly, students of SA origin experience considerable racial harassment such as racial slurs, jokes, name-calling, acts of physical and emotional violence (Talbani, A. 1991). Even if they are doing well, their school experience may be painful. If they resist, they may be singled out as trouble-makers, or, more likely, they are ignored in class and differently treated (less of teachers' time). While intended discrimination must be immediately dealt with, equally important is to identify and address systemic factors which may unintentionally result in discriminatory impact. Teachers can start with all students by promoting equality in the school culture, integrating anti-racist education, and by making the environment culturally diverse.

For South Asian groups, the apparent distinction in colour and/or culture produces a sense of discomfort and forces them to define themselves, to say who they are, what constitutes their identity. This self-definition produces conflict in identity formation. Ethnic identity is changing, and the evolution of this identity is part of the democratic process in post-modern, multicultural societies. The problem is that the larger society tends to historicize a racial, ethnic identity as a tradition against which the visible minority member is measured. The question for the South Asian Canadian is "how can I forge connections in this world with my shifting identities and locations?" Race in society imposes oppressive structures of identity according to racist notions of race. This causes ambivalence, conflict and doubt among members of visible minority groups (Burban, 1994).

Until recently, it was thought that racial prejudice was absent in young children and that it increased with age. Recent research findings at McGill (Aboud, 1993) show that prejudice is present in children as young as five. This should decline as a function of socio-cognitive development by age eight or nine. Two developments are related to this decline: role taking skills help the child to reconcile racial differences; and perceptual differentiation helps the child to attend to individual rather than racial differences. Programs to reduce prejudice should take these factors into consideration.

As an immigrant group North Americans of SA origin are a voluntary minority. John Ogbu (1978) describes voluntary minorities as being characterized by primary cultural differences (such as discipline, freedom, behaviour patterns).
According to him, school problems are associated with primary cultural differences initially, but voluntary minorities successfully cross the cultural boundaries and ultimately achieve in school. Initial difficulties are related to interpersonal and intergroup relations because they may start school with different cultural assumptions, language problems and differences in behavioral and cognitive styles. But, because they do not necessarily give up their own cultural beliefs they tend to adopt a strategy of accommodation. Cultural and language differences are seen as barriers to be overcome in order to achieve their ultimate goals of good education and employment.

It is important to recognize that immigrants experience culture differently, and their construction of identity becomes a hybrid - being reproduced within a different framework of the dominant society (Shabha and Parekh, 1989). What is recreated in the new environment is never the same as what was left behind by parents. The basic principles, however, guide choices, provide confidence and continuity. And this causes conflict in second generation kids because of the dissonance between home and school culture and values.

South Asian Canadian youth strive hard to live up to their parents' expectations and yet they do not possess culture in a form identical to their parents. But because cultural change is NOT a unidimensional process, they are creating culture in a new context (rather than objectifying their parents' culture and adopting that undiluted). They are exploring and redefining what it means to be Canadians of South Asian background. This process of reconstruction is what Stuart Hall calls identity: "a process of 'becoming' and 'being'". They often do this by leading dual lives. Some are known, for example, to skip school and go to 'day dances' (less hassle with parents who are unaware of their whereabouts during the day, and would not let them go at night) and dance to 'Bhangra rock' (the music of Bhangra which is a Punjabi folk dance is integrated with western rock) or the songs of 'Apache Indian' (a British youth of South Asian origin who sings Bhangra lyrics to the reggae beat). A few who cannot stride the two cultures experience severe psychological stress and go into depression and even attempt suicide.

**Conclusion**

How do we conceptualize second generation immigrant youth identity? The strategy is to separate the two aspects of ethnicity - identity and culture (Buchignani, 1980). The most challenging issue is the interpretation of conflicts which become apparent in the reconstruction of basic perceptions of South Asian. This redefinition is searching for a 'third space', attempts at syncretism and blending traditions, experimenting with and through identities.

Schools play a crucial role in equipping students with the skills with which to sort out the dialectics of identity construction. Because the problems in school are caused by differences in cultural content and practices, as a first step teachers can help tremendously by learning about the students' cultural backgrounds and understanding their process of identity formation. They can organize classrooms and programs to encourage interaction and communication among students, and involve parents in the education of their children. If we want to give our students basic human values, and teach them how to be 'human', as educators we cannot simply be satisfied with understanding our world - we must attempt to change it. Change it so that students of both majority and minority cultures can deal with their differences confidently, knowing that these differences are not relevant to what they will become.

**References**


"So when the Great Chief in Washington sends word that he wishes to buy our land, he asks much of us... If we sell you land, you must remember that it is sacred, and you must teach your children that it is sacred and that each ghostly reflection in the clear water of the lakes tells of events and memories in the life of my people... You must teach your children that the ground beneath their feet is the ashes of your grandfathers. So that they will respect the land, tell your children that the Earth is rich with the lives of our kin. Teach your children what we have taught our children, that the Earth is our mother... Whatever befalls the Earth befalls the sons of the Earth. Man [sic] did not weave the web of life; he is merely a strand in it. Whatever he does to the web, he does to himself" (excerpt from Chief Seattle's speech, Faber's Book of Letters, 1988, as read by Noel Knockwood, Micmac Elder, 1995).

Introduction

This testimony, still bearing on important contemporary issues of culture and education, was made by Chief Sealthl (now "Seattle") in Washington territory in the 1850s. It was probably translated from the Native language Lushootseed, into Chinook which was more commonly used in trading. A further translation into English was then made by Dr. Henry Smith, who published Seattle's speech in 1887 in the Seattle Sunday Star (Knudtson & Suzuki, 1992). The speech subsequently appeared in the Washington Historical Quarterly in 1931 with further alterations. In recent decades, coincident with rising environmental awareness in the public mind, the speech became popular and again underwent revision by William Arrowsmith, who published the "Speech of Chief Seattle" in 1969. The version of the speech now circulating was written by an American screenwriter, Ted Perry, in 1970, who used it in a documentary film about environmental issues. A more complete history of the speech is described in Knudtson and Suzuki (1992). They point out that while the originality and authenticity of Chief Seattle's speech are open to question, the content of the speech regarding native identity with the land is still invaluable.

Seattle's speech is just one example of many resources which, when taken together, might fill a long-existing gap in the conventional educational system and might serve to educate the general school-going population, as well as Native people themselves, about native North American or First Nations people. A previous paper (Dawson, 1995) included a list of some other resources which can be used to orient the teaching of psychology specifically for First Nations people. However, this will not be the purpose of the present paper.

Among so many other contributions, Seattle's speech raises a critical point regarding how teaching is conducted. Thus, because the teaching of First Nations is still in many cases being conducted by those non-First Nations people, specifically Euro-Canadians, who native people see as their historical oppressors, I plan here to move underneath the content of education for First Nations people to the more difficult issues surrounding the place of the "white man" (or, more generically, the non-Native person) within the native education system. I also write, as a "white man" who wishes to explore his place as an instructor within Native education. By exploring these issues, I hope to derive psychological models of Native education. In so doing, I address the call by Metis/Cree Joseph Couture (1985) to create meaningful bridges between cultures by drawing on Western psychology in an effort to provide a set of educational paradigms more comprehensive than the conventional reductionistic varieties.

Since Natives have been culturally deprived and are therefore less responsive to the influences of educational systems provided by the larger society, a psycho-educational program is required (Couture, 1985) that affects the training of educators. Bearing in mind a caution offered by Couture (1985) suspecting the ability of university educator-training programs to implement the changes recommended here, I must keep in check the tendency of my Euro-Canadian university-trained mind to grasp for control and to overweight the rational mind. If I do not, I risk missing the wisdom intuition and metaphor.

Consistent with the existence of a diversity of valid perspectives on the role of the non-Native in Native education, I will take a comparative approach to answer the question of how the multiple perspectives of psychology inform the literature on Native education. These models will, I hope, give some direction for the future place of psychology in Native education, ranging from elementary to postsecondary education, as well as continuing research on the design and teaching of social sciences for a First Nations audience (Dawson, 1995). A larger goal for this holistic approach is ultimately to improve the interactions between those of Native and non-Native ancestry, in educational systems in general.
At the risk of perpetuating divisiveness between Native and non-Native people, differences in worldview between Natives and Euro-Canadian people are well documented. Therefore, not to exclude these capacities from the Euro-Canadian person, the world-views of Natives are purportedly contributed to by the following values, attitudes, and behaviours: cooperative or collective social base with consensual decision-making (Couture, 1985; Morris, 1984; Safran, Safran, & Pirozak, 1994), non-interference in the lives of others (Morris, 1984; Ross, 1992; Wax & Thomas, 1981), respect for elders and for nature (Couture, 1985; Emerson, 1987; Knudtson & Suzuki, 1992; Morris, 1984; Ross, 1992), importance of family and unstructured parenting (Morris, 1984; Ross, 1992; Safran et al., 1994; Wax & Thomas, 1961), ethics against anger and emotional indulgence (Ross, 1992), present time focus and patience (Dawson, 1995; Knudtson & Suzuki, 1992; Morris, 1984; Ross, 1992), relational or holistic thinking (Frideres, 1993; Ross, 1992), reflective observation (Ross, 1992; Wax & Thomas, 1961), and modest, soft-spoken speech style occasioned by pauses (Safran et al., 1994).

These different world-views may also be the basis of differences in learning style and information processing ability and of conflict between the perspectives of natives and Euro-Canadians within the educational system. There are some useful studies suggesting teachers develop awareness of these differences in order to offer more cultural sensitivity to the learning opportunities of native students (Corenblum, 1995; Safran et al., 1994). Unfortunately, there has been very little, if any, attempt to develop systematically a set of psychological models to better understand and promote First Nations education. It is important to do so, especially with an effort to promote mutual understanding and cooperation between the cultures involved.

Because of its ready-made perspectives for understanding human thought, feeling, and behaviour, and its wide applicability in educational systems, psychology is a particularly useful discipline from which to begin to develop these models. Whether they are First Nations or non-Native, those administering education may then ultimately select from these models and their corresponding recommendations for educational design.

Because the residential schools have been historically and are contemporarily a source of much anger among native people and, as such, have a profound influence on the role of Euro-Canadians in Native educational systems in Canada today, the history of Native education is a reasonable starting point in this exploration of models of Native education.

**Residential Schools and the Structure of Native Education in Canada**

"To Champlain, in whose eyes 'the saving of a soul was worth more than the conquest of an empire', another thought was dear, namely, the winning of the wild, untamed natives from their state of cruel savagery" (Ontario Public School History of Canada, Morang Educational Co., 1914, pp. 25-26).

The first attempts by whites to educate Natives were institutionalized to varying degrees in residential schools for Natives (Frideres, 1993; Miller, 1989; Mussell, Nichols, & Adler, 1991). The recency of the impact of residential schools is demonstrated in Table 1. Shown are numbers of Native people (now 15 to 49 years old) who had attended elementary and secondary schools (as of the 1991 census), had gone to residential school, had been taught by aboriginal teachers, had been taught an aboriginal language, and had been taught about aboriginal people.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elementary school population (in '000s)</td>
<td>322.5</td>
<td>70.6</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>80.6</td>
<td>158.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential schools</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal teachers</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal language</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taught about aboriginal people*</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary school population (in '000s)</td>
<td>267.8</td>
<td>60.6</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>59.9</td>
<td>140.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential schools</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal teachers</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal language</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taught about aboriginal people*</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Of these, at least 80% liked what they were taught.

Since the passing of the British North America Act, in 1867, and the Indian Act in 1876, the federal government took on the administration of Native education. Later treaties commonly included an educational commitment clause and religious orders (Roman Catholic, Anglican, United, Methodist, and Presbyterian) were given authority under the Indian Act to exercise their paternalistic influence over Native children (Frideres, 1993; Miller, 1989). According to this paternalistic ideology, Natives were "backward", expected to live in "isolation" as "noble savages", were discouraged from protest, and were encouraged to accept their fate under the Christian God and become "civilized" (Frideres, 1993). In 1892, the superintendent general said education of Indians would mean "not only the emancipation of subjects thereof from the condition of ignorance and superstitious blindness in which they are, and their parents before them were sunk, but converting them into useful members of society and contributors to, instead of merely consumers of, the wealth of the country" (as cited in Miller, 1989, p. 195).

Because of daily after-school exposure to parents and community, the on-reserve day schools were ultimately seen to fail in their attempts to assimilate Natives into Euro-Canadian society. Thus, in their various permutations beginning in the 1840s (including boarding schools and industrial schools), residential schools were aimed at assimilation through separation of children from their parents and communities (Miller, 1989). Under threat of corporal punishment and other abuses (Miller, 1989), the churches attempted to eliminate the use of Native languages. The children were, as well, given few skills to pursue careers in mainstream Canadian society (Frideres, 1993), although there are records of Native children working in fields and shops instead of classes (Miller, 1989). High death rates in the schools, as well as increasing costs to government led to attempts to shift the responsibility for financing to the missionaries, and ultimately to the admission by a federal minister in 1896 that the Indian will never be able to "make his own way and compete with the white man" (as cited in Miller, 1989, p. 197).

Although they had initially favoured education of their children by whites (Emerson, 1987; Miller, 1989), escapes, acts of arson, violence against teachers, and speaking their own language were tactics used by the children to resist the coercion. In addition, Native parents also began to resist by refusing to surrender their children, making unauthorized visits to the schools, and by assaulting and killing representatives of Indian Affairs (Miller, 1989).

As religious paternalism continued, a "democratic" or "open door" policy was invoked in 1945 that allowed Natives to attend school off reserve. Shortly thereafter, a joint Senate-House of Commons committee reported the Indian Act would allow Native education to remain in the hands of organized religion for an indeterminate period (Frideres, 1993, p. 174). However, the missionaries did not provide a curriculum that acknowledged language differences, sociological needs, and the need for contact between children and parents. Upon returning home from residential schools, Native children often found themselves with the parental responsibilities of the family without the traditions and wilderness skills which had been cut off by their time away from their communities at the schools. Unable to find work off the reserve, by then many recognized the false promise of a "civilizing" education (Mussell et al., 1991).

Since the 1960s, the numbers of Native children attending residential schools has been drastically reduced. However, many Native people currently pursuing postsecondary education have clear memories of residential schools through their own and family members' experiences. While some children may have been converted to the dogmas of the missionaries, many present-day leaders of native communities are former students of residential schools (Miller, 1989).

### Band Schools and Provincial Schools

Due to successful political lobbying during the late '60s and early '70s, the National Indian Brotherhood's 1973 document *Indian Control of Indian Education* was adopted by the federal government as official policy for Native education (Frideres, 1993). The Department of Indian Affairs allocated funding for band-operated schools and, by 1980, over 100 band schools were in operation. Between 1975 and 1989, enrolment in band-operated schools increased from about 5 to 40 percent, taking students away from other federal schools, including residential schools, especially as the latter were being shut down.

Today, most Native children go to band schools until grade 6 and then transfer to integrated provincial schools to complete their secondary education. One important difficulty this raises for transferring students is that they are moved 'from a Native majority to native minority and they

---

Table 2: Education and Unemployment Rates for Indigenous Groups Compared with Total Canadian Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grade 9 or less</td>
<td>15-49</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 9 or less</td>
<td>50-64</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some postsecondary</td>
<td>15-49</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some postsecondary</td>
<td>50-64</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment rate</td>
<td>15+</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

are forced to assimilate into a discriminatory environment with mainly Euro-Canadian students and teachers (Friderees, 1993, p. 179). Lower marks and earlier dropouts are evident and far fewer Natives than non-Natives proceed to postsecondary education. As shown in Table 2, the proportions of students dropping out at or before grade 9 are 300 to 600 percent higher in indigenous groups than in the Canadian population as a whole. Likewise, half as many Natives graduate from high school (28% vs 58%) (Larocque & Gauvin, 1989).

When they move out of the band schools, Native adolescents tend to get conventional education, off-reserve, in the regular school system. There, Native support-workers may be on-staff, but may face a losing battle against the power of the systemic European base of education promoted in the school. Indeed, resistance to programs offsetting the institutional racism existing in schools can be a concern even though systems supporting the different cultures of students are already in place. In these cases, tokenism is a potentially serious problem. That is, some administrators may believe that a few "token" staffing changes are enough and no further attempts to educate students and teachers about concrete ways of counteracting racism need be pursued (e.g., McGregor, 1993). This may be part of a wider problem of institutional racism that exists in hiring practices in Canada. Almost 42000 cases were reported in the 1991 census by aboriginal people who attributed their difficulties in finding a job to the fact that they were Native (Statistics Canada, 1993).

Postsecondary Education

Comparing numbers of people attending postsecondary education in both Canadian and indigenous populations in Table 2, far fewer indigenous people attend postsecondary institutions. Most of these participate in vocational training, including carpentry, sheet-metal work, mechanics, and agriculture. Upgrading courses account for most of the remaining students and most are preparing for semi-skilled or lower level jobs (Friderees, 1993).

Presently, colleges, universities, and other institutes have programs specifically designed to meet the needs and interests of Native students, and despite evidence that more Natives are entering postsecondary training than ever before, this rate is still at least 13 percent lower than the national average (see Table 2); the graduation rate is less than half (Couture, 1985; Friderees, 1993, p. 189). Another disturbing set of statistics is shown in Table 3 indicating that indigenous people face the prospect of averaging a lower income level than the total Canadian population, with higher rates of earning less than $10000 per year and only half the chance at most of earning over a $40000 per year.

Because it exists almost solely to promote to its students the value of their future employability, postsecondary education is arguably the most important social institution today. Unfortunately, the history of Native people in Canada recalls structural violence and residential schools which have detrimentally affected their ability to cope within the European-based educational system. Population demographics indicate that only half as many are employed (31% vs 60%) compared with the whole population (Larocque & Gauvin, 1989; also see Table 2 for unemployment rates). With the growing emphasis in contemporary society on obtaining job-ready qualifications and experience, those natives who complete their education in a college or university setting will most likely be the leaders in tomorrow's Native cultures. Also, because Native peoples are only now beginning the long process of emergence from the deleterious effects of educational, political, and cultural oppression, the organizational structure of postsecondary programs designed specifically for Native students are, from a socio-psychological perspective, of particular interest. I will discuss models of organizational structure in a later section.

Assimilationist, Acculturative, and Appropriative Pressures

"At a conference at Orillia in 1846, most of the chiefs in attendance approved the plan of creating residential schools and promised the Indian Department one-quarter of their annuities for twenty-five years for support of the institutions. But their reasons for wanting these schools were different from the government's: they wished to acquire the Euro-Canadians' learning in order to survive, but they had no wish to assimilate" (Miller, 1989, p. 106). Before proceeding further, working definitions of assimilative, acculturative, and appropriative pressures are needed, as they will be referred to in the context of the psychological models to be presented. Brizinski (1993) defines social assimilation as becoming like something or someone else. Wearing the "right" clothes, saying the "right" things, becoming part of a new job, family, or organization, and otherwise blending into the society at large are examples of social or cultural assimilation. By the

Table 3: Income Levels for Indigenous Groups Compared with total Canadian Population (Ages 15+)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under $2000</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$2000 to $9999</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10000 to $19999</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$20000 to $39999</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$40000+</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1830s, some Natives adopted European style clothing and domestic arrangements but these were the only successes of early assimilation attempts (Miller, 1989).

Another type of assimilation is developmental psychologist Piaget's concept of cognitive assimilation (defined elsewhere, see Dawson, 1995) which refers to the process of learning new information before behaviour "accommodates" (changes) in response to the new information. Here, as long as students continue to make mistakes while learning, they have not yet fully assimilated the information, no matter what culture they belong to. As a useful example in the context of the non-Native instructing Native students, the instructor may assimilate information from Native instructing Native students, the instructor may assimilate information from Native resources in order to accommodate or adapt the teaching to the needs and interests of the class.

Brizinski (1993) goes on to define acculturation as distinct from assimilation in that the former requires full psychological acceptance of a new culture while the latter only requires learning how to participate in the new culture. For example, the student can assimilate the classroom process required by the instructor without fully accepting its validity. Acculturation, as well, is distinguished by Couture (1985) from enculturation, the latter being identified with the traditional Native way of life.

The crux of the dilemma faced by non-Native students, teachers, professors, and administrators who participate in the Native education system probably resides in a type of assimilative pressure, appropriation. In an effort to counterbalance the colonial assimilative pressures of conventional schools and move toward self-government and autonomy with regard to all aspects of Native communities, the contemporary thrust in Native education is for First Nations people to direct First Nations education (Perley, 1993). This places the non-Native in a precarious position which, incidentally, he or she did not choose, but for which he or she may be held responsible. Confronted with the non-Natives' best efforts to convey information and processes useful in the world outside the school, the Native student may feel pressures to assimilate and acculturate into the predominantly Euro-Canadian society. Some Native students may feel Euro-Canadian society is "beneath them" and in need of salvation. The study of phrenology (based on the notion that skull shape is an indicator of intelligence) and Social Darwinism (based on the concept of "survival of the fittest") became additional "scientific" reasons to favour the notion that native people were genuinely and biologically inferior to the colonizing Europeans. Those whose skulls were different from the European "prototype" and those who could not survive against military onslaught were viewed as deservedly subservient to the conquering society. In support of scientific racism intelligence tests were used as an additional form of "mental colonialism" (Couture, 1985) to label both immigrant and native people as having inherited fewer cognitive abilities (Senior, 1993).

Aside from models deriving from each side of the nature-nurture controversy, the left-right brain dichotomy has been suggested as a model of European intellectual analysis versus Native metaphorical holistic perception. However, Couture (1985) argues that a useful educational model deriving from this dichotomy in brain function will attend less to the physiological locus of cognitive and perceptual styles than to the development of a fully functioning mind.

Bioanalytical Models

According to Freudian psychoanalytic theory (Feist, 1994), internalized emotional conflicts have their source in early childhood experiences. Not uncommonly for Natives now attending postsecondary institutions, these include negative memories of residential schools. Due to the unpleasant history of the role of "the white man" in Native education already outlined, contemporary Euro-Canadian educators may feel the brunt of anger of Native students against them. Guilt may be the reasonable initial reaction of European descendants, especially as collective guilt has been made official by federal land claim policy (Susswood, 1993).

Psychoanalytic Models

According to Freudian psychoanalytic theory (Feist, 1994), internalized emotional conflicts have their source in early childhood experiences. Not uncommonly for Natives now attending postsecondary institutions, these include negative memories of residential schools. Due to the unpleasant history of the role of "the white man" in Native education already outlined, contemporary Euro-Canadian educators may feel the brunt of anger of Native students against them. Guilt may be the reasonable initial reaction of European descendants, especially as collective guilt has been made official by federal land claim policy (Susswood, 1993).

In addition, past unsuccessful attempts of Native parents to understand the Euro-Canadian culture may have led them to devalue their own culture and fail to pass it onto their children. "Children may develop a 'low concept' of their parents, erroneously thinking them to be of no value to schools as well" (Emerson, 1987, p. 42). Because this 'low concept' of parents and associated hatred of their own culture is unacceptable to the student's ego, a strong
super ego which includes cultural norms against emotional indulgence and anger (Ross, 1992) may be associated with defense mechanisms such as repression, projection, or reaction formation. Respectively, these unconscious mechanisms may provide Native students with passivity, retaliation, or false pleasantries to express their anger in the educational context. For example, some Native students would sooner disappear from the class without expressing their displeasure at the non-Native instructor because it would be improper to embarrass the instructor (Wax & Thomas, 1961). This, from the instructor's viewpoint, might seem like an attitude of approval unless someone else in the class makes the problem clear. However, students' self-effacing behaviour is especially problematic in most large classes where the numbers increase the salience of ethics surrounding embarrassment.

Adding to this are attributions of the instructor as psychologically distanced from students, as an authority figure, and as perpetually threatening punishment. Karen Horney's theory points out that beginning early in grade school, the ethic of competition promotes isolation, anxiety about the possibility of failure, and low self-esteem (Feist, 1994). At both individual and collective levels, this situation can yield low academic performance and self-destructive behaviours. Likewise, because they are ignored in the conventional education system, Carl Jung would point out that painful images may well up from the collective unconscious in dreams or psychological disturbances (Feist, 1994). These images are rarely attributed to the underlying collective strength of the community.

A more active role of peers, parents, and elders in the student's education is suggested as a way of including the cultural value of parenting and family in the curriculum and letting students know that the community supports their attempts to succeed in a difficult environment (Emerson, 1987). Unfortunately, psychological isolation can be made even more difficult if uneducated members of the community resent newly educated youths upon their return from school. Thus, the "pathology of entire communities" must be treated with efforts to recover the collective sense of self-worth (Busswood, 1993). Although helpful to individuals, therapy on a piecemeal individual basis may not be as successful in reaching the core of the problem.

**Behavioural Models**

Still today, especially in some northern communities, reflective observation and caution are consistent with surviving in the elements of wilderness (Ross, 1992). As such, these are highly desirable characteristics to nurture in some Native communities and are associated with silence, pauses following instructors' questions, lateness, and not interrupting (Safran et al., 1994). When a prompt response is valued by the instructor (due to the amount of material to cover, it usually is), some Native students may be more vulnerable to being interrupted or discounted.

The lack of reinforcement of education by parents or community has been attributed by some to be the cause of native students' poorer performance. However, because curriculum design has rarely involved parents and their own past experiences with "white" education may have been negative, they may now view the education system as racist and worthy of hostility (Frideres, 1993). To involve parents means reinforcing them for their involvement, thereby making their involvement a positive experience.

Here it is important to acknowledge the cultural diversity of students in many schools and colleges across the country, including those who have had dehumanizing experiences in their educational history. These students, whether native or not, may behave in ways reinforced in literature that stereotypes "Native learning styles". Let us not make the mistake of neglecting the effects the past history of reinforcement or punishment may have had on non-Native students, and their parents as well. Likewise, because this history has affected each individual differently, some Native students may express themselves quickly and effectively; perhaps they have been reinforced for verbalizing, or for participating in engaging arguments.

As a model of Native education, however, it is important to remember the vast majority of Native students may either misunderstand the lessons or fail to adopt the value system being promoted because it may conflict with that of their own culture. For students in this situation, some form of punishment may ensue in the form of low grades. Unless there is some countering behavioural intervention, students can get stuck in a downward spiralling self-fulfilling prophecy that discourages further attempts to test their knowledge. On the other hand, the principle of non-interference may lead the Native student to try out their newly acquired knowledge and to expect no punishment at all, even if their performance is poor.

Some behavioural strategies suggested, (Safran et al., 1994; also see Dawson, 1995) can decrease the discouraged countenance encountered in the above situations. Other techniques include reinforcing discussion of examples drawn from a cultural base, reinforcing cooperative learning (through group testing, group projects, and peer tutoring), reinforcing participation, and modelling the effort required to take time to think through problems carefully.

**Cognitive Models**

"Do we want to limit their academic success to their own cultural content, or should our goal be to develop skills and knowledge that will allow them to move readily into and within the broader cultural context?" (Wilgosh & Mulcahy, 1993, p. 130).

One important factor which can account for "poorer" than average academic performance by Native students is biased testing of cognitive skills. Research suggests two reasons for such biases: 1. the failure of tests of intellectual development to measure the different types of knowledge held by Native people, and 2. referencing the norm for such tests on the performance of the majority, largely non-Native population (Senior, 1993; Wilgosh & Mulcahy, 1993). Therefore, a strong argument can be made for the need for culture-appropriate measures of cognitive abilities and corresponding changes in curricula to accommodate culture-based abilities. However, caution is needed when interpreting research on learning styles, as no solid evidence yet points to homogeneous Native learning styles (Wilgosh & Mulcahy, 1993). Even if such evidence existed, we had best heed warnings that stereotypic assumptions may only increase alienation between Natives and non-Natives by facilitating expectations in both groups that one group will get special treatment over the other (Emerson, 1987; Safran et al., 1994; Wilgosh & Mulcahy, 1993).
Instead, teaching strategies that have been found to be effective with Native students (and other cultural minorities) may provide a more useful direction. In general, these include student-centred learning methods encouraging student control over the learning process, focussing on learning and thinking skills rather than on culture-bound content, emphasizing cooperative learning exercises involving small groups (Tiberius, 1990), and facilitating experiential learning and visualization (Emerson, 1987; Safran et al., 1994; Wilgosh & Mulcahy, 1993). Examples of formalized cognitive strategies include Feuerstein's Instrumental Enrichment program, the Strategies Program for Effective Learning and Thinking, and Thinking Actively in a Social Context (see Wilgosh & Mulcahy, 1993 for details). Such strategies, especially Feuerstein's model, tend to acknowledge the cognitive and metacognitive skills already developed, work from examples found in Native culture, and encourage intrinsic motivation and internal focus of control.

Given the availability of peers, parents, or elders to help the student process the information being taught, these cognitive models are all likely to improve self-esteem and clarify cultural confusion being experienced by many Native students. Where such models are not provided, the responsibility is left to the student to adapt the information being taught to contexts which are understood in terms of their own culture. Indeed, independence of natives from the larger society may necessitate the generation of the native student's own knowledge rather than continuing to rely on others to convey it (Emerson, 1987).

For Native students, the challenge of the cognitive models is to improve their cognitive skills without sacrificing a sense of their own culture. The educators' dilemma, on the other hand, is not to sacrifice cognitive standards in service of an excessive focus on culture.

Likewise, a challenge for non-Native instructors is to reckon with the issue of resistance to the assimilative, acculturative influences they represent to many Native students. Depending on the instructor's ethical purview, the only option may be to avoid the risk of appropriation and attempt to immerse students in conceptual landscapes specific to the discipline. Here, the goal would be to move students to a unique perspective of the discipline that is still consistent with their own views of the world. From this constructivist approach to instruction, students can engage and learn skills in cognitive play and creative vision, and develop a sense of communion with the discipline (Stuewe-Portnoff & Stuewe-Portnoff, 1995).

Sociopsychological Models

Although this paper will not discuss the emerging models from cultural psychology per se, it includes these models implicitly. Especially within this section, which discusses sociopsychological models, a sociocultural perspective should be clear. These models bear on identity and self-control, language, employment equity, and organizational structure.

Identity and Self-Control Models

As claims of Western superiority over other cultures began to decline in the 1950s and 1960s, and an inquiry into the values of other cultures ensued, there was a revival of native North American ceremonialism and, more generally, a re-identification with the spiritual base of the Native culture (Jilek, 1992). In terms of Canadian psychologist Marcia's (1991) theory of identity formation, this renewal moved native people out of a "foreclosure" on their cultural identity which had been forced upon them in residential schools. Instead, Natives, along with many Euro-Canadians, backed off from the forced commitment which led to a "moratorium" on identity, and they asked questions in their renewed search for who they really were (Marcia, 1991).

Because of past attempts to separate the native person from their culture, the Native person may appear to over-identify with their own culture through contrast with another. Through this social comparison, the Native person rebels from the negative beliefs and labels they have suffered (Frideres, 1993; Musell et al., 1991) and may feel satisfied with dualism and divisiveness between native and 'white' world-views. However, one problem with this strategy is that the identity formed is based on contrast which reinforces reminders of deculturation, and leads the person to judge the low desirability of one culture on the high desirability of the other. Cultural confusion, low self-esteem, and anomie may result, and the only treatment that may work is ceremonial drumming, dance, and song (Jilek, 1992).

One sociopsychological model includes cultural heritage as a valid, indeed critical, component of the curriculum. Partly because Native culture, language, and spiritual beliefs were invalidated historically, it is argued that the inclusion of these components in education is all the more important and serve to reconnect Native students with a primary source of identity, without which Natives are further dehumanized. On the other hand, Native culture is viewed by others as archaic and irrelevant in the contemporary, computerized, nature-less classroom. It is beyond the scope of this paper to address the question of balance between culture and cognition, although there is a body of literature suggesting culture can be viably included (Couture, 1986; Emerson, 1987; Feuerer, 1993; Holihan, 1993; Perley, 1993; Safran et al., 1994). Sufficient to say this balancing act is made more difficult by the fact that culture and cognition are not distinct entities (e.g., Emerson, 1987).

Another form of self- or identity-development model is derived from a primary political goal of First Nations: self-government. In pursuit of self-government, everything to do with the self is important: self-consciousness through contact with one's awareness; self-exploration through connection with one's identity; self-concept through learning about oneself; self-esteem through other's and one's own need for approval; self-empowerment through acknowledgement of one's strengths and weaknesses; self-efficacy through belief in one's accomplishments; and self-control through meeting one's own needs in the context of a social milieu that exerts controls.

To promote individual and collective processes of self-control and self-government, it is recommended that Native adolescents identify deliberately with their culture and, especially, take part in cultural rites of passage (Santrock, 1995). In addition, teacher training may need to focus on enhancing sensitivities to culture-relevant competencies for which more conventional teacher training may leave the graduate unprepared (Corenblum, 1993). As well, bearing in mind the history of military, religious, and bureaucratic
control of native education, it is critical that Native communities assume control of the education of their children and their adults, both in terms of finances and human resources (Busswood, 1993; Emerson, 1987; Frideres, 1993; Perley, 1993).

Language Models

Consistent with Whorf's and Vygotsky's theories that culture and language inform cognition (Gray, 1994), language used by psychologists and other educators must be sensitive to the historical and educational experiences of the cultures to which the terminology may be applied. This will tend to promote the maintenance of native languages, self-awareness and, consequently, self-determination of Native culture, as it was passed on orally in times before European contact. The learning or re-learning of a native language, according to social psychological theory, puts the person in touch with their cultural identity and the attitudes they have towards the community which is the source of the language. Affecting Native students since residential schools is "subtractive bilingualism" which "occurs when an individual learns a second language because of national policies and pressures to become part of a majority language community" (Gardner, 1981, p. 97). Gardner continues, "In the process, it is quite possible that the individual could lose at least some proficiency in his/her own language, and over a number of generations that the language would die out altogether as a means of communication within the family" (p. 97). From the point of view of Gardner's social-educational model, beliefs about how important it is to learn the language will be determined by the cultural milieu or community pressures. The need for culturally congruent and achievement oriented teaching strategies is also consistent with the application of the socio-educational model to the learning of first Nations languages (Wilgosh & Mulcahy, 1993).

A final point regarding language is the acquisition of a "voice". This is the attempt to provide an instructional context in which the student feels safe enough to say what he or she is thinking. It might be assumed, because of the deprivation of native peoples from their languages in residential schools, that native people need to be given "svoice" more than non-native people. Indeed, finding "voice" is important, through the study of mythology, oral history, and autobiography (Brizinski, 1993; Dawson, 1995). But caution is warranted again here. For example, from the point of view of the non-Native student, sitting alongside a native student in a predominantly native educational institution, the non-native may feel discriminated against if they are not provided the same opportunities for "voice" as the Native person, especially if they too have had negative past experiences in the educational system. Because of the existence of different kinds of situations, and their different effects on individuals, stereotypes are unwise.

An application of political psychological theory is followed by a study reflecting specifically on the employment of the non-Native person within the Native educational system.

"Native Instructors Wanted": The Affirmative Action Model

According to Stephan (1991), affirmative action is designed to facilitate the access of minority groups to occupations in which minorities are underrepresented as the result of past discrimination (p. 552). Past injustices have certainly been experienced, as a culture, by the aboriginal people of North America. As well, credentialism and racism in the wider society have forced native people to face a steep uphill battle to obtain professional qualifications (Stephan, 1991). Some argue, therefore, that unless the Native educational organization is to continue to be a tool of assimilation into Euro-Canadian society, an affirmative action policy is necessary regarding the hiring of Native peoples, especially by native educational organizations.

But where such policies go beyond the requisite familiarity with native cultures to include priority based on race, there exists a key problem with defining and fairly administering a policy in accord with the intent of affirmative action. The shortage of qualified people of a given ancestry does not make race a fair basis on which to deny people positions. Systemic discrimination against one group cannot be corrected by institutionalizing discrimination against others. Thus, affirmative action or so-called equal opportunity employment has the risk of perpetuating a cycle of discrimination which has the following three components.

First is the assumption that, due to their relative lack of power, Natives are not capable of holding prejudicial attitudes (Larocque, 1991). In fact, anyone is capable of prejudice (Berry, 1981; Brizinski, 1993; Stephan, 1991), although the responsibility for it may be projected outward or justified with self-serving rhetoric (Kristiansen & Zanna, 1994).

The second factor in the cycle of discrimination is the formation, in a predominantly Native educational institution, of a distinct organizational culture mirroring the larger society. Here, Native people are in the majority and hold a position of power. Racial prejudice against non-native people may be the norm (e.g., Erikson, 1963, p. 169), and, if it is, the seeds are sown for interracial conflict in the organization (see Trice & Beyer, 1993, p. 227). Unfortunately, those who might otherwise serve as allies in service of the organization's goals might feel alienated by a racially-biased organizational climate.

The third important factor perpetuating a cycle of institutional discrimination is the omission of differences within Native and Euro-Canadian cultures. Historically and contemporarily, interracial heritages, different ways of life, and different levels of oppression are well documented in both groups (Berry, 1981; Brizinski, 1993; Erikson, 1963; McMillan, 1988).
In summary, the dilemma of affirmative action lies in the hope of repairing past injustices when doing so may risk perpetuating and intensifying interracial conflict in the classroom, potentially compromising the quality of instruction and learning (Trice & Beyer, 1993).

To reduce the negative effects of this dilemma and maximize benefits for all concerned, it is recommended that affirmative action policies be structured to include:

1. The recognition that either the hiring or the rejection of a person based on race (or past injustice) does not guarantee betterment of the quality of service to students;

2. The recognition of a distinction between inborn characteristics such as race and acquired professional qualifications such as cultural knowledge; and,

3. The implementation of procedures for the management of interracial conflicts that are consistent with local Native beliefs and practices (e.g., Fisher, 1994; Huber, 1993).

Table 4: Data from Questionnaire Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey Year</th>
<th>Level of Satisfaction with Instruction Textbook</th>
<th>Agreement with Need for FN Instructor</th>
<th>Agreement with Enough FN Content</th>
<th>Agreement with Self-focussed Term Project</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>5.8 (1.1)</td>
<td>4.7 (1.9)</td>
<td>3.3 (1.1)</td>
<td>4.6 (1.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>5.6 (1.4)</td>
<td>5.4 (1.6)</td>
<td>3.0 (1.5)</td>
<td>5.0 (1.4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data shown are means (standard deviations) based on 36 undergraduate students in each year. Abbreviations: FN = First Nations.

As shown in Table 4, the results suggest that in both years the survey was conducted, there was, on average, moderately high satisfaction with instruction and textbooks, disagreement that the psychology instructor should be a First Nations person, moderate agreement that there is enough First Nations content in psychology courses, and moderately high agreement that students would learn about themselves from doing an autobiographical term project. Analyzing contingency tables revealed no significant differences between the attitudes of native and non-native students. However, of the 14 students in the 1995 year who responded with either dissatisfaction or neutrality about the textbook, 10 were Native. In 1996, of the 10 students who were dissatisfied or neutral about the text, 7 were Native. In the 1995 sample, no one agreed with the need for a First Nations psychology instructor whereas in 1996, only two Native students agreed with this need. In terms of level of agreement with sufficient First Nations content being covered in 1995, there was agreement from only 50 percent of students whereas, in 1996, there was agreement from 61 percent of students.

It appears that more Native than non-Native students are not satisfied with the assigned textbooks and that, over the past two years, there has been improvement in attitudes to "First Nations content". Although the means and variances were replicated in both samples, a larger sample size in follow-up studies would add to the reliability of these results. Likewise, further research in educational context might benefit by exploring in detail the meaning of "First Nations content" from students' point of view. As well, the finding of lack of agreement with the need for First Nations instructors in psychology may point to a discrepancy with policies favouring the hiring of First Nations over equally qualified non-Native people. Further research in this area also has much potential for clarifying differences between students' perceptions and organizational policies.

Models of Organizational Structure

From the standpoint of hermeneutic knowledge (Turner, 1991), the structure of an organization is perceived, and people working within the college often develop differing perceptions of the organizational structure. Further, these differing perceptions are the basis for decisions and actions at all levels and comprise the organizational structures of educational programs.

One distinction illustrating the interaction of perception and organizational structure is in Hollander's (1993) comparison of hierarchical with circular models of educational organization. He notes that hierarchical structures tend to be associated with class distinctions, intergroup boundaries, and reduced accountability among stakeholders in education. As each group in the hierarchy attempts to promote its own agenda, confusion, isolation, and competition can result. On the other hand, and
consistent with the Native cultural value of the circle, Hollander suggests that a circular organizational structure centres on the students and results in "a common mission, improved communications" (p. 159) and reduced competition. One source of confusion for the non-Native educator who may work within a circular structure is where to go with questions of grievance or permission that might concern an authority. Viewing Hollander's (1993) circular model critically, however, it would appear that independent hierarchies of local education authority, administration, and staff have not been discarded; they simply revolve around students.

Parallel with Cornell's (1988) typology of Native organizations, Berry (1981) proposes a four-fold classification model which can be applied to the design and understanding Native education systems. Berry's model revolves around two questions: 1. "Is my identity and culture of value and to be retained?" 2. "Are positive relations with the larger (dominant) society to be sought?" (p. 216). The model, described in Table 5, returns us to our earlier definition of assimilation. How the process of "becoming like someone else" actually occurs (Brzinski, 1993) may be more clearly specified in Berry's (1981) definition of assimilation: "Relinquishing one's identity and culture, and moving into the larger society." On the other hand, "integration involves retaining one's identity and culture, and moving to join the larger society" (p. 216, italics author's). "Segregation" includes either the deliberate self-initiated withdrawal from the larger society or separation imposed by the larger society. "Deculturation", according to Berry, involves individual and collective anxiety and confusion, retaliating against the larger society, feelings of alienation and identity loss, and 'acculturative stress'. In deculturation, connection is lost with both the person's own culture and with the larger society.

In the context of loss, it is important to note the overlap of models. For example, even though the deculturative loss may have initially been imposed, psychodynamic defense mechanisms may be activated to protect the individual ego from experiencing the negative emotions associated with the loss. In this case, ceremonial healing, rather than retaliation or segregation, may be beneficial (Jilek, 1992).

Table 5: Berry's (1981) Model of Acculturation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>#2</td>
<td>Integration</td>
<td>Assimilation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Segregation</td>
<td>Deculturation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Berry (1981) also reviewed the literature with regard to policy statements by Native organizations as well as summarizing studies of Native attitudes towards the role of native culture within the larger society. One important example Berry provides is the 1973 education policy statement by the national Indian Brotherhood which criticized the term "integration" at the same time as it supported "mingling the best elements of a wide range of human differences" (p. 25; as cited in Berry, 1981). Reviewing numerous papers and studies, Berry (1981) concluded that "the overall thrust of them is toward integration; they seek to avoid assimilation in the economic or educational spheres" (p. 221).

A better term, for those who argue against "integration" due to its assimilation connotations, is "pluralism" (Santrock, 1995). Pluralism refers to "the coexistence of distinct ethnic and cultural groups in the same society" (p. 391), while maintaining and developing an appreciation for cultural differences. From the beginning, when native communities supported the development of residential schools, their purpose was to learn about European society so as to best adapt to it; it was not to give up their own culture in favour of European ways of life and this would still seem to be the case today (Couture, 1985; Emerson, 1987; Frideres, 1993).

Humanistic Models

Mutual appreciation between Native and non-Native cultures has a clearly humanistic ring. Indeed, Emerson (1987) comments that the way Natives cope with present-day difficulties will hold valuable lessons for those people who identify in the Native situation a metaphor for their own lives. Here, the student needs to appreciate and prepare to live in at least two worlds simultaneously, using the skills they learn from each to enrich their lives. This pluralistic model favours complementarity and diversity and derives from the valuing of human life. It is informed by the need to preserve cultural values and ways of life from which aboriginal people were historically deprived.

In the context of humanistic pluralism, students in bicultural or multicultural environments may find they need to learn to make clear choices with regard to the elements of their personal culture which need to be maintained and those elements which can be subjected to adaptation or change. Having already learned the ability to decide based on Native culture, the process of appreciating the value of non-native cultures may become easier. Indeed, academic disciplines can ask students to move past their comfort zones without sacrificing their culture in the process. Two advantages of pluralistic awareness is that it places higher intellectual standards on the student (Perry, 1970) and that multicultural awareness is transformative.

Models exploring human transformation abound in the humanistic and transpersonal psychological literature (e.g., Tart, 1963). Such models commonly incorporate the medicine wheel circle (Dumont, 1989; Mussell et al., 1991), the Navajo circle (Emerson, 1987), or mandala-like variants from Carl Jung’s typology of thinking, feeling, sensing, and intuition. In appreciation of the importance of emotions, animals, and imagery in healthy education, for example, Gallegos (1992) modifies Jung's circular typology and describes how Western education focusses too heavily on thinking and sensing. Gallegos suggests that only by moving beyond these windows of knowing to feeling and imagery can the emotional and spiritual windows of knowing be acknowledged and encouraged to grow. This effort would most likely prevent the emergence of a spiritual crisis that might otherwise appear if these aspects of the person are neglected (Assagioli, 1986).

Rank (1968) has expressed the importance of the circle, as reflected in the art of a culture, for the collective yearning for immortality. "Dance, again, represents a combination of the temporal and spatial rhythms of infinity, in which the circle symbolizes the rebirth idea par excellence - the line in space that returns upon itself in time" (p. 352; italics author's). The circle, as represented in eye-ornamentation on totems or tattoos is of great importance to Native peoples. By indicating the sign of the tribe, the totem or
body-painting, as used for example in puberty ceremonies, is "a collective badge of the individual which robs him [sic] of his personality in order to include him in a community, and yet on the other hand does not merely label him, but enhances his individual significance..." (p. 30). Because of its personal, collective, and spiritual emphasis, Rank's (1958) work, first published in 1932, can be applied as a model of Native art education. Indeed, he traces artistic creativity "to a basic spiritual principle of...the gradual freeing of the individual from dependence" (p. xxiii) which links well with the strivings of Native people toward self-actualization. Presently, after a long history of Native arts being labelled inferior to European "masterpieces", Native art is now being viewed as inherently valuable (Chalmers, 19950. From a humanistic and particularly a transpersonal perspective, to include arts in Native education is yet another way to acknowledge the soul and spirit of the Native person's culture.

Gail High Pine (1973) and Beck and Walters (1979) discuss the importance of Native spirituality, which is also acknowledged from the perspectives of humanistic and transpersonal models of education (e.g., Archibald & Bowman, 1995; Assagioli, 1986; Yazzie, 1994). While conventional Western education practices emphasize scientific universality, neutrality, reductionism, rationalism, and objectification, they do not acknowledge or appreciate the value of emotional and creative experiences housed in different "non-scientific" cultures. Concepts of being, becoming, person-centredness, and holism are common to these three traditions (Couture, 1985). Like the selfhood of those in other cultures is presently undergoing revision, "Indian identity is redefined, in terms of twentieth-century conditions...And fundamental, traditional elements are re-expressed and presented as fresh inspiration for renewed action" (Couture, 1985, p. 5).

Such inspiration also appears in a form of temporal transcendence in the humanistic and transpersonal perspectives. Through this transcendence, the past is acknowledged while the present receives focus and the future undergoes revision. In 1992 on Vancouver Island, an elder Louis Crier spoke on behalf of the Indian Association of Alberta in a way consistent with this approach:

"In order to survive in the twentieth century, we must really come to grips with the white man's culture and with white man ways. We must stop lamenting the past. The white man has many good things. Borrow. Master and apply his technology. Discover and define the harmonies between the two general cultures, between the basic values of the Indian way and those of western civilization, and thereby forge a new and stronger sense of identity. To be fully Indian [and human] today, we must become bilingual and bicultural. We have never had to do this before. But, in so doing, we will survive as Indian people, true to our past. We have always survived. Our history tells us so" (Couture, 1985, p. 4).

Words like this might offer a strong sense of empowerment, again like the humanist and transpersonal models (Taylor, Crago, & McAlpine, 1993). But if these models are introduced suddenly, the restructuring of aboriginal communities inherent in the change from governmental and religious to aboriginal control may yield errors in judgement due only to a lack of experience in the matters of decision-making in an educational context. For example, a decision about whether staff should be comprised solely of aboriginal people might bring up discussion of the issue of respecting cultural knowledge as against being the "right race". Likewise, a decision about whether the school should admit only Native students might lead to arguments pitting the cognitive value of pluralistic models against the divisive nature of segregation. Another choice may involve the creation of culturally relevant instructional and testing materials and the pacing of their implementation by teachers. Thus, empowering words are only the beginning, and they have their manipulators and skeptics. As Mussell et al. (1991) warn:

"Those who were raised and continue to live in an oppressive environment usually accept the treatment as being normal and often choose leaders who perform in oppressive ways. They were deprived of teaching/learning opportunities which promote the development of knowledge or working tools necessary to understand clearly the inner and outer forces in their lives and therefore they have serious difficulty finding their own answers or solutions" (p. 17).

Constructivist and Diversity Models

A recognition of diversity in society and in educational institutions has been central to much of the preceding discussion. Accordingly, also figuring prominently has been an acknowledgement of cultural influences on differing world-views. As already discussed, Vygotsky and Whorf's theories support the notion that the language conveyed by the cultural milieu, especially as mediated by education, participates in the construction of the thoughts and feelings of the individual. Two prototypical examples are the misnomered "discovery" of North America by Columbus and the label "Indian" imposed on aboriginal peoples. Historically, Columbus did not "discover" this continent, although the 'fact' that he did is portrayed in high school history books.

Also, beliefs vary considerably around whether or not the structure of the educational system should represent the "real world" outside the institution. For those favouring segregation, who have very real experiences of assimilation and deculturation, attempts to represent the "real world" mirror on-going attempts to assimilate them. Instead, a purely Native institution would likely be the best way to promote change in the real world. On the other hand, those favouring a pluralistic model might opt for a majority First Nations student-body taught by First Nations instructors hired preferentially over equally qualified non-Natives. Each of these models have their own difficulties.

Probably the key debate regarding a model for curriculum development at all levels of the Native educational system is based on conflicting assumptions about how knowledge is constructed. Constructivist literature is rapidly expanding in application to multicultural issues (for recent developments, see Banks, 1993; Tetlock, 1994). The prevailing assumption within European-based society has generally been that, by virtue of a value-free scientific methodology, beliefs and values of researchers or teachers have absolutely no effect on the generation of conveyance of knowledge. But feminist scholars and constructivist theorists point out that knowledge has both subjective and
objective components and both aspects need to be acknowledged and openly discussed.

Even Roger Speery, a giant in the field of brain science has done work questioning seriously the "value-empty and mindless cosmos" perpetuated by empirical science. In fact, he was rewarded posthumously by his colleagues on his models of mind which include subjective qualities, values, and a revision of science itself (Speery, 1995). Indeed, in his argument with behaviourist B.F. Skinner, humanist Carl Rogers pointed out that values may be promoted by science, but they are not controlled by it (Feist, 1994). Further, blindly following empiricism takes for granted the positivist values underlying science and may not be interpreted in a favourable light by today's inquiring mind.

Recalling the preliminary results reported earlier that more Native students tended to dislike their texts, the selection and use of textbooks is an important example reflecting the values of academe. Especially in teaching psychology for mostly First Nations students, the selection of appropriate texts is a difficult task and can place the instructor in a dilemma between the academic standards of educational institutions to which students may eventually transfer, and the needs and interests of students who are predominantly First Nations. However, textbooks "present a highly selective view of social reality, give students the idea that knowledge is static rather than dynamic, and encourage students to master isolated facts rather than to develop complex understandings of social reality" (Banks, 1993, p. 11). Thus, there may be disapproval of this static "paper reality". Likewise, scientific vocabulary seems to some students, to have very little relationship to their life experiences and aspirations.

It seems reasonable to conclude that students can enter classes with a set of beliefs and values that conflict with the scientific world-view. The instructor's challenge then is to promote, validate, and highlight the personal and cultural experiences of students at the same time as challenging them to expand whatever cultural boundaries may be making circumscribed territories of their minds (Banks, 1993; Galegos, 1992). This pluralistic strategy will hopefully enable students to communicate at a higher level of confidence and competence, thoughtfully, with feeling, and with knowledge of both Native life and human existence more generally. Having spent time in class exploring how knowledge is constructed, examining critically the contributions of both personal and cultural assumptions and biases to their own knowledge-base, the student is then prepared to adapt to life wherever they choose (Banks, 1993; Couture, 1985; Emerson, 1987).

**First Nations Traditional Model**

No consideration of multiple perspectives on Native education would be complete without the First Nations traditional model. Although no written records prior to contact with Europeans are available, the extended family, especially elders, presumably played a key role in the ongoing practices of environmental adaptation and child-rearing in aboriginal communities. Child-rearing included virtually all members of the extended family, from parents, to aunts and uncles, to cousins (e.g., Couture, 1985). Elders were the purveyors of culture and told stories to provide lessons to the young so that life would continue as it had for thousands of years. The elders' lessons told that in the wilderness, reflective observation was paramount. If the Native person was to move, and danger was present, death could result. Caution and quietness were valued because survival depended on them (Knudtson & Suzuki, 1992; Ross, 1992; Wax & Thomas, 1961). Especially important were stories of how to respect the plants and animals, and how to respond to the rhythms of nature, for example, when the time had come to make preparations for hunting and gathering, a vision quest, or for the birth of a child. It was, correspondingly, the responsibility of the young to listen to the stories the elders told, to watch how the elders behaved, and to carry the culture to their youth as they themselves became elders (Couture, 1985; Dawson, 1993; Emerson, 1987; Ross, 1992; Wax & Thomas, 1961).

Therefore, following the model of pre-contact traditional times, curricula which link the cultural past with information about the contemporary structure of society can best ensure the most adaptive form of cultural continuity into the future (Emerson, 1987; Ross, 1992). Thus, it would be wise to include Native elders, preferably from local bands, in the educational system. This would promote multi-generational interconnectedness with the community at large. To maintain connection with the meaning of extended family, interpersonal conflicts experienced between students or involving teachers may be treated using circles and following family systems theory. Also, written or oral assignments could be directed towards the extended family as the audience, again promoting interconnection with the community (Ward, Shook & Marrion, 1993). Oral assignments would tend to preserve the oral traditions in First Nations communities, although these may be difficult for students who live by an ethic against shame which could be violated if they were seen to make "mistakes" in front of the group (Ross, 1992; Wax & Thomas, 1961).

One final word to the non-Native instructor who might naively follow the Native traditions and consult Native elders for advice. Like your own ancestors, they are worthy of respect, but remember they are still human.

**Conclusion**

Those who favour strict segregation (even violence) as a means for achieving Native self-government (Berry, 1981) may argue against the entire approach in this paper as cultural appropriation. One other critique may be that it is impossible for a non-Native person to step out of the mindset of Euro-Canadian psychology and to acknowledge the need for a unique definition of Native psychology (Gibbs, 1988). But such critical Native cultural values as spirituality have neither been stolen nor ignored. Instead, they have been given the attention and recognition they deserve. Further, by acknowledging the variety of historical and contemporary perspectives that have been the source of different forms of education in Native communities, a useful place for psychology in Native life can be demonstrated and applied holistically and constructively to a more complete understanding of Native education. Thus, the lessons of the conflicts involving Natives and non-Natives in Native education systems in Canada may also receive due attention.

To guide readers to an overall understanding of this review, the following reflections may be useful:

2. Avoiding stereotyping acknowledges diversity (qv. cautions, Berry, 1981; Collier, 1993; Safran et al., 1994) among both Native and non-Native groups. Stereotyping Natives as being all alike in their "cooperative" worldview does not allow for those who may use Native values in an effort to promote their own self-gain; as well, it may perpetuate prejudices and inter-cultural conflict by exaggerating differences between Natives and non-Natives. Likewise, stereotyping non-Natives as being all alike in their "competitive" view may alienate those who would rather work in an organizational climate that values cooperative, respectful ways out of the destructive effects of competition.

3. Psychological models of Native education are applicable in important ways to education in general, especially for educating other groups who have been forced to experience discrimination, assimilation, and acculturation, contrary to what their own personal culture would dictate. These groups include minorities, the physically and mentally disabled, women, and even "the white man".

References


Emerging Teacher Role Identity: Northern Aboriginal Voices

David W. Friesen, University of Regina and Jeff Orr, St. Francis Xavier University

Abstract

Aboriginal teachers have only recently begun to take their place in Canadian school systems in significant numbers. This paper presents the stories of eight teachers, part of a larger qualitative study of thirty-six graduates from an Aboriginal teacher education program in northern Saskatchewan. These teachers talk about their early experiences, their Aboriginality embodied in language, place and northern way of life, and their influence on students, schools and communities. The stories portray an emerging Aboriginal teacher role identity with personal, pedagogical and political dimensions.

A Question of Voice in Aboriginal Education

The secret of teaching is to be found in the local detail and the everyday life of teachers; teachers can be the richest and most useful source of knowledge about teaching; those who hope to understand teaching must turn at some point to teachers themselves. (Schubert & Ayers, 1992, p. v)

Aboriginal teacher education programs have played an important role in shaping the educational landscape in Canada since the 1970's. Increasing numbers of graduates from these programs are employed in a variety of school systems as teachers, consultants and administrators. These graduates represent the first sustained wave of Aboriginal teachers and are beginning to have an influence on the culture of Canadian education.

In this paper, the stories of eight graduates of the Northern Teacher Education Program (NORTEP) are presented. As part of a larger qualitative study of thirty-six graduates of NORTEP, the paper wrestles with the emerging roles of Aboriginal teachers. This study is the first to explore the influence of Aboriginal teachers on students, schools, and communities in northern Saskatchewan.

The NORTEP Story

Embedded in the political context of the movement towards self-government by First Nations, Aboriginal teacher education programs have emerged in many regions of Canada. A report by the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB, 1972), Indian Control of Indian Education, set the stage for the move towards Aboriginal teacher education. These programs have been a response to the problem of university access for Aboriginal people due to the "continuing deficiencies and problems in K-12 education" (Archibald et al., 1994, p. 191). Some of these programs provide entry to on-campus programs, others are modifications of regular programs, and still others are off-campus programs with strong Aboriginal control.

In Saskatchewan, a variety of "TEP's" — Aboriginal teacher education programs — began in the 1970's. Though each program embodies unique features, all combine a mixture of program design, tutorial counselling, student support, cultural orientation and adapted delivery modes which have resulted in very significant success rates for Indian and Metis students wishing to enter the teaching profession. (NORTEP, 1987, p. 2)

These programs were established to provide educational opportunities for Aboriginal people in order to ensure an informed citizenry and full participation in the economic life of the Province. With the highest per capita Aboriginal population in Canada, Saskatchewan has an obligation to reverse their under-representation in the teaching profession (p. 4). By 1987, the Saskatchewan TEP's had graduated just over 250 teachers.

One of the TEP's, the Northern Teacher Education Program (NORTEP), was established in 1976 to prepare teachers for northern Saskatchewan. This northern region encompasses over half of the land area of the province, but it is home to only 3% of Saskatchewan's one million people. Over two-thirds of the northern population are of Aboriginal ancestry, living in over forty scattered communities and reserves (Carnegie, 1991).

The first major purpose of the NORTEP program is to positively influence northern education through the provision of an off-campus, field-based, Aboriginal-oriented university teacher education program for Indian and Metis people. The second purpose is to contribute to northern social and economic development. To accomplish these two purposes, the program has set the following objectives: to reduce the level of teacher turnover in northern schools, to address the severe under-representation of Native teachers, to provide Aboriginal role models for northern school children, to reduce pupil-teacher linguistic and cultural barriers by promoting northern Aboriginal languages and culture in northern schools, to overcome school-community barriers, and to provide access for northerners of Aboriginal ancestry to post-secondary education and salary-based employment (Carnegie, 1991, p. 39). NORTEP is governed by a Board of Governors comprised of elected members from the Northern Lights School Division, the Meadow Lake Tribal Council and the Prince Albert Grand Council. Both universities in the province approve instructional staff and
courses and work in partnership to grant degrees, while funding is provided by both provincial and First Nations governments.

NORTEP offers a four-year B.Ed. program in elementary and middle years education, a recently begun small-scale secondary program, and a two year introductory program in Arts and Science. Students spend several weeks at the La Ronge centre taking courses, and then return to their home communities to work with an experienced teacher for a week to two weeks every month. Besides core classes in Indian studies and Aboriginal languages, all NORTEP-based courses are infused with northern Aboriginal perspectives with the specific purpose of preparing teachers who can understand and teach with an Aboriginal and northern focus.

As of 1994, NORTEP has graduated 179 teachers of which 133 are currently teaching, attending university, or working in an education-related field. One hundred and eight graduates are classroom teachers working primarily in band operated or provincial schools in northern Saskatchewan (NORTEP, 1994). In the Northern Lights School Division, the largest northern provincial school division, the percentage of Aboriginal teachers increased from 3% in 1976 to 25% in 1990 due to the availability of NORTEP graduates (Carnegie, 1991, p. 59).

The Program Review of NORTEP (Carnegie, 1991) claims that it has been an effective teacher education program. Its credibility arises partly from the fact that the program is "arm's length from government rather than government controlled" (p.156) and adheres to the principle of Aboriginal northerner participation. NORTEP is perceived as having been successful in meeting its goals and objectives through "a community-based, inter-agency cooperative model" (p. 157). The field-based education delivery model has apparently produced graduates who are suitable for northern classrooms. Yet no study has explored this program from the perspective of the teachers themselves. What are their stories of their influence in shaping northern education?

Researching Silenced Lives

NORTEP teachers have been prepared to teach with a cultural focus, and so we are interested in their perspective as Aboriginal educators. What is an Aboriginal teacher role identity? How is it shaped by the northern Aboriginal context? What tensions does this identity create? How does it influence curriculum, pupil-teacher relations, and school-community relations?

We believe Aboriginal teachers have compelling stories to tell about their place in a school system, which has been controlled by the dominant culture and has served to silence Aboriginality. Researching the lives of Aboriginal teachers will help us understand how they are influencing the mainstream educational system. Our interest is not in evaluating NORTEP or its graduates; nor do we want to compare the graduates to those in other programs. We agree with Ivor Goodson (1991) that as we attempt to understand the lives of teachers, "practice promises maximum vulnerability" because it is a "deeply unequal situation" (p. 148). Therefore we decided not to observe their practice because we thought this may divert our attention away from their voices and serve to silence their perspective about their roles.

A life-history, narrative approach (Goodson, 1992) provides a way to see their influence through their eyes, and to hear their stories through their voices. We have taken this research path because we believe it has the greatest potential to provide valuable insights into the evolving nature of Aboriginal education. McLaren (1993) claims that "translating an experience into a story is perhaps the most fundamental act of human understanding" (p. 206). However, from a hermeneutic perspective following Gadamer's philosophical theory of interpretation (1977), the study involves more than excavating stories. It takes the form of a dialogue between the participants and the researchers in a search for a "fusion of horizons, in which the perspective of text and reader are combined into a new and more encompassing horizon" (Widdershoven, 1993, p. 13). The role of the researcher as "hermeneut" (LeCompte, 1993) involves a search for deeper understanding of the lives of Aboriginal teachers.

The voices of the silenced need to be shared with non-Aboriginals. LeCompte (1993) claims that researchers enact the role of "culture broker" when they bridge the gap between high status and low status groups. They do this by framing the "narrative within a social, economic, political, and historical context" (p. 14). This research presents the stories of Aboriginal teachers within the northern cultural and social context in an effort to promote understanding between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals.

This research is also located "within an emancipatory epistemological and practical approach to curriculum inquiry" which attempts to give teachers "the power to transcend their present situation" (Butt, et al., 1992, p. 56). The telling of these teachers' stories is an interpretation of life, but it is also "part of the process in which identity is created" (Widdershoven, 1993, p. 7).

Peter McLaren (1993) suggests that "identities are partly the result of the narrativity of social life" (p. 203). Certain narratives are sanctioned while others are discounted for "ideological and political reasons" (pg. 203). Therefore, we join with these teachers in helping them construct their teacher identity by listening to their stories and telling them to others, and by giving the stories back to them in focus groups.

This part of the research involves the role of activist (LeCompte, 1993). McLaughlin and Tierney (1993) suggest that research in the postmodern era must maintain the modernist standards for social science research of accuracy and representation, at the same time that it seeks to go beyond the positivistic pitfalls of "disengagement and objectivity." They call for researchers to become involved with the research participants to change "those conditions that seek to silence and marginalize" (p. 5). McLaughlin (1993) uses the notion of "voice" to describe the research act as a "twofold process of speaking out: first, speaking out publicly; then doing so as a form of protest [which] leads to actions that contest marginalizing, silencing arrangements in schools in particular and society as a whole" (p. 97). Following this lead, our research is more than a search for new knowledge resulting in publication; it is also a commitment to a continued relationship with Aboriginal educators in northern Saskatchewan in their ongoing struggle for voice.

Goodson and Cole (1993) remind us that studying teachers' lives must go beyond the personal and professional components to studying the "micropolitical and
contextual realities of school life" (p. 72). Because of the Aboriginal social and political context of self-determination, we believe studying Aboriginal teachers' lives is vital to our understanding of their beliefs about public education. Teacher stories from an Aboriginal perspective can help us understand how that context influences an Aboriginal teacher role identity, and how these teachers live in the tensions created by that context.

We realize that as white middle class males, cross-cultural research can be problematic. Both researchers are former NORTEP faculty members and all of the teachers interviewed were our former students. The relationships we developed with these teachers while at NORTEP drew us back to hear and share their stories of teaching. Through this research experience we realized our obligation to share their stories in the non-Aboriginal world. Because of the mutual trust which was cultivated over the years we served at NORTEP, these teachers agreed to share their stories.

The stories were collected in two northern communities. The first, a Cree First Nations community, has a band-controlled school. The second, is the largest economic centre for northern Saskatchewan. About half of the population are Aboriginal. This community contains both provincial and First Nations schools.

Stories of Teachers' Aboriginality

Aboriginality is a more refined claim than ethnicity) to distinctiveness based on historical experience. It emphasizes status as the original occupants of a place, adding depth to the idea of cultural differences. (Levin, 1993, p. 4)

We share our emerging understandings of northern teacher Aboriginality through stories about their early experiences before becoming teachers, stories about their experiences with their Aboriginality (language, northern Aboriginal ways, and northern place), and stories about their influence on the educational system. Although we will share our categorizations of people's Aboriginality, we are not suggesting that it means the same thing, or is shaped in the same way for all people. These stories show that Aboriginal identity is a social construction which is shaped and manifested through the intersection of race, class, gender, language, (McCarthy & Crichlow, 1999) and family.

1. Paths to Aboriginality: Stories of Early Experiences

Participants often told us about their experiences before they became teachers. These stories are about experiences that formed, silenced and awakened Aboriginality.

Forming Aboriginality

Stories of the forming of peoples' Aboriginality occurred through a variety of social experiences. Some teachers talked about their early formation of Aboriginality through their relationship with grandparents in traditional trapline settings. This inter-generational socialization had a profound impact upon their becoming as Aboriginal people. The following stories focus on three recurring values in the stories: patience, respect, and sharing.

Rose’s story provides insight into how the values of respect for the land and sharing were formed as a child growing up in a Cree community.

My grandparents talked to me about giving things back to the Earth and giving gifts. You don't take all the berries, you leave some berries. You have to leave something. If you take all of it and then try and put something back, it wouldn't be the same. I was really exceptionally close to my grandmother so I spent a lot of time with her. She taught me a lot of things. I learned just by being around her.

We'd go into the bush and then she'd tell me something. I had to be there at the right time in order for her to tell me things. My grandmother had two buddies that she used to walk around and do stuff with in the bush.

They told me things that often had something to do with the spiritual things or they would tell me something like, “this plant is good for this and this plant is good for that.” Those are the kind of things that stuck in my mind because I wanted to learn. And, these are the things that I tell my children now. (Rose)

Rose's sense of “giving back to the earth” shows an Aboriginal sense of obligation to respect the land. Her memories of learning through observation from her grandmother have shaped her Aboriginal knowledge. It represents a form of knowing which is rooted in the Cree tradition which values the sacredness of the land.

Marie also talks about the values of patience and respect she learned in her early years.

I grew up in Stanley and also on the trapline. My grandparents used to take me trap lining during holidays. During the summer we'd go to a fishing camp on La Ronge Lake. I remember going snaring with my grandmother, and going with my grandfather to check his traps, and helping them out. I learned to respect the land and to be patient, because they were very patient. I learned about family closeness and what it means to be secure and to take on responsibility and not to complain. From the way they raised me and treated me and what they taught me, I knew that they loved me. (Marie)

The land and traditional Cree cultural activities which Marie remembers are connected to a sense of her Aboriginality and her learning about the need to respect the land and to live her life as a patient person.

Isador discusses how time spent with his grandmother helped him to learn the Aboriginal values of sharing, respect and patience.

I remember my grandmother teaching me things. I remember her constantly making birch bark baskets and I used to go out with her and there would be a whole bunch of birch trees around in the woods. She would look for the right type of birch and the right type of roots. I remember her
being selective and not just taking whatever you come up with first.

Just being patient, I suppose, and being able to get what you want that's really appealing to you. She didn't just go out in the bush and say "Okay, this will do, and if you don't like it throw it away." That's not the way she was. It was a matter of selecting certain trees and not wasting stuff. That's what I remember about her. There are things that she taught me that have influenced who I am today.

The value that they taught me that really sticks in my mind is respecting older people. You'd go visit and you would go in the door, but you stood by the door until they told you to come in or sit down and take off your shoes. If they didn't tell you to take off your shoes, that was probably because they were doing something else. If they didn't tell you to take off your shoes, you just stood there by the door and visited by the door. People used to share quite a bit. Anybody that would kill a moose would share it. You didn't have to ask because if they knew you were out of food they would provide you with something to keep you going. They knew who needed what and there was respect, sharing. People didn't say that one family was better than another family. People were trying to be on an equal basis for everything. (Isador)

These stories remind us that to understand Aboriginal teachers, it is necessary to gain insight into their socialization to the Aboriginal world through their early experiences. This helps us see that family learnings are powerful shapers of Aboriginal values.

Silencing Aboriginality

Many stories were about students experiencing a silencing of their Aboriginality during their school years. Isador, for instance, speaks about the negative experience of attending a residential school. He recounts the removal of his freedom to connect with the land, the silencing of his language, and the clash between his Aboriginal sense of spirituality and non-Aboriginal religion, which he was forced to practice.

I started school, at age nine and that was a totally different experience. At first it was scary because it was one big building and everybody slept in this one big room. There were people from back home but it wasn't like being with your family. You were just a number and it was different and it was scary. You didn't know anything. You knew something but you didn't know how to approach the nuns, the priests, or the brothers because they had their own set of rules to follow. The first three years weren't all that happy because I wasn't used to being away from home. I was learning a whole new lifestyle and I was cooped up in one building and not able to do what I wanted to do like go out in the bush to hunt birds or animals wherever you wanted to go. That was taken away from us and you couldn't cope with that. We had to live by a set of rules which we didn't know how to approach and we were constantly watching over our shoulder and wondering "what would happen if I did this? They didn't like the fact that we spoke our own language, whether it be Cree or Dene. But we spoke our own language away from the priests and the brothers whenever you went into the bush on weekends to set snares. Their philosophy of religion was practically shoved on me and I didn't have any say over it. They practically wanted you to become a priest and it wasn't really related to the way that I was brought up. Although my parents were religious, they still had a lot of respect for the land. They knew that all these things came from somewhere and if you destroyed that then you destroyed everything else around you. Church, to me, is not just going to a building and sitting there and meditating. So I came to the belief that church is out there because the land was put there for a reason for people to use destructively or productively, whichever way you want to look at it. It is out there for a reason and you have to respect that. (Isador)

Isador's ongoing sense of the importance of his Aboriginality comes through clearly in his story and it points to the value of Aboriginal language, the land, and a northern way of life in the shaping of his identity. The role of the residential school in silencing his sense of Aboriginality through the control of his words, thoughts and actions is not a pleasant memory. He had gone through a nurturing stage in his development as an Aboriginal person, but then found himself in a culture which contradicted and denied his emerging sense of Aboriginality. There was no attempt by the residential school to affirm his Aboriginality and to help him bridge his Aboriginal ways of knowing with the ways of the mainstream society.

Other teachers who were not removed physically from their homes, nevertheless, talk about the strangeness of the curriculum which they experienced in day schools. Although their lives were not as totally controlled by the school system, the day school curriculum often clashed with their Aboriginality.

As a child, going to the provincial elementary school was very different from my trapline experiences. My grandparents let me experience the trapline without formal teaching. They would involve me in all aspects of the work out there. When I went to school I was self-conscious about my poor use of English; I didn't want to speak out loud. I felt inferior. In high school I regained my confidence because the school had switched to a Band-controlled system. For the first time, our language and culture became a serious part of the curriculum. (Robert)

I don't remember a lot of the English lessons, but when we were in Grade 5, I remember one teacher was talking about the Second World War and we were watching films on the Second World War. I always wondered, "why did they show us those films?" He was very serious about it. I remember him slapping his hands on my desk and I just jumped up. I think that's the most vivid memory of my elementary years with an English-speaking teacher. Most of my teachers were very nice but I never spoke any English at all when I went to Kindergarten. I was submersed and I
Lillie’s story speaks of the way that other aspects of the social context in which these teachers lived marginalized their Aboriginality.

One of the things that I remember about being in Molonosa was when they would show movies, you know, the westerns. I remember thinking about all those damned Indians and I didn’t even realize they were us. I always thought maybe they were a different people than we were, I guess. (Lillie)

For some, schooling and living in a context in which their Aboriginality was denied, resulted in alienation. For others, it was an opportunity to learn the ways of two worlds. For all, there was a degree of silencing of Aboriginal ways.

Awakening Aboriginality

Despite the fact that most people, for various reasons, experienced a silencing of their Aboriginal identity, the eight teachers whom we studied, all experienced an awakening of their Aboriginality. Their time at NORTEP often served as a way to help them return to some of the Aboriginal aspects of their identity. For Sally, NORTEP provided the space which allowed her to gain confidence in her Aboriginality.

Before I attended NORTEP I wasn’t as outspoken as I am now — I would listen and not say anything. But the experience of being with other Aboriginal people, reading and discussing new ideas changed me as a woman. I became proud of who I was. I became able to talk to people, to express how I felt, able to fight for something, not only for what I wanted, but also for what I thought was right. I graduated as a teacher from NORTEP in 1981 with abilities that enabled me to assume the [additional] positions of mayor and medical dispenser in a remote northern community. (Sally)

For Lillie, NORTEP made her aware that her experiences as an Aboriginal person were part of a larger history that had not been told as part of her schooling.

NORTEP gave me more self-confidence. I think the Indian studies courses helped me a lot. There are so many things that I learned that I didn’t even know about. Like the history and background. I would get really excited and I would go home and tell my mom what I learned. I would get really excited and sometimes we would both get really mad at some of the things that happened in our history. I guess before NORTEP I wasn’t too proud of being an Aboriginal person. I felt a lot different after I finished NORTEP. I felt a lot stronger about where I came from. There was nothing to be ashamed of. (Lillie)

For others, NORTEP helped to integrate an already well-established Aboriginal identity with the values of the non-Aboriginal world. Rose, who had developed a strong Aboriginal identity through her time spent with elders, found NORTEP to be a place which helped her build strategies to live within the non-Aboriginal world.

NORTEP taught me how to survive in the educational system the way a Caucasian sees it. This is the way you're supposed to do things. This is the way you do your unit plans. There is that aspect of time again. You have to have your assignments handed in on time. You have to be able to share and I got that from both worlds. The aspect of sharing — I got that from the Anglicans at the residential school. To be good to your fellow human being is another value that helped me that I was taught at the residential school and also at home. You learn to balance the two things. I think once a person sees that this value is the same as this one, they have one value. So you just put it into one container. (Rose)

The threads of Aboriginal identity formation, the silencing of Aboriginality through school and social experiences, and the awakening to Aboriginal identity through NORTEP experiences, were woven throughout the stories told to us. This process of forming, silencing and awakening is common to these teachers and has important implications for Aboriginal teacher role identity. These teachers are more likely to be able to educate others in an Aboriginal way if their own Aboriginality is strong.

2. Lived Aboriginality: Stories About Language, Place and Northern Way of Life

As we interacted with teachers, we began to see that much of their talk focused upon stories about Aboriginal language, about their northern communities and environment, and about their northern Aboriginal way of life. This section of the paper shares a few stories that show how Aboriginality is manifested in these teachers’ lives through Aboriginal language, their sense of northern place, and their feelings about a northern Aboriginal way of life.

Aboriginal Language

Some teachers talked about the integral place of their Aboriginal language in their lives as teachers. Jessie strongly believes in the inclusion of Aboriginal language in the curriculum. Rose indicates that for her, language serves as the primary medium for the expression of Aboriginality. She talks about how she has used her classroom practice as a way to pass on the traditions of her culture.

Being proud as a people is linked to knowing one’s language and I am aware of the gaps that exist in relationships within families and communities because the languages have been forgotten. I feel strongly about having a role in changing this situation. The vision that I have for northern education is to create an interest in the retention and the learning of our Aboriginal languages. (Jessie)

I passed the elders knowledge on to the student population. I would just help the children through the Cree language program. It wasn’t to teach the language because they already had a stable hold on the language. It was sort of to revive and maintain the language so that it wouldn’t die. When we came across vocabulary that the children didn’t understand, I would tell them, “this is the way the grandfathers and the grandmothers
I, with her language. She explains how she integrates her
Marie also connects her role as a Cree speaker to the
importance of passing on cultural knowledge associated
months of the year with her language instruction.
Other teachers use Cree as a way to help children come to
understand the concepts of the curriculum, and focus less
on its cultural significance.

Sally talks about the knowledge of the land that some
children still bring to school, and the efforts she has made
to value and affirm this knowing. She also explains how
the land sometimes becomes her classroom, and the
significance she places upon developing students' sense of
place through cultural experiences on the land.

As a child of 12 years, I was out in the wintertime
checking the fish nets. Today, there are few
children who experience this: the trap-line culture is surely becoming an event of the past. As a
teacher, I have noticed that the students who do
go out on the traleine for a month or two in the fall
are more perceptive. They are very aware of their
environment and their relation to it, able to relate the
names of all the trees, plants, birds, and so
forth, in Cree, if they are Cree speakers, or in
English. We, as Aboriginal teachers, are teaching
our students about the trapline culture and the
values inherent within it, of living and working
together. Last year we took the Grade 5 class to
a remote area outside the community for a five-
day cultural camp. There they learned how to
snare rabbits and fish and how to set traps. At
night, the elders told legends as we sat around
the fire together. In addition to this cultural camp,
we have the children learn the arts of survival and
for this they will spend several nights in the out-of-
doors. (Sally)

The land is not the only meaningful "place" for these
teachers. School cultures which reflect Aboriginal values
are also spaces where Aboriginality finds expression. Sally
has found her place as an Aboriginal person in an
Aboriginal milieu. The northern school context has given
her the space to exert her Aboriginality at the same time
that she and other Aboriginal teachers have helped mould
it into an Aboriginal place.

This is a good place to work and I am happy to be
here. I am respected as an Aboriginal person and the
Cree language is central in the school: in the

Churchill River Basin has shaped his way of being with
students. It has helped him come to value the influence of
the land in determining his Aboriginality, and has led him to
use his Aboriginal knowledge of the land in his teaching.

I was fortunate enough to be raised by my
grandparents from about three years old until my
teenage years. There was always that system of
going with your grandparents for a year, two
years, or several months. I used to go out on the
river with my grandfather and we'd pick out these
medicines, and my grandfather would always put
something back in its place. I just learned by
watching; if you're going to take something from
the land you have to give back. I learned to be
connected to the land. He was teaching me the
whole idea of Aboriginal knowledge: Cree
language, cultural values, and the ways of the
Churchill River basin region. These stories and
legends that were told to me, these experiences
that I had, these excursions that we went on are
all coming back. I didn't lose them; I didn't forget
them; I just wasn't aware of them because I was
doing other things, but now they're back. The
knowledge that they've given me, and that I have
retained, is in me. (Robert)
Teachers also talked about their use of cultural knowledge in the classroom. Lillie understands that curriculum must be adapted to fit with the northern Aboriginal context. She does this by integrating Aboriginal knowledge and history of the community into her work with students. She understands the need to provide an alternative view of knowledge which includes Aboriginal examples of core learnings.

Northern Aboriginal Way

Teachers also talked about their use of cultural knowledge in the classroom. Lillie understands that curriculum must be adapted to fit with the northern Aboriginal context. She does this by integrating Aboriginal knowledge and history of the community into her work with students. She understands the need to provide an alternative view of knowledge which includes Aboriginal examples of core learnings.

Northern Aboriginal values are manifested in peoples' teaching as well. Rose talks about the way she works to infuse a sense of respect into her teaching. She shows how this and other values are integrally connected to her use of Aboriginal language in the classroom.

The foremost thing I always tried to bring across to the children that the elders had passed on was the concept of respect. Respect for people, respect for the environment, respect for yourself and how do you show respect to your fellow students. When you're learning the Cree language, you can't help but touch on some of the values. (Rose)

Marie explains her belief in teaching children about values of relating respectfully to each other. To her, teaching culture is inseparable from teaching values of living together in a caring way.

I'd like to get them to have more respect for each other and for themselves and learn the values of life and to accept one another. Just accepting and understanding another person before you make a quick judgment of that person. Try not to hate that person and to learn to appreciate other people and life and nature and everything through those values such as sharing and accepting one another, understanding, respecting. A lot of students have problems sharing things and I try to get them to do that in this class. When I am teaching I turn back to some of those ways, especially the patience. Elders' teachings have helped me to teach the students with more patience and to show respect. They have helped me to be patient and to show respect and understanding. When I was out on the lake I learned the same things that I learned at the trampoline. We were growing up in a loving and caring environment yet it was strict; because they were religious people. The Cree room rules of showing respect are about, kindness, and patience to other students, the teacher, and guests, I guess there's a connection and there's a reason why I chose them. (Marie)

As these teachers talked about their lives, their stories were saturated with references to Aboriginal language, their place in the school and community, and a northern way of life. These elements had a significant influence on their Aboriginal teacher role identity.
3. Making a Difference: Stories About Influencing Education

Over and over, these teachers told stories about their influence on the educational system which was usually related to their Aboriginality. We constantly heard stories about their influence on creating more of an Aboriginal perspective in schools, in communities, with parents, and with their students.

Many of the NORTEP graduates influence education as role models for northern children. Jessie and Sally talk about being role models.

I believe that the greatest impact I may have had in those years was that of a role model: one who taught and lived my Metis ancestry and, by speaking in my native language, strengthened their sense of community. In reflecting on my personal journey, I can see that, similar to many families of NORTEP graduates, my family was impacted when I became an educator. Education became the important focus in our home. My daughter became a teacher after me and, today, most of us have a university education. My father, many years later, expressed his gratitude for the education and employment his family had acquired. Recently, I was speaking at a school with a team of educators. When it was time for introductions, the principal said, "I’m going to introduce you, but you have to speak in Cree," to which I replied, "Sure, I'll speak in Cree!" As I walked up to the microphone and addressed the students and teachers in Cree, I realized I’d come full circle. I had played a role in bringing the language of my youth and of my people into the classrooms and the schoolyards of the north.

(Jessie)

Since NORTEP, I have been teaching in the same small northern community in which I was raised and went to elementary school. It appears that, as graduates of NORTEP, we have broken a pathway down which some of our families and friends have chosen to follow. My daughter and nephew have gone on to NORTEP to become teachers, and another daughter is just finishing her degree at a university in the south. My students were amazed that I would return to university for a year and so I told them that one is always learning. It pleases me that I have been able to go before them that they may know of opportunities in the world outside our little community. I think that the most important thing in my life is being able to contribute a little of myself to the students in my classroom and this is much more than just transmitting a curriculum. I've been trying to teach them what I have learned — that they can make a life for themselves outside our community without loss of their identity as an Aboriginal. (Sally)

Like many other Aboriginal teachers, Jessie and Sally see themselves as role models for the young people of the north by pursuing their education.

The role of NORTEP graduates in preserving a northern Aboriginal way of life is not as simple as transmitting a fixed culture. Isador finds that he is involved in a difficult process of determining the meaning of Aboriginal culture.

I guess you basically have to define what is native culture nowadays? Is culture just sending them out into the bush and learning how to set traps, how to set snares, how to cut fish, how to prepare hides? Can we present culture in a classroom setting that is kind of a model for being exposed to the community as a whole? It can be religion, it can be language, how you treat people, how you interact with people — elders. Do you go and visit the elders and listen to stories, or do they have to come to the classroom? When you talk about culture, it's a big area and I don't think you're able to teach a culture, per se, in a classroom setting. You've got to be able to live it; and if you're just sitting there in a classroom and just listen and get out of your culture, and not live it, what's the sense of it? Is it going to be straight language or do we take 15 or 20 kids and let them stay in the bush for a whole year with a teacher? So I guess Native people and our teachers and leaders that are interested in education need to be put together to define what they want? It's a tough question because I've known the word culture, to be bantered around ever since I started NORTEP. The parents say let's teach culture in a classroom but they don't come out and say what they mean by culture. So the input has to be within the community as well as through the parents. (Isador)

Robert faces a similar tension. He sees the cultural program as more than transmission of the past. As a bridge between the elders and the children, Aboriginal teachers are active in considering the knowledge of the elders in a modern context.

The cultural program has to be more than learning about values and the past. There are things that we can still do today to keep in touch with some of the things that we did in the past, which have changed. Skiing, kayaking, canoeing, running dogs, and snowshoeing are just some of these. We can't stop change. Some of the values and some of the things we value can still be continued in these ways. The teacher forms a link between the knowledge of the elders and the children. Many children may not be fortunate to have elders that they can go to because either they're in a different community or they're not closely enough related. Teachers have access to elders because they're part of the community and they know how to approach them. Whatever knowledge they seek from those elders, they can teach that to the children, or set up situations where the children learn some of the values, especially the values which are probably universal like respect and sharing. (Robert)

Teachers play a unique role in teaching Aboriginal culture and language. In many cases they do not have the full support from parents for the promotion of Aboriginal ways in classrooms. These teachers’ professional experience convinces them that recovering culture and language will better equip students for today's world, although as Sally tells us, this vision is not always shared by the community.
Being a teacher and knowing what is important for the children is quite different than being a parent. Many parents of the students have been schooled in a residential setting and believe that the children should be educated in English, not realizing how important it is to our culture that we speak our Native language. I have been teaching in the north now for many years and have found that the students who speak Cree as their first language have an easier time learning English. Those who come with an inability to speak good Cree have difficulty with English because they have not mastered either language. Our values are embedded in our language and thus my dream is to preserve the Cree language and teach our students of their past, of their roots which go deep into generations of life lived out on the northern traplines. (Sally)

Many of the teachers we talked to recognize the supportive educational environment of which they are an integral part. Their influence appears to be greatly enhanced by supportive school systems.

To my knowledge, this was, and is, the only school division in the province which has an Aboriginal languages team for both Cree and Dene. It gives its teachers the opportunity and the support to pursue a vision of bringing our languages back. Coming from a classroom teaching position into the central office has enhanced my vision of education. I am now beginning to internalize and develop an understanding about the division's goals and perspectives in education. In this setting, I know that I am not only an employee, but I am also one of the players who is interacting and growing as part of a very important team of educators. (Jessie)

Teachers generally find their home communities in which they teach to be supportive of their goal to live out their Aboriginality in their work. They are comfortable teaching in their home communities and consider their influence to far outweigh the problems created.

Teaching in my home community has not been a problem; in actuality, it is more like living within an extended family. In our culture, we call great aunts "grandmother," and I'm often called "auntie" rather than "teacher". (Sally)

The Elders of the band are involved in the goings on of the school and often drop in, and are so appreciative of hearing Cree in the classrooms. I value what the teachers on my staff have to teach me about my position and, thus, I solicit their feedback during regular staff meetings. My work in the community hasn't been difficult. People know me and the support I have received from parents has been excellent. I know they don't feel threatened about coming to see me, as might be the case with a non-Aboriginal. The students seem to accept me and feel comfortable. I know their parents and I speak in their language. For me, being a member of the community is very important. (Abe)

Billy's insistence on the use of Cree when he was interviewed for a job by his band council shows his desire to politicize and exert his Aboriginality beyond the classroom.

I was in there for an hour and forty-five minutes. Right off the bat one of the non-Aboriginal interview committee members asked me a question in English. He said, "Hypothetically speaking." What I saw was all Cree speakers interviewing me. I stopped him and said, "Do these people understand what you're saying?" So he asked them and they said "No". So I asked if we could proceed with this interview in Cree. They said, "Why not, if everybody agrees, then we will." So we did. They let me explain all the questions they read to me in English. So I had to explain to them in Cree what the question was, because they were struggling with it. So I explained it for them and then answered. The questions were ones that the superintendent had made up. I had to define things like philosophy of education in Cree. That was fun. (Billy)

Some of these teachers think that students need to learn to contest the mainstream histories which have marginalized and oppressed them. As Robert tells us, he influences his students by helping them understand their history from an Aboriginal point of view.

It's important to know your history. By understanding the way we were oppressed and marginalized, there is the opportunity to break out. My role as a teacher is to be a link between this Aboriginal knowledge and the students. This is a process of empowering students to understand their lives so they can change their situation. I think as Aboriginal teachers we have that responsibility. There are certain things that we have learned about our culture that we previously were not aware of because of the institutions that we've attended. We may be aware of other aspects and try to deal with them in the best way we can. And some things we have learned about our traditions are not necessarily good. We need to make sense of and use the good things and hopefully present these to the students allowing them to do what they can. We can't really dictate to them that they must be a certain way, but we can give them the opportunity to see things from an Aboriginal perspective. (Robert)

Aboriginal teachers' stories allude to the influence they have on schools, communities, parents, and their students. It appears that the position of teacher puts them in a place where they can promote Aboriginality.

Making Sense of the Stories

This paper has begun to explore the notion of Aboriginality in teaching. As we reflect on the stories, we see some common threads weaving a tapestry which helps us understand what it means to be Aboriginal teachers. Although there are likely a number of other dimensions to it, we feel we have gained some insight into the notion of an Aboriginal teacher role identity. In this interpretive part
of the paper, we make sense of this identity in light of these teachers’ early socialization experiences to the educational system, the northern Aboriginal educational context, and their sense of Aboriginality.

Knowles (1993) uses the idea of teacher role identity to refer to “the way in which individuals think about themselves as teachers — the images they have of self-teacher” (p. 99). He makes a very strong case linking teacher biography to subsequent teaching practice. Students come to teacher education, not as empty vessels, but with years of childhood, family, school and previous teaching experiences, which together form their ideas about teaching and learning. According to Knowles, teacher education experiences play a less important role than teacher biography in forming a teacher role identity. The stories of teachers suggest that there is a strong link between their unique northern Aboriginal experiences, and the shaping of an Aboriginal teacher role identity.

Northern Aboriginal teachers have experienced socialization to the school system differently than teachers from the dominant society. Because their childhood experiences have been embedded in Aboriginal language, northern way of life and environment, and because the school system in the past did not accommodate an Aboriginal perspective, these teachers generally experienced their early school years with varying degrees of alienation. Isador’s experiences in a residential school provide him with an image of school as a negative and irrelevant place even though he learned to function in another culture. His memories of teachers are not pleasant. For some teachers like Sally and Lillie, early schooling, although enjoyable, took place outside of an Aboriginal environment. For others like Robert and Marie, schooling in the home community did not reflect Aboriginal culture or language. As a visible minority, life experiences for all of them involved discrimination and injustice. Because of their Aboriginality, manifested in their language, connection to place, and northern way of life, these people come to teaching with a unique Aboriginal identity which resists socialization to the status quo.

We suggest that there are three key components to an Aboriginal teacher role identity. Each of these is unique to Aboriginal teachers. An Aboriginal teacher role identity has personal, pedagogical, and political orientations.

The first element in an Aboriginal teacher role identity, which is personally-oriented, involves a conscious desire of these teachers to live out their Aboriginality in their teaching. This element constitutes their pedagogical personality (Milius, 1992). Their teacher role identity is deeply rooted in a sense of being Aboriginal. Living out Aboriginality is oriented to one’s understanding of Self.

The stories we were told suggest that northern Aboriginal teachers have a clear sense of who they are as they strive to live out their Aboriginality in their teaching. Even so, we also heard stories of the difficulties encountered in this process. McNinch (1994), in a study on the recruitment and retention of Aboriginal teachers, identifies the struggle to live out Aboriginality in teaching as the question of “assimilation versus integration” (p. 76). Rather than just being competent teachers who also happen to be Aboriginal, these teachers envisage a teacher role which has Aboriginality at its center. Isador, Rose, Robert and Jessie are all involved as curriculum materials developers in northern Saskatchewan. They work to ensure that curriculum has an Aboriginal perspective. Marie is a Cree language instructor. Lillie and Billy both teach from an Aboriginal perspective in a band-controlled education system. Abe is the principal in a band-controlled system. He along with his primarily Aboriginal staff, work to make the school an Aboriginal place. All eight of these educators identify strongly as northern Aboriginal people.

To live out one’s Aboriginality in teaching demands an expanded teacher role. McNinch (1994) says that, in addition to being competent teachers, Aboriginal teachers are expected to “not only transmit but to retrieve and create Aboriginal culture, teach from an Aboriginal perspective, fight racism, and to be exemplary figures to both the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities” (p. 76). The teachers’ stories we have told in this paper reveal a strong commitment to exposing their students to the knowledge of the elders in addition to enacting the provincial curriculum. They play an important role in bridging the generational gap between children and elders. Rose talks about passing on the knowledge and values of the elders to the children; Robert refers to the teacher role as a link between the elders and children. To them, living out Aboriginality in teaching involves standing in this gap.

The place of elders in passing on Aboriginal knowledge has historically been a strong tradition in northern cultures. However, the stories of the Aboriginal teachers with whom we have worked, like Isador, tell us that elders have often been silenced by the domination of the formal school system. The clash of the Aboriginal and European worlds has diminished the influence of the elder in passing down Aboriginal knowledge. Societal pressures bombard children with a more Eurocentric world view of life. Schools have been staffed by teachers who, although well meaning, bring a culture and history, which privileges their own ways of knowing and marginalizes Aboriginality. Television, market forces, and the dominance of southern culture have also served to silence northern Aboriginality. Many of the teachers feel a responsibility to reestablish respect for the elders.

Northern teachers live out their Aboriginality by talking in their Aboriginal language to parents, students, and other teachers. They know the elders in the community and are able to continue learning from them. Schools in which there are several Aboriginal teachers begin to develop an Aboriginal culture as these teachers live out their Aboriginality. The link to the community is more apparent. Parents come and go. Aboriginal language is noticeable in the staff room and hallways. The school, like the one Abe administrates, begins to belong to the community.

The second element of an Aboriginal teacher role identity, which is pedagogically-oriented, is about being a role model of Aboriginality. Northern Aboriginal teachers have an image of themselves as role models for their own families, their students and their communities. This is not an image of being an Aboriginal role model who has “made it” into teaching, but rather, a responsibility to model Aboriginality in teaching and other aspects of community and family life. As such, it is a pedagogical orientation which is attuned to the Aboriginal being and becoming of students. As a pedagogical orientation, it is other-centered. Modelling Aboriginality provides a rationale for the relationships Aboriginal teaches form with their students. Seven of the stories tell us about the influences of positive
role models. Both Jessie and Rose have daughters who have followed in their footsteps. Northern students and community members are beginning to see that Aboriginal people can leave their communities to pursue education, without denying their Aboriginality. The graduates see themselves as role models in a setting in which few role models previously existed.

For these teachers, modelling involves a sense of responsibility to give back to the Aboriginal community a part of what they have been given by the community. Their memories of early school experiences that denied Aboriginality remind them of their responsibility to value Aboriginal language and way of life. As a pedagogical orientation, these teachers foster the development of students' Aboriginality by infusing the curriculum with cultural relevance. Rose, Abe and Isador have been involved in cultural camps for students and make use of local history. They see this as a way to develop the students' sense of Aboriginality. Robert sees this responsibility as giving students the opportunity to see things from an Aboriginal perspective. Others use Aboriginal language in the classroom to aid student learning. Through all of these approaches, these teachers model Aboriginality.

A final aspect of an Aboriginal teacher role identity, that is politically-orientated, is about improving education for Aboriginal people. Aboriginal teachers have an image of themselves as participants in the political process of recovering Aboriginal languages and culture, and gaining control of Aboriginal education. Their political orientation seems to be generally rooted in the self-determination movement. A sense of unity and direction in their purpose for being teachers is reflected in this pedagogical vision. Although the elders' way of educating children about their culture has been seriously affected by forces from the dominant society, we sense that Aboriginal teachers are contesting this Eurocentrism and making space for more Aboriginal ways in schooling. This suggests to us that the colonial approach to education is being shattered by a postcolonial way of being with children.

The political aspect of Robert's Aboriginal teacher role identity is manifested in his story about the need to empower students to change their situations. For him, this involves more than learning traditional culture; it involves students coming to understand their own marginalization as Aboriginal people. These teachers have a personal involvement in the history and current affairs they teach.

Not all of these aspects of Aboriginal teacher role identity are present in each individual teacher to the same extent. As McCarthy and Chrichlow (1993) remind us, identity is complex, changing and multi-faceted across and within individuals and groups. All of the participants' stories demonstrate a strong desire to live out their Aboriginality in their various educational roles, but they do so in unique ways.

In order to flourish and influence northern education, the three-fold Aboriginal teacher role identity described above demands a supportive context. The stories generally allude to a supportive educational context in northern Saskatchewan. Teachers in both the northern provincial and band systems find the schools to be receptive to their Aboriginality, and to curriculum change which values Aboriginal values and content. Both school systems in which the eight teachers work have curriculum departments dedicated to the development of Aboriginal language and culture. Although Cree language teachers like Marie undergo a certain degree of frustration in setting up a Cree language program, they recognize the support they get from their school systems.

NORTEP was regularly identified as a part of the supportive context for the development of Aboriginal teachers. Rather than working against their biographies, NORTEP affirmed the Aboriginal identity of the participants in this study. Knowles (1993) suggests that teacher educators need to "harness the life experiences of pre-service teachers and channel them into contributing to more developed and effective teacher role identities" (p. 147). For these teachers, NORTEP served as a way to help awaken their identities through affirmation of their life histories, and it helped integrate their Aboriginality with their teaching.

This tapestry of stories suggests that Aboriginal teachers live out an Aboriginal teacher role identity that strongly influences northern education. It is a role identity that manifests Aboriginality in teaching practice, provides Aboriginal role modelling for students, and is rooted in the political process of Aboriginal self-determination. These teachers represent a first wave of Aboriginal teacher professionals. As they live out their Aboriginality rooted in their language, culture and place, they are transforming curriculum, and relationships with students, parents and communities in northern Saskatchewan.

References


Biographical Statement

David W. Friesen is Associate Professor in Professional Studies in Education at the University of Regina. Jeff Orr is Assistant Professor in Social Studies Education at St. Francis Xavier University. Both have been extensively involved with Aboriginal teacher education.
The ethnocultural composition of the student population has changed so significantly in the last two decades that non-native English speakers outnumber native English speakers in many urban schools. This radical shift in student composition has had an important effect on the atmosphere and culture within the school system. Students are becoming increasingly aware of the multicultural nature of our society and its implications for education. Racially generated tension and violence within the school system is increasing; cultural groups are demanding more representation at the administrative level and a voice in the selection of material to be taught in the classroom. Community groups are using political and judicial means to challenge decisions made by predominantly white school boards. Affirmative action and anti-racist programmes are receiving increased support. As a result of these forces and the phenomenon of reverse discrimination, the ethnicity of "whiteness" is coming under close scrutiny in the workplace and in academic disciplines.

As students, white and visible minorities, pass through this changing school system and, subsequently graduate from it, are they in any way affected by their contact with the different ethnic groups found within their school environment? Are the students presently in the school system more tolerant and accepting of people from other cultures than their parents or grandparents? Are they more aware of their ethnicity than previous generations; i.e., are white students less certain of the ethnic identity?; are newly arrived Canadians more secure in the knowledge of who they are in terms of language and culture?

Have the teachers' attitudes towards their ethnicity and that of their students also been affected?

In order to try to answer some of these questions, the author set up a study with students and teachers (white and visible minorities) at the university level as well as teachers at the high school level. In what follows, research relevant to the study is presented, followed by the description of the study, the presentation and discussion of the results and, finally, suggestions for future research.

**Relevant Research**

In a recent publication, Flerras (1996, 65) indicates that the existence of racism on university campuses has been documented in many ways - eye-witness reports by victims, forums, university publications and calendars and comprehensive studies such as those at the Windsor, York and Guelph Universities. In many cases the discrimination has taken the form of racial slurs or remarks such as "Go back to where you came from", "If you don't like it here, you can leave." On the campus where the researcher works, an initiative by one of the faculties to set up a special programme for aboriginal students resulted in a number of racial incidents inside and outside of the classroom. Aboriginals were the target of racial slurs and racist attitudes. In response to this situation the same faculty has developed an innovative program which is working very well. In another faculty, students complained about a teacher who made discriminatory remarks concerning visible-minority students in the classroom (Personal Communication). The students felt lower personal self-esteem, anger and frustration as a result of these remarks.

Hocoy (1993) in a study for his master's thesis examined the relationship between ethnic identity and self-esteem for a group of Chinese students in the Toronto and Kingston areas. As part of the study, he asked the subjects to indicate if they felt discriminated against as a result of their being Chinese (visible minority). His results showed that the level of perceived discrimination was directly linked to whether or not the subject were foreign-born or Canadian-born and to levels of self-esteem. Foreign-born Chinese had higher levels of perceived discrimination than those who were Canadian born; however, the level decreased with the increased number of years that the foreign-born Chinese resided in Canada.

In another study involving 90 Chinese students at the University of Toronto, Pak, Dion and Dion (1991) reported that perceived discrimination had a negative effect on feeling of self esteem for all students but that female students suffered greater stress as a result of it. He described this in terms of a double-jeopardy effect - being female and visible in a white, male-dominated society. Their findings confirmed what Yee (1987) had found in a previous study:

Chinese Canadian women have had to cope with the immutable dilemma of being both nonwhite and women in a male-dominated society. This makes us doubly invisible and doubly silenced socially, politically and economically, and through history. (p.174)

In an edited work involving both gender and ethnic discrimination in the classroom, Solar (1993) presents research indicating that teachers give males more talk time than females, that they ask males more questions than females, that their responses to males' questions are more in-depth than females' and, finally, that the situation is compounded when females belong to a visible minority. Other research has shown that teachers have different expectations for students from non-mainstream cultures and, consequently, treat them differently in the classroom.
(Jackson and Cosca, 1974, Sadker and Sadker, 1982). As a result of this differential treatment, visible minority students are often shunted off into special programmes, trade and vocational programmes or self-help programmes that rarely produce highly paying and satisfying jobs (Sleeter and Grant, 1994).

In the study reported here, we build on previous research in two ways. First, we examined the discrimination felt by both visible and white students (a multiethnic as opposed to a uniethnic group) in a university context within Canadian society; second, we also asked teachers- both white and visible- working in the same context if they felt that ethnicity played a role in how they evaluated their students. For the purposes of the study, we used the terms Ethnic Comfort Index (ECI; see Appendix 1) rather than the Perceived Discrimination Scale to describe the subjects' integration into Canadian society. More specifically, we wanted to determine:

1) If there would be significant differences in terms of the ECI for white students, visible minority students and for teachers?

2) If the length of stay in Canada would vary indirectly with levels of the Ethnic Comfort Index for visible minority students?

3) If there would be differences in the levels of the Ethnic Comfort Index based on gender for visible minority students; i.e., would women be more sensitive to discrimination and, therefore, feel less comfortable in Canadian society than men (the double-jeopardy syndrom)?

4) If both teachers and students would see ethnicity as a factor in how students are evaluated or treated in class?

The Study

The study was carried out on the campus of the University of Ottawa in the winter term of 1995. The subjects for the research came from three different groups: visible minority students (VSM) and white students (WS) studying at the university and white and visible-minority teachers (T) and professors at secondary and post-secondary institutions in the National Capital Region. The students- white and visible minority- were recruited on a volunteer basis by the researcher who over a period of two months made regular visits to the cafeteria to ask students if they would like to participate in the study. He explained to them that while their anonymity would be guaranteed, he needed them to sign a consent form for ethical clearance. The two forms were collected and stored in separate envelopes thus assuring no possible method of linking a given set of responses to a specific student. In the case of the teachers, the forms were distributed by mail and the teachers were also requested to fill in the questionnaire and sign the consent form and to send both back to the researcher.

As a result of the two types of sampling procedures, 49 WS, 71 VMS and 68 T completed and returned the forms. The two groups of students were very similar in age (see Appendix I for a breakdown of the biographical statistics for the three groups; see Table 1 below for summary statistics)) with mean ages 1.7 (WS) and 2.0 VMS), respectively; the mean age of the teachers was 5.3. In terms of their length of stay in Canada, the WS and the T were very similar with the VMS having spent less time in Canada, a result that was certainly consistent with their status. When we look at the percentages of subjects in the three groups who were born in Canada, the VMS and the T are almost the mirror image of each other with 25% of VMS being born in Canada and 25.7% of T being born outside of Canada. In the WS group, 20% of the subjects had been born outside of the country. Finally, there was very little difference between the two student groups in terms of the time both had spent at the University of Ottawa.

### Table 1

Baseline Statistics on the Three Populations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Length in Can</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Born in Canada</th>
<th>Length of Time at U</th>
<th>Visible Minority</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>WS</strong></td>
<td>Mean 8.00</td>
<td>Mean 19</td>
<td>young</td>
<td>F = 39</td>
<td>Yes: 39</td>
<td>Mean 1.3</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>STD 2.4</td>
<td>Mean 1.7</td>
<td></td>
<td>M = 6</td>
<td></td>
<td>No: 10</td>
<td>STD 0.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VMS</strong></td>
<td>Mean 4.6</td>
<td>Mean 20</td>
<td>young</td>
<td>F = 23</td>
<td>Yes: 18</td>
<td>Mean 1.3</td>
<td>Yes: 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>STD 3.0</td>
<td>Mean 1.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>M = 45</td>
<td></td>
<td>No: 53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mean 53</td>
<td>Older</td>
<td>F = 44</td>
<td>Yes: 52</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>Yes: 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>T</strong></td>
<td>Mean 8.2</td>
<td>Mean 53</td>
<td>older</td>
<td>F = 44</td>
<td>Yes: 52</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>Yes: 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>STD 1.8</td>
<td>Mean 53</td>
<td></td>
<td>M = 9</td>
<td></td>
<td>No: 16</td>
<td>No: 57**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The teachers had a different scale (See Appendix 1)

** For a number of the variables, there were missing values.
In terms of gender breakdown, this variable was harder to control as one cannot determine ahead of time who will answer a questionnaire distributed by mail. The two most comparable groups are the T and the WS, both with an over representation of women, while the VMS group is more evenly distributed. In soliciting volunteers, the researcher found VMS males more willing to participate while female WS were more willing to volunteer than their male counterparts.

Finally, in terms of how the subjects perceived themselves in terms of their ethnicity, there seemed to be a certain amount of confusion or even contradiction for the VMS group. Although all participants indicated that they saw themselves as belonging to a visible minority, 9 of the students in the VMS group indicated that they did not belong to a visible minority. As this was only noted during data entry, it was not possible to question the students concerning the information in the biographical section of their questionnaires.

**Instruments**

To try to measure in as objective way as possible the different subjects’ perceptions of their status within Canadian society—what we will call the Ethnic Comfort Index (ECI)—we decided to adopt and adapt the Perceived Discrimination Scale developed by Hocoy (1993) for his master’s thesis on Ethnic Identity Among Chinese in Canada: its Relationship to Self-Esteem (see Appendix I). As we had to survey three different groups—WS, VMS and T—we had to develop three different versions of the grid. In addition, we had to accommodate differences in terms of the biographical data to be collected from the three groups.

Finally, we added the to teachers scale questions regarding their views of certain issues related to VMS: language use at home and at school, visible minorities as role models in the school and the evaluation of VMS. The original instrument and the adapted versions were submitted to two colleagues for critical comments. Based on feedback, the three versions of the ECI were revised and used for the study.

**Data Analysis**

In addition to basic descriptive statistics and frequency distributions, a number of the statistical measures were used to analyze the data sets collected. ANOVA’s were used to determine if any significant differences were found for the three populations in relation to the different variables. If differences were found, one-way analysis of variance using the TUKEY HSD Tests were carried out to determine if the identified differences were significant in nature. All analyses were conducted using the SPSS programme.

**Results and Discussion**

On all questions that compose the ECI (see Table 2 below), the VMS responded in a way that was significantly different from either the WS and/or the T. The response patterns of the VMS indicate that they do not feel as comfortable within Canadian society as members of the dominant white majority. These results confirm what a multitude of studies in the past have shown and what common sense should lead us to believe. Within this ECI, however, the responses of the three sample populations to specific questions suggest some interesting trends and future areas of research.

**Table 2**

Means and Standard Deviations for Ethnic Comfort Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q's</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Students: VM</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>One-Way Analysis of Variance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>SD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QA</td>
<td>2.60</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QAvis</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>1.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QB</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>3.50</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QC</td>
<td>2.60</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QD</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>1.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QE</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>1.60</td>
<td>3.20</td>
<td>1.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QF</td>
<td>2.60</td>
<td>1.60</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>1.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QG</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>1.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QH</td>
<td>2.90</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>1.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QI</td>
<td>2.80</td>
<td>1.60</td>
<td>3.90</td>
<td>1.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QJ</td>
<td>2.90</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>3.80</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QK</td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>4.30</td>
<td>1.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QL</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>1.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QM</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>2.10</td>
<td>3.80</td>
<td>1.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QN</td>
<td>2.60</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>1.90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Questions C, E, F and M (see Table 2, above) related to perceptions of ethnicity and evaluation indicate that VMS and T have differing views on the role ethnicity plays in student evaluation. In all cases, except M, VMS believe that their visibility influences how they are evaluated by their professors while professors indicated that ethnicity does not play a significant role. What is interesting in the response patterns is that all three groups indicated that they did not think that ethnicity played a positive role in the student evaluation— the means for all three questions were below 4.00, the neutral response level and 7.00 the maximum value. These results might be explained by the fact that many of the VMS came from the pure sciences; they told me that the teachers marked their papers using student numbers as opposed to names and, therefore, the possibility of discrimination based on ethnicity was not really an issue.

Another group of questions within the ECI that produced interesting responses was composed of G, H, I, J, K and L. The focus in all these questions is the perceived degree of acceptance and equality felt by the three groups within Canadian society today. For questions J K and L, significant differences were found among the three groups (See Table 2 above). Again the VMS feel more uncomfortable than either of the two other groups; however, the WS responses are closer to those of the VMS than the T whereas in most other cases the WS and the T’s responses are similar. When we look at the three questions under examination, it would seem that the young WS are more sensitive than the older teachers of their place within Canadian society. Formulated another way, younger students are no longer as confident (or no longer take for granted) as the previous generation of the privileged status of whiteness (McLaren, 1994). This change in attitude the result of the intense contact many of them have had with visible minorities throughout their schooling.

The higher scores for the VMS for these questions might be the result of what is known as double jeopardy (Pak, Dion and Dion, 1991). Canadians who are female and visible are discriminated against on two accounts in a white male-dominated society. The T’s group which is predominantly female certainly did not shown any sign of feelings of inferiority but this could certainly be attributed to other factors (e.g., age, career success). In responding to Question G- I always feel welcome in Canadian Society -the T answered in the opposite direction. In this case, both the T and the VMS indicated that they felt less welcome than WS. The T’s responses are in sharp contrast to those given for Question L- Canadians of other racial and ethnic origins often make me feel inferior (see Table 2). It is difficult to explain this difference in the T’s responses; what they seem to be saying is that while they do not feel inferior to people from visible minorities they do not feel as welcome as they once did in our society.

When the global ECI was used as the basis of comparison between the three groups, significant overall differences (r=.05) were found between the VSM Group and WS Group and the VSM Group and the T Group. When the same analysis was performed using gender as the variable, there was also a significant difference between Teachers and VMS (r=.05; see Table 3 below.) As there was not a sufficient number of males in the cells in the three subject groups, a similar analysis could not be run. Within the VMS populations where the male/female split was more balanced than in the other two populations, no significant differences were found for males and females for the ECI.

Table 3
Ethnic Comfort Index and Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sample Group</td>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Students</td>
<td>32.5918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>27.2206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visible Minority</td>
<td>45.1714</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What these means would seem to indicate is that the double-jeopardy solution proposed above does not apply in this case as it did in the Pak, Dion and Dion (1991) study as there is very little difference in the means for the total population and those for women only. In fact, in the case of the VMS, the ECI is noticeably lower for women only.

To determine whether or not length of stay in Canada had an effect on the VMS’s response patterns (as was the case in the Hocoy’s study), a further analysis was carried out with students who had been in Canada for less than 5 years (Group 1) and more than 11 years (Group 2). In addition to the variable in the Ethnic comfort Index, variables Q’s 2, 7 and 8 from the VMS could certainly be questionnaire were used. A significant difference was found for the two groups with the means for Groups 1 (N=21) and 2 (N=21) being 70.86 and 55.29 respectively. This difference confirms the results of previous research (Berry and Kim, 1988; Hocoy, 1993) indicating that it often takes new immigrants at least one generation to begin to “feel at home in their new homeland”.

While as mentioned above, analyses of the VMS sample using gender as the variable did not produce any significant differences between males and females, when length of stay in Canada x gender was used, interesting but inconclusive results turned up (see Tables 4 and 5 below).
Table 4
Mean scores for VMS by Length of Stay in Canada and Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of Stay in Canada</th>
<th>72:42: less than 5 years (n=19)</th>
<th>55:29: more than 11 years (n=21)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>68.22 Males</td>
<td>53.46 Females</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5
Mean scores for VMS for Length of Stay x Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of Stay</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 5 years</td>
<td>73.71 (n=17)</td>
<td>61.50 (n=2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 11 years</td>
<td>58.90 (n=10)</td>
<td>52.00 (n=11)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the data is not generalizable for lack of subjects in certain cells, it would appear that when males first arrive in Canada they are more sensitive to the cultural environment, more conscious of their ethnicity than women. It is only after a period of 10 years that their Ethnic Comfort Index begins to approach that of women. While one might attribute this in older members of a visible minority to the fact that the men would probably be in more intense and more frequent contact with people from other cultures- women being more frequently in the home- the case of students this is much less the case as both males and females have constant contact with members of other ethnic groups, at least in the university environment. These findings contradict those found by Pak, Dion and Dion (1991) in their study involving Chinese subjects. The double-jeopardy phenomenon mentioned in their study for Chinese women does not seem to have been evident in our study (see Table 3). One can only speculate on whether the ethnic composition of the group in our study had an effect on the results.

The results found in our study with subjects from mainly, Tamil, Lebanese, Chinese and Afro-Canadian confirm the findings of Hocoy's (1993) study with Chinese only. In his study, Hocoy found a difference in levels of perceived discrimination (our Ethnic Comfort Index) between foreign-born and Canadian-born Chinese (see Tables 6 and 7 below).

Table 6
Correlation Table: Foreign-Born Chinese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SE</th>
<th>ESP</th>
<th>EE</th>
<th>PD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-Esteem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Self-Perception</td>
<td>-.19*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Esteem</td>
<td>.23*</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.35**</td>
<td>-.23*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Discrimination</td>
<td>-.41</td>
<td>.35**</td>
<td>-.24</td>
<td>-.36**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years in Canada</td>
<td>.21*</td>
<td>-.32**</td>
<td>-.24</td>
<td>-.36**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SE: Self-Esteem
Perceived Discrimination
ESP: Ethnic-Self-Perception
EE: Ethnic Esteem
PD:
In commenting on the results found in his study, Hocoy (1993) says:

The correlations indicate that for foreign-born Chinese, the more recently they have come to Canada, the greater the discrimination they perceived, the more they saw themselves as Chinese (Ethnic Self-Perception), and the lower their Self-Esteem. However, the more time they have spent in Canada, the less the discrimination they felt, the less they saw themselves as Chinese, and the higher their Self-Esteem. (p.49).

The period of adjustment, then, that newly-arrived Canadians go through as they slowly acculturate to Canadian society would appear to be a universal phenomenon (see Berry and Kim (1988) for detailed descriptions of this acculturation process).

Upon first arriving in a new country, immigrants, especially those who are visible vis à vis the dominant group, are very conscious of their difference. 3 While the feeling of being different decreases over time, it may never go away for those who are the object of systematic discrimination.

Teacher-Specific Questions

For the 6 questions on the teachers' questionnaire focusing on issues concerning minority students in the school, the following means and SD's were found for the group as a whole (see Table 8 below; see Appendix I for questions).

When further analyses were run using length of time teaching and subject matter taught significant differences were found for specific questions. To examine the possible differences for length of time teaching, two groups were formed. In Group 1 are found all those teachers with 0-5 year experience (N=12); in Group 2 teachers with from 21-35 years of experience (N=14). Significant differences were only found for Q 18-the importance of having role models from visible minorities. More experienced teachers saw such role models as being more important than inexperienced teachers; the means for the groups were 6.00 (experienced) and 4.50 (inexperienced) respectively. It is difficult to know why such differences occurred. Two possible explanations might be possible. First, with the large number of incentives in Canada focusing on offering people who are under-represented in the workforce easier access, younger teachers might feel threatened by such initiatives and, therefore not open to such a suggestion. Second, older teachers who did not grow up in close contact with visible minorities may feel that they do not know how to cope with such students and would like to see members of different visible minorities be given this task. On the other hand, younger teachers who have grown up with visible minorities in their classrooms may see this situation as normal and not see why role models would be necessary.

When a further analysis was carried out using the subject taught as a variable- ESL (N=46) vs other content subject (N=18), significant differences were found for questions 16 (students should be encouraged to speak English at home) and 18 (importance of role models). For Q 16, ESL teachers did not think that students should be strongly encouraged to speak English at home- ESL Mean of 2.10 vs Other Content Teachers of 3.40. This difference can most likely be explained by the fact that most ESL teachers try to encourage new Canadians to keep their L1 along with their new L2 rather than sacrificing their mother tongue to the learning of English. On the other hand, content teachers see English as being very important for students to succeed in the classroom and most likely believe that if it is spoken at home it will help the students cope better in school. Such a position assumes that the quality of English input received at home will promote better skills in that language. More research with a more varied sample needs to be carried out to be able to confirm these initial findings.

Table 7
Correlation Table: Canadian-Born Chinese

(N=23)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SE</th>
<th>ESP</th>
<th>EE</th>
<th>PD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-Esteem</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Self-Perception</td>
<td>.49*</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Esteem</td>
<td>-.53</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>-.64**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Discrimination</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>-.23</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>-.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years in Canada</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p 0.05
**p 0.01

Table 8
Teacher's Responses to Language Use, Role Models and Evaluation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14 Integration in school</td>
<td>4.60</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Speak English in home</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>1.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Speak English at school</td>
<td>3.10</td>
<td>1.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Need for role models?</td>
<td>4.90</td>
<td>1.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 More concerned?</td>
<td>6.40</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Evaluate differently?</td>
<td>3.70</td>
<td>2.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Hocoy, p. 50)
In terms of role models, ESL Teachers (Mean 5.1) believe having role models from different minority groups to be more important than do teachers from other content areas (Mean 4.1). As ESL teachers are constantly in contact with minority students and realize the importance of language and culture in their lives, they would naturally see why it would be important for such students to have members of their own community in prestigious positions within the school and society.

Discussion and Conclusion

To conclude we will try to formulate answers to the four questions listed at the beginning of this paper. First, based on the findings of the study, one can say that, in general, the VMS group was more conscious of its ethnicity and felt the least accepted of the three groups within our society. With few exceptions, the WS were more sensitive about their ethnicity than the teachers. They seem less certain about their whiteness being the "ticket to success" than it was in the past. This greater sensitivity may be related in some way to the reverse discrimination phenomenon—being white and male as handicap.

Second, the ECI is sensitive to length of stay in Canada; as new Canadians acculturate to Canadian society, they feel more comfortable with their new home. While our study and those of previous researchers have focused on highly educated new Canadians, it is not certain that this would be the case for new Canadians with little or no formal education. Research studies focusing on these populations need to determine the generalizability of these findings.

Third, as our research indicated that males were initially more conscious of their ethnicity and, therefore, less comfortable than women upon first arriving in Canada, our study did not confirm the findings of previous studies. The double jeopardy phenomenon was not a factor in our study. It is obvious that further research is needed to determine why the two studies produced contradictory results. As well, it would be interesting to investigate the acculturation patterns of cultures in which women are restricted by religion from having a wide range of contact with the host culture.

Fourth, while neither students or teachers considered ethnicity as a determining factor in student evaluation or in the treatment of students in class, the findings indicated that students see it as having some influence on professors' decisions while professors do not consider it as being critical. Based on previous studies, we expected ethnicity to play a more decisive role in this decision-making process.

As Canada evolves and seeks to forge a new identity, the ongoing contact of the various cultural groups will have an important influence on the final shape of our identity. The fact that the most recently arrived Canadians are from visible minorities (by the year 2020, whites will be the visible minority in Canada; by the year 2000, only one citizen in five in the world will be white) has focused the attention of Canadians on the importance of developing a new approach to Canadian unity and the role that all citizens will play within our society.

Bibliography

### Perceived Discrimination Scale: Visible Minority Students

1. Age: 15-20: 22  
   21-25: 36  
   26-30: 11  
   30+:  
   Missing: 11

2. Gender: M: 45  F: 23

3. Were you born in Canada? Yes: 18  No: 53

4. If not, how long have you lived in Canada? months/years
   - 0-2 years: 5  
   - 3-5 years: 19  
   - 6-10 years: 11  
   - 11-15 years: 8  
   - 16-20 years: 7  
   - 21-25 years: 1  
   - 26-29 years: 39  
   - 30-35 years: 36  
   - 36-40 years:  
   - Missing: 20

5. How long have you been at the University of Ottawa? months/years
   - 0-2 years: 42  
   - 3-5 years: 16  
   - 6-10 years:  
   - 11-15 years: 8  
   - 16-20 years: 21  
   - 21-25 years: 1  
   - 26-29 years: 39  
   - 30-35 years: 36  
   - Missing:  

6. Do you see yourself as a member of a visible minority? 
   Yes: 62  No: 9

### Perceived Discrimination Scale: Teachers

1. Age: 20-25: 2  
   26-30: 5  
   31-35: 4  
   41-45: 20  
   51-55: 14  
   61-65: 1

2. Gender: M: 9  
   F: 23  
   Missing: 15

3. Were you born in Canada? Yes: 52  No: 16

4. If not, how long have you lived in Canada? months/years
   - 0-5 years: 6  
   - 6-10 years: 2  
   - 11-15 years:  
   - 16-20 years: 4  
   - 21-25 years: 2  
   - 26-29 years: 1  
   - 30-35 years: 5  
   - 36-40 years: 2  
   - 41-45 years:  
   - Not Applicable: 52

5. How long have you been teaching? years
   - 0-5 years: 12  
   - 6-10 years: 9  
   - 11-15 years: 16  
   - 16-20 years: 13  
   - 21-25 years: 7  
   - 26-29 years: 3  
   - 30-35 years: 6  
   - 36-40 years: 2  
   - 41-45 years:  

6. Do you see yourself as a member of a visible minority? 
   Yes: 11  No: 57

7. What subject do you teach? ESL: 46  Other: 18

---

### Ethic Comfort Index

N.B. The higher the score the more the discomfort.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Scores</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>QA</td>
<td>I feel that I have to change my behaviour to fit into the university community (S, VM, T).</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QB</td>
<td>I often feel that I have to change my personality or behavior depending on the ethnicity of the person I am with (S, VM, T).</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QC</td>
<td>I feel that my ethnicity is incompatible with the new people I am meeting, and the new things I am learning (S, VM).</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QD</td>
<td>I feel that my ethnicity is incompatible with the new people I am meeting, and the new things I am teaching (T).</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QE</td>
<td>I feel that professors have different expectations of me because of my race or ethnicity (S).</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QF</td>
<td>I feel that professors have different expectations for students of color than for white students (VM).</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QG</td>
<td>I feel that I have different expectations for students of color than for white students (T).</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QH</td>
<td>I can't really talk to my friends from other cultures at school about my family or culture (S, VM, T).</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QI</td>
<td>I sometimes feel that my ethnicity influences how professors evaluate my work (VM).</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QJ</td>
<td>I sometimes feel that a student's race or ethnicity influences how professors evaluate his/her work (S).</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QK</td>
<td>I sometimes feel that a student's race or ethnicity influences how I evaluate his/her work (T).</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
QF 10. I sometimes feel that I get singled out in class because of my ethnicity/race (VM).
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
QF 7. I sometimes feel students get singled out in class because of their ethnicity/race (S).
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
8. I sometimes feel students get singled out in my class because of their ethnicity/race (T).
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
QM 17. I don't feel I get treated differently by professors because of my ethnicity/race (VM).
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
14. I don't feel professors treat me any differently because I am white (S).
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
QN 18. I often find it unpleasant in Canada because of my ethnicity/race (VM, T).
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
15. As a white Canadian, I often find it unpleasant in Canada (S, T).
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Questions for Visible-Minority Students Only
2. I try not to show the parts of me that are distinctly different.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
7. Often I feel not wanted within Canadian society.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
8. I sometimes feel discriminated against because of my ethnicity/race.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Questions for Teachers Only
14. I believe that new Canadians should be educated.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
15. As a white person, I often find it unpleasant in Canada.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
OR
15. As a person of color, I often find it unpleasant to live in Canada.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
16. Parents of new Canadian students should encourage their children to talk English at home rather than their native language.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
17. Students should be discouraged from using their first language in class or within the school.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
18. Schools should hire more teachers of color to provide suitable role models for new Canadians.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

19. I feel that parents of students of color are less concerned about how their children succeed in school.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

20. Until they have integrated into the school system, students of color should not be evaluated in the same way as other students.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Endnotes

1. The author would like to thank Doreen Bayliss for her help with the statistical analysis of the data as well as her suggestions and comments on the text. The author accepts responsibility for all interpretations based on the analyses.

2. This situation has since been rectified and this faculty is now one of the most progressive in the area on campus.

3. When the author was in the Peoples Republic of China with his family, many Chinese people wanted to take pictures with family members but especially with his daughter who was quite blond. People would run over and touch her hair, pick her up to have their picture taken, talk to her in stores, etc. This constant attention was a constant reminder of OUR difference, of our belonging to a visible minority for the first time.

4. The author would like to thank Dan Hocoy for granting him permission to use the questionnaires (modified by the author) to gather data for the study and for providing him with access to his master’s thesis from the Department of Psychology at Queen's University.
In the nineties, the debate over bilingual education for minority children has taken an interesting turn: it has been receiving widespread support from educators and researchers because of the substantial research evidence that has been accumulating in favor of such education. Ever since the publication of Peal and Lambert's classic 1962 study, which turned the tide in the field of educational research, all kinds of bilingual education programs have been shown consistently to have beneficial effects on all kinds of learners in diverse types of schooling contexts.

In Canada, the work of Jim Cummins of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (e.g. 1978, 1979, 1981, 1984, 1988, Cummins and Swain 1986, Cummins and Danesi 1990) has carried forward the momentum initiated by Peal and Lambert, 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. Apart from the disagreement of some about the suitability of bilingual language programs (e.g. Porter 1990), exacerbated by a barrage of media reports and exposes which have become more and more acerbic and caustic in their attack on bilingualism, pluralism, and multiculturalism in Canada and the United States, there seems to be virtually no doubt that the mother tongue, or first language (symbolized as L₁), of minority children has taken an interesting turn: it has been 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."
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 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.

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.

The gist of the research story, then, is that 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.

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 which have allowed the influx of large waves of immigrants throughout this century.

Recent criticism of bilingual education programs designed to help minority-language learners adapt to the literacy requirements of a multicultural society has pointed out that students need to achieve productive competence in Standard English in order to achieve educational, social, and economic mobility in modern society. Moreover, they point out that bilingual education programs tend to cater to the whimsical and irascible demands of narrow-minded interest groups and that the teaching approaches, methods, and techniques needed for PBPs go beyond those used to teach children who already know Standard English.

But anyone directly connected with language diversity in education can rebut such critiques by pointing out 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, the research suggests 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 ethnically-diverse children can take their first step on the path towards educational success. 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 school. 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.

A part of the case against PBPs makes ambiguous references to the interplay between language and cognition. Once again, the research suggests that the formal study of two languages as knowledge-gaining tools across the curriculum 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 of all kinds. 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 schemas that actually end up being language-independent. Subtractive forms of schooling, on the other hand, seem to discourage acquisitional processes based on language, thus depriving the child of the ability to use his/her language capacities to the fullest.

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 the protracted debate on bilingual schooling, it is in having put the spotlight on the methodological aspects of 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. 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.

In the area of the actual learning consequences of bilingualism in school, there are a few observations I would like to put forward that may seem irrelevant at first but which, upon further consideration, point out the very nature of the interrelationship between language, culture, and learning. Take for instance the perception of cultural space. One might think that the dimensions of the spaces that people seem to maintain between themselves and others are arbitrary. But, as it turns out, they are largely determined by convention. In some cultures, people routinely face each other in "crowds" and in enclosed spaces (like elevators): e.g. at sporting events or theaters, North Americans usually slide into a crowded aisle while facing forward with their backsides to the people already seated; in Russia one enters an aisle facing the people already seated. People in other cultures also touch much more upon meeting one another and stand closer to each than we do in our culture. The moral to this story is that the space between bodies is imbued with cultural meaning.

The invisible boundaries people establish and maintain when interacting can actually be measured very accurately, allowing for predictable statistical variation, varying from culture to culture. Now, the cultural organization of interpersonal space is regularly reflected in language. Metaphorical expressions such as "Keep your distance," "They're very close," "We've drifted far apart," "You're trespassing into my personal space," "I can't quite get to him," "Please keep in touch," etc. are all verbal indicators that our conceptualization of interpersonal relationships is influenced by our perceptions of interpersonal distances.

Observance of interaction zones is critical to the maintenance of social harmony. Research has demonstrated consistently that the distances characterizing interpersonal space increase between the ages of three and twenty at which time they reach the expected norms. Relative age, gender, attitudes, familiarity, attractiveness, and social status of the individuals involved in an interaction are also factors that influence interpersonal distances (e.g. Hall 1966, 1973, Colton 1983). And, needless to say, the conventional organization of interpersonal space extends into all kinds of structured settings. If someone is standing up at the front of an audience, he/she is perceived as more important than those sitting down. Speeches, lectures, classes, musical performances, etc. are organized in this way. Officials, managers, directors, etc. sit behind a desk to convey importance and superiority. Only their superiors can walk behind them to talk to them. To show "friendliness," the person behind the desk will have to come out and sit with his or her interlocutor in a different part of the room.

The presentation of the body, to use the term made popular by Erving Goffman (1959), is a powerful mode of social interaction. It has become an enormously problematic mode of social behavior indeed within our culture. Our concern over virtually every facet of body presentation—be it hairstyle, body size, etc.—reveals that the body has enormous value as personal statement, determining how we define ourselves and how the community defines us.

What implications does all this have for language and multicultural education? In a phrase, it means that there exist "cultural grammars" that can be taught in class as explicitly as can rules of linguistic grammars and that these are much more crucial in generating social cohesion and understanding among groups in multicultural societies than virtually any other forms of knowledge. These cultural grammars are at the core of a truly meaningful multicultural education.

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.

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 such models of education allow children to reap. 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 my 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


Educational Experiences of ESL Students Unravelling the Role of English Language Proficiency

David L.E. Watt, Hetty Roessingh, and Lynn Bosetti, The University of Calgary

Introduction

Since the early 1970's, Canada has explicitly recognized the role and value of multiculturalism in the evolution of the Canadian identity by way of federal policy initiatives and recommendations emanating from documents such as the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (the B & B Report). In 1971, federal legislation established the official perspective on cultural and language rights -- "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework". Under this policy Canada recognized two official languages -- French and English -- and all ethnic groups would be encouraged to enrich Canadian society by continuing to develop their unique cultures (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism). The benefits of linguistic diversity were also recognized in the B & B Report. The Report recommended that "the teaching of languages other than English and French, and cultural subjects related to them, be incorporated as options in the public elementary school programme, where there is sufficient demand for such classes" (S378, p. 141). Official language education began to flourish.

In time, Government support documents (e.g. Employment and Immigration Canada, 1989) began to underscore the value of increased immigration in economic terms, in an effort to dispel beliefs that increased immigration might be an economic drain on social services. In fact, Canada's immigration levels were raised over the past decade only in part for the humanitarian principles that Canada has come to stand. New Canadians stabilized the population base and insured sustainable growth through the infusion of capital, the creation of jobs, and the consumption of goods and services, while at the same time making less use of the social services net than Canadian born citizens (E.I.C, 1989). The sharp increase in immigration quotas and the diverse nature of recent arrivals in terms of cultural and linguistic background, together with the variable of limited English proficiency, increased the need for Canada to concentrate on providing an educational opportunity structure that would ensure the successful integration of school aged and adult immigrants into Canadian society. While there has been a general sense of progress in attaining the vision of a multicultural mosaic, as McLeod (1993) has noted, there is a long standing tension between linguistic tolerance and financial prosperity chronicled in Canada's historical attempts to address the rights of language minorities. In the present climate of fiscal austerity, tolerance for linguistic differences in the form of English language support has diminished, and hence, research in multiculturalism and the education of language minority students has become all the more crucial.

To date, research on language minority and English as a second language education (ESL) has largely concentrated on issues related to the description and development of English language proficiency. In broad strokes, the focus has been on the nature (Cummins, 1981) and rate of second language acquisition (Collier, 1987, 1989a, 1989b), especially as these relate to developing the minimum linguistic threshold required to compete academically with Canadian English Language age-peers (Cummins, 1986; Kiesmer, 1993). There has been a parallel focus on the pedagogical approaches that would support language development through content area studies, in an effort to meet the language and content learning needs as efficiently as possible (Mohan, 1986; Chamot and O'Malley, 1993; Short, 1993). And lastly, there has been a growing concern in research over sociopolitical aspects of immigrant education (Esling, 1989), particularly the marginalization of language minority students (LMS) and ESL students (Grey, 1991; Spener, 1988)\(^1\); a phenomenon that in part is related to the importance of attaining English language proficiency for educational success and cultural adjustment. It is in this last area that our studies have attempted to add to the research.

The purpose of this paper is to present an overview of our findings, reported elsewhere in greater detail (Watt and Roessingh, 1994a, 1994b, 1995; Watt, Roessingh and Bosetti, 1996) in an attempt to explain what we have come to believe is the essential and determining feature of educational success and positive cultural adjustment; the attainment of English language proficiency. Over a series of small inter-related studies, we attempted to gain insights into the educational and life experiences of immigrant secondary school students. Our work has taken place during the period of time that has seen dramatic program reductions in ESL education. This article attempts to integrate findings across our studies with those of other researchers through a discussion of:

- the nature and role of educational success for ESL students
- the reactions of ESL students to their educational experiences
- the processes and outcomes of cultural adjustment
- the direction of educational change

While we suggest that the conclusions drawn from and across our individual studies are generalizable to a larger population, we must concede that the studies are far from being all encompassing in nature. Our research is based...
on one entire ESL population (388 students) from a single composite high school over a 5 year period (1988-1993), from which a further study with a purposive sample of 40 participant interviews was conducted. It is not our intention to claim that our studies encompass all the experiences and outcomes of ESL students. Our findings are based on a relatively small initial sample. On the other hand, the process of our research has suggested, at least to us, that the conclusions represent more than a passing phenomenological nod of similarity from a much larger population of ESL students. The findings reported here are also echoed in the research literature of others and in the common experiences of many who teach in the field of ESL.

The limitations of size and scope imposed on the research are, for external reasons, related largely to administrative and definitional factors. Identifying and tracking ESL students across distinct educational jurisdictions is difficult. We are not alone in noting the problems associated with the quality of record keeping which would permit the dissaggregation of ESL students from general population statistics (Klemser, 1993; Radwanski, 1987; LeCompte and Goebel, 1987). Further, differences in the definition of what constitutes an ESL student make the process of relating findings from jurisdictions across Canada and the United States more than a trivial problem. ESL students are defined differently in different jurisdictions. In some, they are defined generally as any student who speaks a non-official language as a first language and requires English language support to achieve educational access, participation and benefit. In other jurisdictions, ESL students are defined administratively as those born outside of Canada, in their first three years of supplementary funding support. It is for these reasons that we chose to focus our attention on a single, definable population. By inter-relating studies of a single population through purposive sampling we attempted to compensate for the definitional inconsistencies across jurisdictions and for the limited sample size.

Measuring Educational Success

What constitutes educational success is a question that far exceeds the limits of this paper. However, the matter of measuring educational success, in the most general of terms, can be related to educational progress and educational achievement. Progress is the year-to-year advancement toward high school graduation and is often reported in dropout statistics by grade (Calgary Board of Education, 1993). For the general population this figure tends to increase year-to-year from grade 9 through 12, averaging 5%, 9%, 10% and 15% respectively. Achievement, on the other hand, is commonly measured in terms of graduation statistics (or conversely, aggregated annual drop out statistics by the last year of school). The overall educational dropout rate has changed very little over the past three decades. At the national, provincial, and local levels recent studies consistently indicate a general drop out rate from school of approximately 30-35% (Human Resources and Labour Canada, 1993; Alberta Education, 1992; Calgary Board of Education, 1993).

While drop out figures have remained stable over the past 30 years, the demographics of the school-going population in Canada have changed significantly, especially over the past decade (Bergman, 1994). The ESL and LMS population has increased significantly within the general population, and therefore may well be over-represented in reports of general drop out rates.

Radwanski (1987) noted a consistent increase in ESL dropout among Ontario high school students, reaching a level of 53% in 1986 even within the tracking constraints imposed on the study. More recently, Alberta Education (1992) reported a drop out rate of 61% among immigrant students in grades 8-12 based on a sample of 165 selected student records taken from 1987 ESL funding lists. Studies from the United States record drop out rates among Language Minority Students as varying from 40% to 80% (Santos and Ramos, 1990). These studies, like many other drop out studies of ESL students, are susceptible to the imprecision of definitional terminological i.e. what is an ESL student and what constitutes drop out?) as well as from methodological difficulties arising from limitations in dissaggregating the ESL students from the general population statistics (Radwanski, 1987; LeCompte and Goebel, 1987).

As a result, the comparison of progress and achievement for ESL students with that of the general drop out statistics from high school is partially obscured. For the purposes of our study, all and only those students who received ESL support in high school were included in the study (a significantly smaller subset of what might otherwise be thought of as the LMS population for the school), and drop out was defined as any student who left school before fulfilling graduation requirements (a definition commonly used in the drop out research literature). The results of our study indicated an overall drop out rate of 74% for ESL students in high school — a figure more than double that for the general high school population. The 74% dropout rate was further disaggregated according to English language proficiency upon entry into high school. Using initial program placements as a measure of English language proficiency we found that:

- Beginners drop out at the rate of 95%
- Intermediates drop out at the rate of 70%
- Advanced students drop out at the rate of 50%

Though English language proficiency at entry to high school was a key factor in determining educational progress, other factors such as L1 education and L2 rate of acquisition also emerged from the profiles of successful ESL students. Our findings regarding the relationship of first language proficiency in the attainment of educational success were consistent with those of Collier (1987) and Olshaint (1990) who posited that first language proficiency is one of the factors that predict academic success for second language speakers. A lack of cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) in L1 (in part related to previous education in L1) meant that the acquisition of CALP in the second language would take more time, if indeed the student ever acquired native-like age-appropriate proficiency in L2 (Cummins, 1986). In our study, older arriving students who were academically competent in their first language and who were proficient at the Advanced level in English upon their arrival were the most highly represented among those who graduated from high school.

Klesmer (1993) and Collier (1987, 1989) tracked the development of second language acquisition against the time it takes to compete academically with age peers in English, on content area standardized tests. Their findings suggest that some ESL students may reach proficiency in some subjects in as little as two years, but that 4-8 years may be required for all ages of ESL students to reach the national level norms of native speakers in all subject areas. The successful high school graduates in our study took an average of 4.5 years to complete the three year high school
program which includes standardized provincial exams in the content areas, similar to those in the studies of Klesmer and Collier. On average, these students were 16 years of age upon entry into high school and graduated at 20.5. Since Klesmer and Collier's studies dealt with younger students, the potential for drop out among their study participants was not an issue. For older arriving teenagers, the stress and perceived unlikelihood of educational success appeared to overwhelm many and to precipitate a pattern of early drop out.

Causes of Drop Out

As noted earlier in discussing the notion of progress, general drop out rates by grade increase progressively across the high school grades. ESL drop out does not follow this pattern. ESL drop out statistics are front end loaded. Approximately 50% of the newly arrived students had quit school within the first year. This finding led us to refine our definition of drop out to include the characteristic school leaving patterns of "fall out", "drop out", "push out", by associating school leaving with indications of educational success.

"Fall outs" represented those students who left the school system before any record of academic success had been achieved. Often these students had low functional literacy and/or educational experience in their first language. Simply put, these students drifted out of an education system that was not designed to hold them in long enough for them to meet with any recordable educational achievement, in the form of course credit or program progress.

"Drop outs" were defined as students who had encountered some academic success and were well on the way to earning credits in the mainstream high school program. These students tended to simply feel frustrated with the mixed success in the transition to content areas and the time it was taking them to wend their way through graduation requirements. Having acquired sufficient functional English language proficiency to find work, many reported the need to work as a motivating force in leaving school. Those categorized as drop outs were able to give some evidence of active decision making for leaving school.

"Push outs" also demonstrated academic success and by making reasonable progress toward high school diploma requirements, but ran out of time for completing their programs in the high school setting. Many of these students simply gave up and went to work. Others eventually upgraded in adult programs, where they faced traditional barriers to participation (Hayes, 1989) such as: fees, time delays, and limited availability of educational sites. The reactions of this handful of potentially successful students is summed up in the words of one student who angrily asked, "why they make me play this game?" "Push outs" were trapped by the rules for educational participation but otherwise were positively disposed to the completion of high school requirements.

Even at this general level of determining educational success through drop out rates English language proficiency is a key factor. It also proved a factor in narrative explanations of the process of dropping out. To refine our understanding of the phenomena of fall out, drop out, push out and to provide a context for the statistical data, we interviewed 40 students from the categories of fall out, drop out, push out, and successful high school graduates, in an effort to determine the underlying factors in students' perceptions of their educational experiences.

Explanations of Successful and Unsuccessful Students

Drop out appeared to be an internally rationalized process, not an event, in the life of a high school student, and in the case of most ESL students it related directly to their process of cultural adjustment. Our narrative findings for each group of unsuccessful students uncovered a consistent emotional reaction to their educational experiences. Fall outs were sorry/sad. Push outs were frustrated. And Push outs were angry/resentful. English language proficiency proved a salient feature even in the interview process. In interviewing the "fall out" group of students we found that many of them were unemployed or working in cleaning crews and factories in a first language environment. Their English level of language proficiency had diminished since their early school-leaving; a conclusion we reached by comparing early writing samples with their spoken English. None of the participants in this group were willing or able to record their reactions in writing and many explained that they were illiterate in English. Furthermore, in many instances it was necessary to work through translation to gain insight into their experiences. Their sadness and regret related to such themes as: not having learned enough English to participate meaningfully in Canadian life; for not having found the courage to befriend English-speaking friends; and, for lost opportunities caused by limitations in English language proficiency. These students tended to blame themselves for their present-day situation and few could imagine a means of further adjusting for successful inclusion or integration into Canadian life.

On the other hand, the drop outs were far more articulate and anxious to share their stories. These students tended to be more successful in finding alternative pursuits, both for leisure and work. Trucking, fast food businesses, and delivery services were examples of work environments; each of which demanded daily interaction in English. In their leisure time these students were able, like their Canadian counterparts, to socialize and participate in community activities in English speaking environments. The following vignette offers insight into typical reactions of these students to their educational experiences in Canada:

"I felt bored, depressed, sick of going through high school. I started to skip classes and study on my own either in the library or at home. So I reach my final decision, which is to leave school and work for a while in order to build up myself financially."

There was much less reticence among the drop outs to express their reactions in writing, though the written responses were typically short, and with less elaboration than their oral responses.

Like the drop outs, the push outs generally demonstrated a facility with English sufficient to actively engage in the conversations we had with them. For these students, there was no mistaking the sense of betrayal and anger at the system that had terminated their high school attendance and education. Few of these students were successful in
I, completing high school graduation requirements at night school or through adult upgrading programs. Their future expectations resembled those of the drop out group. However, the push outs were less accepting of these expectations and more readily expressed a sense of inequity in their educational experiences. 'Back home' many of these students had experienced educational success and expected a better future than they believe is presently available to them.

"I was 19 years old and the good (sarcastic) news came to me that I wasn't going to be register for the 1992-1993 year. I was really mad at the education system because before, people of 20 years of age could finished high school without any worries."

"It was so hard when they told me drop. It still hurts. I was so mad... stopping school is the most difficult thing."

"I feel so bad. The principal told me I couldn't come back to school because I'm overage. I don't know if I can cope (in an adult upgrading centre)."

The successful graduates also illustrated certain typical reactions to the achievement of their success. Luck, family sacrifice, hard work, perseverance and time were common themes in their personal narratives explaining the reasons for success. However, they also tended to view the unsuccessful in somewhat negative terms, attributing personal weaknesses to those who were unsuccessful. Unsuccessful students were often described in terms that were the direct opposite of traits associated with educational success, like those reported in Early's (1992) study of successful ESL students. The successful students appeared to distance themselves from the unsuccessful students by attributing their failure to their work ethic. While the perceptions of successful students about the reasons for their success are undoubtedly accurate and supported by teacher comments, there are two dangers associated with the interpretation of their comments in relation to the unsuccessful. The first of these is the false assumption that the unsuccessful do not portray all or any of these same features. This was clearly not the case for push outs, who were success oriented achievers. It may also not be true for fall outs for whom little or no academic record is available. The second dangerous assumption is that programs designed to inculcate the reported characteristics in ESL students should be an educational priority. Skills based solutions are often a typical educational reaction of remediation that lie in a more techno-rationale perspective or "fix-it" mentality. Characteristics of success are more likely to be the inadvertent bi-product of success rather than the causes of it. While programmatic success is essential, our conclusion from the reactions of students is that programmes would be better to focus on the creation of opportunities for success rather than the engineering of success through programs designed to inculcate successful behaviours.

On the Nature of Acculturation

Popular beliefs about acculturation and cultural adjustments, like the myths associated with language learning (McLaughlin, 1992), overgeneralize the experience of individuals. We found that a common belief about acculturation was the underlying assumption that it was a natural and inevitable process of adjustment, differing only in the time that it may take for various individuals to achieve a state of acculturation. In this destined view of acculturation as a form of liberation, individuals ride the diminishing waves of emotional highs and lows associated with settlement, until their world view stabilizes with one which accepts the dominant view. This popular and stereotypic view of acculturation was not supported by our research. The process of acculturation did not appear to be either uniform or inevitable among our participants and it was the more

Characteristics Used to Measure Cultural Distance*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tending to minimize distance</th>
<th>Tending to maximize distance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SOCIAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree of dominance</td>
<td>Non-dominant</td>
<td>Dominance or Subordination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integration strategy</td>
<td>Assimilation</td>
<td>Acculturation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree of enclosure</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intended length of stay</td>
<td>Long-stay</td>
<td>Medium or &quot;unsure&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSYCHO-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOGICAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tolerance for ambiguity</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FACTORS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-esteem</td>
<td>High confidence and feeling of self-worth</td>
<td>Low confidence and feeling of self-worth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*from Schumann 1978
qualitative and elusive variable of experience, not the more easily measured variable of time that appeared to have the largest effect on the process and outcomes of cultural adjustment.

From a theoretical perspective, it is possible to identify personal and social characteristics that relate to individuals and which may affect the predictable rate of cultural adjustment. These are valuable in generalizing potential differences at the onset of the process. Schumann (1978), has indicated the type of personal and social distances that can partly account for differences in rates of cultural adjustment.

While this model can assist us in understanding some of the initial forces, at the onset of exposure to a new culture, the reactions to the process and experiences of cultural adjustment can also be drawn from the personal narratives of individuals reporting and rationalizing their life story experiences to the process and outcomes of cultural adjustment during and after high school (Watt, Roessingh and Bosetti, 1996). Features like enclosure, ego permeability and self esteem can be set or altered as much by the experiences of cultural adjustment as by the initial predisposition of an individual.

Rather than a smooth transition across diminishing highs and lows, we found a variety of fractured transitions and mixed outcomes, which contributed to the termination or suspension of the process of acculturation. Cultural adjustment is not always positive, nor is it always an ongoing process. Again, English language proficiency and educational success were significant factors in assessing the process of cultural adjustment.

Individual reactions to the boom and bust cycle of school experiences matched the profile of future expectations for ESL students. Rather than reporting a sense of increasing acculturation, many felt trapped in diminishing circles of social interaction that precluded acculturation. Typically those who were fall outs, with little English language proficiency, had given up any expectation of positive acculturation. These students spoke of resigning to a future of itinerant labour with little promise for a stable economic future that might allow them to marry or raise families. They saw themselves as unable to move either forwards or backwards. Minh's⁵ life story is a typical example of a "fall out" student:

Minh comes from a large refugee family from Vietnam, headed by a widowed mother. He is the youngest of 7 children and spent most of his childhood in refugee camps where schooling opportunities were not available. He arrived in Canada as a teenager with first language literacy skills too rudimentary and undeveloped to assist in acquiring English literacy skills. Shy and somewhat withdrawn, Minh did not engage in the schooling process, and within 18 months had disappeared silently from the system. Minh's ELP had diminished noticeably in the 4 years since he had quit school. In halting and broken English that was assisted with translation from an older sister who spoke much better English, Minh was able to explain that he had gone to work for slightly better than minimum wages in a cassette-carrier making factory where he was surrounded by 200 other Vietnamese speaking workers. The factory floor is noisy with the buzz of moving equipment and machinery. He must wear earplugs all day to protect his hearing. The workers are given two fifteen-minute "smoke breaks" and a half hour for lunch. After work, he and his buddies have a long bus ride home. They smoke, play cards and hang out ... that's all his money will permit him to do, after he has made his contribution to the household finances. Now in his early twenties, Minh saw little chance of things getting better ... in fact, they could be worse. He could be out of work (indeed, we learned later that Minh was one of the first let go when the factory business experienced a downturn).

For the majority of ESL students, their place in the sociocultural mosaic was one of tolerance. They tolerated their existence because it was in some way better than the living conditions that they expect to face in their homeland. But there was little question about where home was. This sense of tolerance is best evidenced in remarks like: "Canada is a good house ... a very, very good house. But it's not home." Like the notion of language plateauing (a state of premature language fossilization related to minimal functional competence), they had reached a level of cultural adjustment in which they were able to minimally meet their cultural needs, but could not perceive opportunities for further inclusion. Again, English language proficiency was a fairly consistent feature associated with this group who had achieved a functional oral use of English.

Yasmin is a young woman from Lebanon who arrived in Canada as a teenager with an intact educational background and hopes for academic success in Calgary. She spoke of wanting to attend university. A socially gregarious, ambitious teenager, she was stunned when she was not permitted to reregister in high school due to the newly-imposed age restrictions. She was then an "intermediate" level ESL learner. She decided to take time out to earn money and readily found employment in a local restaurant frequented by workers from the surrounding industrial park and long distance truckers who were "the regulars". Initially assigned to the kitchen area to wash dishes and prepare salads and sandwiches, the restaurant manager felt Yasmin needed the challenge and opportunity in work that would require her to use English. Yasmin found herself taking customer orders and working the till. She suggested we interview her at the restaurant during one of her breaks. Her spoken English had become more fluent in the years since she had left school. She was clearly comfortable in the work environment. While she had resigned herself to her likely long-term situation, she seemed to grieve the loss of her academic potential. Married now with one small child, Yasmin lives between and, in a sense, within two cultures — she believes that she cannot return home, and yet she is not living to her fullest expectations here. She is intent on working hard for a better life for her child.
Only a handful of students reported a sense of successful acculturation. Typically, they had moved from a mentality of tolerance to one of acceptance of cultural norms and values in the new culture. From their stories of adjustment and future expectations it was clear that being accepted within the dominant culture was as much a part of their accepting it as any single life event. The process of seeking acceptance was key in many reports of cultural adjustment.

For some, frustrated in their efforts to be accepted, they either deliberately distance themselves as an antithetic group, or sought acceptance at the cost of their personal identity. The story of Shahrooz Nabavi, (reported in the Calgary Herald), a young man from Iran, illustrates the first process:

He entered the school system in 1985, a new immigrant from Iran. At 11, he knew no English, had no friends. "Where I'm from kids don't wear $100 jeans like they do here." Because he couldn't afford $100 jeans, Nabavi soon fell out of favour with his classmates. Desperate for acceptance and "wanting to do something to be one of them," he shaved his hair to be cool. When that didn't work, he joined a youth gang. There he found the sense of belonging that had eluded him. He also found trouble and tumbling grades. Nabavi eventually turned his life around when it dawned on him he didn't need to be "one of them" to fit in. "I started to realize who I was and where I came from," said the 21 year old University of Calgary student (Dawson, 1995).

Thao Vu took the opposite approach:

She came here from Vietnam as a child, and hers was the only Vietnamese family on the block. "There was really no alternative but to adopt the white culture," said Thao Vu, 22. Treated like an outcast as a teen she "desperately wanted to be like everyone else." As far as Vu was concerned, that meant being white. She thought of ways to lighten her hair; dreamed of being blonde. "My fantasies were to live the white life -- whatever that meant." Now, with the hindsight of maturity, it disturbs her to think a 14 year old girl would've gone to those lengths just to fit in (Dawson, 1995).

From the reaction to, and outcomes of cultural adjustment reported by ESL students in our study, the popular assumptions about the naturalness and inevitability of acculturation seem untenable. A few attained a level of acculturation in which they felt accepted. Most tolerated but did not accept the new culture. And, a significant minority felt isolated from an inaccessible culture. Their educational experiences were an important factor in their pattern of cultural adjustment, with those who achieved some measures of educational success being more likely to report positive cultural adjustment. Almost to a person, English language proficiency was considered to be the major factor that limited their further cultural adjustment and their hopes for the future. Education was perceived as the most efficient means of developing English language proficiency, but for many, this avenue was considered to be closed to them.

Educational Difference

In contextualizing the individual findings of our own research, we would suggest some changes to the predominant view of educational responsibility are needed in order to make a difference to the educational experiences of ESL students. While it is possible to concentrate on a need for instructional differences in the classroom that highlight the integration of content, strategy and language objectives (Roessingh, 1995), larger level issues of policy affect the shape of such practices. From our research, we would suggest that future efforts to make an educational difference in the life of ESL students should include:

- the recognition of the centrality of English language proficiency on the future educational success and positive cultural adjustment of ESL learners;
- the explicit value accredited to the educational achievement of second language learning in attaining a high school diploma;
- the means for retaining ESL students in the educational community during the initial phases of cultural adjustment.

Despite the apparent centrality of English language proficiency in predicting educational success and positive cultural adjustment, educational institutions have yet to fully accept its centrality in educational accreditation (Miramontes, 1993; Alberta Education 1983). Societal consensus remains firm in its view of ESL education as peripheral to the educational process and a pre-requisite to core access. The rigors of ESL education do not appear to be accorded the same intellectual status as the learning of other languages (whether official or foreign), or the status accorded to other educational disciplines. By undervaluing the essential role of ESL education to the process of access, participation and benefit, and by failing to recognize the substantial intellectual achievement of attaining bilingual or multilingual competence, educational institutions contribute to the promulgation of failure.

The educational experiences of ESL students often set their expectations for better social interaction. An examination of the quality of educational opportunities has been proposed in terms of the equity of access, participation, benefit (Thompson, 1994). This framework provides an initial rubric for proposing changes that make an educational difference. From our research, we would suggest that the educational status quo does not fulfill the three criteria for educational opportunity listed above. Differences in the definition of the ESL student population make it difficult to design and develop adequate programs; to assess the quality of existing programs; to interpret research findings; to estimate the size of the population of those who might benefit; and to allocate adequate resources for the access, participation and benefit of ESL students. Without a nationally consistent definition, studies of the educational experiences of ESL students will continue to be limited in their scope and generalizability.

Conclusion

For us, the question of how educational change should respond to research remains. There are any number of initiatives that educational jurisdictions could take in response to findings such as ours. The directions that are
chosen will undoubtedly reflect prevailing attitudes to the significance of ESL education in the cultural adjustment of multilingual high school students. The degree to which educational jurisdictions are prepared to explicitly recognize the role of English language proficiency will determine the degree and direction of educational change.

Notes:
1. Language minority student (LMS) and English as a Second Language (ESL) student. Language minority student is a term originating from the U.S. to describe all non first language (L1) English students. However, we use the term to refer to those students who are no longer considered ESL in terms of support. In general, LMS were either Canadian-born and never received ESL support, or they arrived at a young age and are beyond the funding guidelines (Alberta Education 1993).

2. The names of the students in this report are pseudonyms for reasons of confidentiality.

References


A Review of the Influence of Cross-Cultural Research and Intercultural Theory on Second/Foreign Language Teaching

Peter J. Heffernan, Associate Dean, Faculty of Education, University of Lethbridge

"L'Autre est indispensable à mon existence aussi bien qu'à la connaissance que j'ai de moi" (Sartre, 1970).

Introduction

It is widely acknowledged today that the role of the school in an officially bilingual, pluralistic society involves, inter alia, the promotion of cross-cultural awareness and understanding and of intercultural acceptance and entente. It is also given that some school subjects have a special vocation in this arena. The second or foreign language curriculum has pride of place here.

No doubt, the mention of second language teaching and learning conjures up images for non-specialists of yesteryear's classrooms full of charts of verbal conjugations posted everywhere, of unceasing, parrot-like drills mouthed by more or less disciplined automatons, or of strictly grammar-based and translation activities ad infinitum.

Since the advent in the 1970's and 1980's of communicative/experiential approaches to language teaching and learning, the scenario described above has undergone quite a radical transformation. Time and circumstance have surely helped bring this about. So-called traditional language teachers searching for meaning and motivation began years ago experimenting with more context-based, student-centered activities in an effort to alleviate the tedium and apparently contrived nature of their mandated, subject- or language-centered curriculum by bringing cultural tidbits and authentic documents into their classrooms. Some theoreticians (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969; Hymes, 1972) anticipated and informed this switch in focus. Others (Stern, 1983a; Hammerly, 1986; LeBlanc, 1990) synthesized the burgeoning, multi-faceted literature in this pluridisciplinary field in search of a name for this kind of craze of non-linguists (Porcher, 1986:7) or else a "cultural coquetry" (Bibeau, 1982:12) of somewhat spoiled, snobbish dilettantes intellectually removed from "reality". For right or for wrong, the teaching of culture in the language classroom was also long written off as having "marginalized itself on the outer edges of substantive research in the language teaching field" and for having reduced itself to surveying "a few, simple elements essentially folkloric and insipid in nature" (Heffernan, in "L'état de la question", in Trescases, Courtel and LeBlanc, 1990:1).

However, in real life, there has been a growing realization that "in this world become a global village, each of us, even if we never leave our birthplace, are participants in a whole range of intercultural contacts" (Chambard, 1983:33). Correspondingly, in the field of language teaching, there has been a building crescendo of questioning about the relative state of disarray and abandonment of interest with respect to the teaching of culture. Thus, Porcher (1986:7) has observed that "culture and civilization are now too important to let get away on us; utterly impossible to suggest that culture and civilization are not fundamental components of the second language teaching field". Even further back, Fichou (1979:35) has suggested that anyone...
teaching a language is simultaneously a language teacher and a culture teacher ("civilisationniste"): "In the final analysis, there exists an 'applied culture and civilization' just as there exists an 'applied linguistics', also a beneficiary of the collective work of researchers". Kramsch (1991:227) refers more synthetically to our "linguaculture teaching field". Even Hymes (1977:169), the guru of the communicative competence movement, has suggested: "We have reached, in effect, a study of language that is inseparable from a study of social life... Many linguists may say that such a study of language is not linguistics, but some other field, perhaps anthropology, psychology, sociology. Whatever its label, it is beginning to emerge in prominence, and it is the sort of study of language that is fundamental to education". Martel (1989:116), in the steps of Mounin (1984) and Damen (1987), also observes that "thus it is that in second languages, the teaching is based on five competencies: listening, speaking, reading, writing and 'cultivating' (in the sense of giving an intercultural education". With Laforge (1993:816): "We hold then that there exist reciprocal relationships between language and culture, relationships of interdependence and of interaction and that, consequently, the teaching of a language inevitably implies the teaching of its corresponding culture".

It is also quite clear that their observations are not made in a theoretical and conceptual void. Indeed, under the influence of the diversity of disciplines (anthropology, history, linguistics, psychology, sociology, to name only a few) from which modern language teaching has borrowed (Besse and Gaissson, 1980; Verdelhan, 1982; Stern, 1983b; Saint-Pierre, 1986; Laforge, 1987; Gaissson, 1988), there has evolved in this field, as in these other disciplines from which it has sought its inspiration, a wide-ranging reflection on the rapport between language and culture. As Trescases, Courtel and LeBlanc (1990:10) suggest, since the beginnings of the contemporary period in the language teaching universe, all language teaching theoreticians of any consequence, including, for example, Polltzer, Brooks, Rivers, Brown, Besse, Gaissson, Moirand and Charaudeau have not failed to recognize culture as a full partner with language in this field. Also, the burgeoning of works (Hoijer, 1954; Lado, 1957; Bishop, 1960; Hall, 1966; Brooks, 1966; Moore, 1967; Ladu, 1968; Verée, 1969; Labov, 1970; Dodge, 1972; Hoopes, 1972; Condon, 1973; Rebboul et, 1973; Fersch, 1974; Seelye, 1974; 1984; Blount and Sanchez, 1975; Lafayette, Altman and Schultz, 1975; Mackey, 1976; Lafayette, 1978; Fichou, 1979; Thénien, 1980; Beacco and Lieutaud, 1981; Michaud and Marc, 1981; Levine and Adelman, 1982; Saville-Troike, 1983; Francœur, 1985; Robinson, 1985; Valdes, 1986; Zarate, 1986; Damen, 1987; Trescases, Courtel and LeBlanc, 1990; Byram, Esarte-Sarries and Taylor, 1991; inter alios) focussed specifically on the teaching of culture bear witness to the vigour of this current within the broader-based evolution that language teaching has undergone in the past 30 years (and the list of book works just cited does not take into account the hundreds of articles which have also appeared over these same years dealing with the integration of language and culture; for more on this, see Heffernan's (1995) 42-page bibliography).

Nor can we fail to mention, limiting ourselves to English- and French-language reviews alone, the many specialized reviews dealing with culture in language teaching which have also appeared in recent years. They include, for instance, Les Amis de Sèvres, Culture et Pédagogie, Dialogues et Cultures, the Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, the Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, Language, Culture and Curriculum, Language in Society, Multilingua: Journal of Cross-Cultural and Intercultural Communication, Questions de Culture et Recherche, Pédagogie et Culture. As well, there have appeared numerous special-focus issues of other more general language teaching reviews, such as "Le français langue vivante" in Esprit (1982), "La question régionale" in Esprit (1986), "Enseigner des cultures" in Études de linguistique appliquée (no. 47, 1982), "Points de vue sur l'interculturel" in Anthologie (June, 1983), "L'enseignement de la civilisation française" in Le Français dans le Monde (no. 16, 1998), "Fondements théoriques d'un enseignement de la civilisation" in Le Français dans le Monde (no. 78, 1971), "D'une culture à l'autre" in Le Français dans le Monde (no. 181, 1983), "Civilisation encore" in Le Français dans le Monde (no. 188, 1984), and "Vivre le français: Dialogue des cultures et formation de la personne" in Dialogues et Cultures (no. 16, 1984), which also bear witness to the dynamism of this curricular and pedagogical renewal concerning the cultural component in language teaching.

Such a burgeoning literature base and growing interest in the field has also resulted in several masters theses and doctoral dissertations having culture in language teaching as a primary focus. Examples of these include Heffernan (1981; 1995), Algardy (1983), Bourque (1987), Ma (1988), and Effong (1992). This is likewise true for special-focus ministerial curricular documents which have appeared over the years, for example, Clapper (1972), Brooks (1973), Noonan, Heffernan and Balsom (1980), Saindonic (1985), and Heffernan, Jahn and Prokop (1987).

Basdevant (1980:9), it appears, best captures the essence of the flow of ideas emanating from this powerful curricular and pedagogical orientation:

En agissant sur la composition du sol, sur l'irrigation, sur l'exposition au soleil, sur les procédés de plantation et de taille, on obtient des récoltes plantureuses, des fruits abondants, des arbres de haute futaie. Mais, si les procédés utilisés sont mauvais ou mal appliqués, la récolte est nulle et la forêt dégénère en taillis.

L'enfant, l'étudiant peuvent, eux aussi, soit s'épanouir soit s'étiole, selon que la culture leur est habilement ou maladroitement apportée. Au surplus, à la différence du végétal, l'homme peut souffrir intellectuellement, moralement ou sentimentalement de l'impact mal reçu de la culture, et sa réaction risque alors d'être agressive ou violente.

Ainsi, ceux qui ont la charge de faire accéder des jeunes à une culture étrangère [ou seconde] assument une belle mais lourde responsabilité.

There appears then, in the final analysis, to be little room for doubt that the cultural component is an integral part of the language teaching curriculum. Language and culture, it seems, are indeed inextricably linked. This presupposition finds wide and long-standing support in the theoretical and research writings of the language teaching field.

**Emerging Trends and Issues**

In this panoply of research and writing on culture and its integration in the language teaching field, a number of
trends and issues emerge. For the purposes of this paper, we will limit the review to two—

1) The difference between English and French perception of difference
2) Of one voice, save one, regarding intercultural theory and its significant repercussions for language curricula and teaching

The Difference Between English and French Perception of Difference

Poets, novelists, some historians and perceptive persons with eyes to see and ears to hear have long documented the difference between English and French perception of difference. In the Canadian context, an early example of this phenomenon leads us to Lord Durham and some perhaps infamous pronouncements in his Report on the Affairs of British North America (1839), in which he liberally denigrates French-Canadians as being a people "without history and without culture". Like G. B. Shaw's Julius Caesar, discussing his secretary, a Briton, in Caesar and Cleopatra, a French-Canadian of that era might well have also retorted: "He is a barbarian, and thinks that the customs of his tribe and island are the laws of nature". Indeed, the Fédération des Francophones Hors Québec, now become the Fédération des Communautés Francophones et Acadienne du Canada, also made such a retort, albeit more systematically, 138 years later in its two-volume report on Les héritiers de Lord Durham (1977). The "two solitudes" phenomenon has indeed been with Canadians throughout our history, but exemplified perhaps best in MacLennan's 1945 novel of that very title.

This state of the art study on the question of alternative perspectives on the notion of difference tends to support the above-noted dichotomous image. The fact of divergent ideologies looms large. This phenomenon can be summarized in the "assimilative" hypothesis (Martel, 1993:737): "Come on; we're all really just the same, aren't we?", as evidenced in: "One can have a level of communicative competence in one language through which the teacher and students communicate in the classroom". It is as if language were a neutral instrument, void of cultural underpinnings. This orthodoxy of sameness has a pervasiveness to it and continues to be reinforced today (Tanguay, 1992).

The countervailing ideology prevalent among French-Canadian researchers and writers is one of "dualism and parity" (Martel, 1993:735), perhaps best summarized in the expression: "Vive la différence!" Instead of the push to uniformity, there is a preoccupation with the notion of difference (Derrida, 1967; Lefèvre, 1970; Jacquard, 1978; Thévenin, 1980; Trescases, Courtel and LeBlanc, 1990; Serres, 1991). Lepiq (1983:122), as opposed to Canale and Swain (1980) and Swain and Lapkin (1982), notes that "the notion of acceptability [in a communicative act] carries within it a sociolinguistic and sociocultural dimension. Consequently, the idea of communication cannot be reduced to one of a purely linguistic message. It encapsulates all the situational factors, particularly who the participants are and the context of the interaction". Debyser (1981:14, quoting A. Grosser) reminds, for instance, people given to considering English- and French-Canadians as being socioculturally identical, except that they speak different languages, that "comparing cultures is often a matter of coming to realize that what appears different is the same and what appears the same is different". Besse (1984:99) warns us to avoid especially what is so common in the second language teaching context: having students count on their competence in their culture of origin to go from one language to another in their communication: $L_2 + C_1 = L_2$, "a mere over-coding of forms from their mother tongue". To this, Bibeau (1991:130) adds: "C'est un peu comme si on tenait à distinguer la langue française et la culture québécoise....[Or, cette] séparation prive les apprenants d'une compréhension et d'une expression authentiques et complètes. En d'autres termes, on ne comprend dans ce cas qu'une partie de la signification et on exprime en partie des choses différentes de celles qu'on veut exprimer: on a un discours approximatif". Hall (1977:54) appears to share the above opinions: "Any time you hear someone say, 'why, they are no different than the folks back home—they are just like I am', even though you may understand the reasons behind these remarks, you also know that the speaker is living in a single-context world (his own) and is incapable of describing either his world or the foreign one". On this whole subject, de Grève (1983:45) warns us: "One will often find a political impulse tending to minimize cultural differences, adding to the pressures to conform and assimilate experienced by all individuals [and group collectivities] who live together". Heffernan's (1995) study, while also focussed primarily on English-French perspectives, demonstrated that the impression of vise-like compulsion to conform and assimilate is also shared by culture-bearers of other non-Anglo-Saxon backgrounds, particularly Ukrainians in the Canadian West.

In conclusion, the weight of the evidence appears to support Hymes' tradition (1972; 1984:39) in which it is held that the notion of appropriateness in speech integrates the so-called purely linguistic and the sociolinguistic, the linguistic in its broadest sense with the sociocultural. One feels compelled to concur with Steele (1993:14), who has suggested recently: "People who can speak the target language fluently but who offend, confuse or otherwise distress their interlocutors, through ignorance of or insensitivity to the cultural elements of the situation, have not achieved true communicative competence". English and French perceptions of difference appear to be evolving.

Of One Voice, Save One, Regarding Intercultural Theory and Its Significant Repercussions for Language Curricula and Teaching

A review such as this with the purpose of presenting a state of the art on the influence of cross-cultural research and intercultural theory on second/foreign language teaching cannot fail to mention a discordant voice.

This paper has already reviewed the subconscious, if not conscious, forces promoting and voicing conformity, even
in the context of bilingual, cross-cultural education. For a broader, more general review of this effect, one might also see, for example, Bernstein (1975), Apple (1990), Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), Apple and Christian-Smith (1992) or Contenta (1993). In the context of language teaching, one voice (Nemni, 1992) chooses also to repudiate overtly the notion that intercultural theory might or ought to have any significant influence on second/foreign language teaching. Adopting the style and tone of the polemistic, she refutes intercultural theory and its contributions by making a paradigmatic switch from the group or collective perspective to that, more psychological, of the individual. Much of her argumentation centers on personal perspective, anecdotally presented, exaggerating the tenuousness of several intercultural postulates which, she proposes, are wrongly put forth as objective truths.

Nemni's voice, reverberating in her article, has an evident role to play. Any time a theoretical or research orientation takes on the allure of a bandwagon, it is surely time to stop and take stock. In this sense, Nemni's discordant voice has served a valid purpose.

Yet, one might just as aptly counsel Nemni acolytes also to be careful to avoid undue exaggeration and not to confuse epistemological foundations such as the sociological or anthropological which value relativism with some other(s) espousing so-called ultimate truths.

Thus, to seize on just one example, it can be stated reasonably unequivocally that there do exist such social phenomena as the collective memory of a people. It is no figment of the imagination to suggest that a socially shared memory does exist. There is nothing either surprising or revolutionary in this view synthesized so lucidly by Keesing (1974:84): "Social meanings transcend, by some mysterious alchemy of minds meeting, the individuation of private experience". Hall (1977:196-211) also suggests that we all identify ourselves in two principal ways: as individuals and as members of a linguistic/cultural/ethnic group.

While in no way minimizing the importance of the individual as a psychological entity, but also while not reducing the individual to that alone, as Nemni appears to have done, one can trace in the work of the sociologist Durkheim and in that of such of his disciples such as Halbwachs (1925, 1950), or the psychologist Piaget (1968) or the anthropologist Lévi-Strauss (1973), a clear indication that the acts of remembering and forgetting are fundamentally social activities, where the person so engaged is perceived simultaneously as an individual and as an heir of his sociocultural tradition (Chandra, 1972; Huppert, 1972; Hall, 1977; Shils, 1981; Bauman, 1982; Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983; Nora, 1984; Lowenthal, 1985; Smith, 1985; Schwartz, Zerubavel and Barnett, 1986; Wertsch, 1987; Burke, 1989; Connerton, 1989; Middleton and Edwards, 1990; inter alios). In fact, it was Durkheim who suggested that we have access to the past (as well as to the present) only by way of categories and schemas, what he called the "collective representations" of our culture.

There appears then to be the notion of a kind of determinism when 'interculturalists' turn to a specific category such as collective memory, at least in the ways in which this concept has been presented originally. Nemni's "méniez-vous!" springs quickly to mind then. More recently, though, in the ways we conceive of ideology (Ma, 1988), of which collective memory is an integral part (Billig, 1990), as in how we conceive of collective memory itself, there is a growing emphasis on the problematic, the conflictual or the dysfunctional in a given culture. According to Billig (1988), the 'good, old, common sense' embedded in any ideology or collective memory force into them contrary, if not sometimes contradictory, themes. Neither ideology nor collective memory constitute then a snowball effect where individual action and opinion are ruled out, quite to the contrary. The same might also be said of the cross-cultural analysis of any number of cultural artifacts and values and the representations of same. Nemni (1992) has warned disciples of interculturalism to nuance their expression; they have. She and those who might follow her might well follow their own counsel.

Conclusion

Cross-cultural research and intercultural theory have made numerous contributions to the field of second/foreign language teaching. As Murphy-Lejeune (1998:158) has suggested: The real novelty and impact of the intercultural approach resides in its analysis of the perceptual relationships between the C1 and the C2*. In contrast to multiculturalism which, according to Lamy and Rosseel (1983), represents a situation of coexistence of cultures where the members of one culture are in contact with those of the other, but there is no real dialogue, there does exist "interculturalité". By its method, in lieu of monologues, real dialogue, which is a kind of sine qua non of cross-cultural exchange, is promoted and developed.

Moreover, intercultural theory brought into the practical domain implies a deeper knowledge of self and others, a knowledge which goes well beyond a simple accumulation of facts. It is founded on the premise of an "interpretive savoir-faire" (Zarate, 1984:115) also being present. In this approach, both our own and the other's underlying presuppositions are seized upon. There is a refusal to make either ourselves or the other into objective beings through superficial descriptions or the creation of stereotypes. It is rather a matter of interpreting the other and being interpreted oneself. As Abdallah-Pretelie (1986:78) has highlighted: "The [cultural] contents of [programs of study] are neither neutral [nor a-ideological], they are part and parcel of a specific context characterized by a historical, sociological and political time as well as by a particular place'.

Better understanding ourselves and others is an overriding objective of all education. Cross-cultural research and intercultural theory have much to offer to help us achieve this objective more fully.

We shall not cease from exploration
And the end of all our exploring
Will be to arrive where we started
And to know the place for the first time.

(T. S. Eliot)

References


Note

1. Peter J. Heffernan, M.A., M.A.T., Ph.D. is the incoming Associate Dean of the Faculty of Education, University of Lethbridge. An active member of the World Federation of Modern Language Teachers and of the International Association of Applied Linguists, he has been editor since 1987 of the Second Languages Bulletin of the Canadian Association of Second Language Teachers.