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**Canada**

AN ANALYSIS OF ONTARIO'S JUNIOR DIVISION  
SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTBOOKS IN RELATION TO MULTICULTURALISM

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN CONFORMITY WITH THE  
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN THE  
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

HYACINTH MICHELE IRVING

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### Objective

The objective of this research is to determine to what extent multiculturalism is reflected in the social studies textbooks authorized for use in the Junior grades, grades 4, 5, and 6, in Ontario schools in 1985. The Ontario Ministry of Education contends that it "is fully aware of its responsibility to all Ontario students to ensure that the learning materials used in the province's schools reflect fairly and accurately the reality of Canada's multicultural society" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1980:3).

### Assumptions

Four basic assumptions underlie this study. Firstly, it is assumed that Ontario schools reflect the reality that Canada is a multicultural society. The argument is as follows. In October of 1971, the Canadian federal government introduced the policy of "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework". This policy does not specifically affect education because education is a provincial rather than a federal concern<sup>1</sup>. However, in 1975 in Ontario, a Ministry of Culture and Recreation was established and in 1977 an official

policy of multiculturalism was proclaimed (Canada Multiculturalism Directorate, 1985:19). The Ontario Ministry of Education contends that "the goals of an educational system should reflect the values of the wider society" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1975b:5). Values are defined as "those qualities of life that the individual and/or society considers important principles of conduct and major aims of existence of the wider society" (Ontario Ministry of Education; 1975b:5).

Thus, the assumption that Ontario schools should reflect the multicultural reality of Canadian society is not unfounded. The Ministry of Education recognizes that there is a relationship between the school and society. In Canada and also in Ontario, multiculturalism is recognized. Therefore, the school as a mirror of society should reflect this reality.

Secondly, it is assumed that the social studies textbooks are used in the schools. That the textbooks are used in the schools is evidenced by the fact that the selection and use of textbooks is controlled by legislation. In Ontario, Circular 14 provides a list of texts approved by the Ministry of Education for use in Ontario schools (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1985:1).

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It is also assumed that textbooks are an important instrument of instruction in schools. There is evidence to support this assumption. In an investigation of the teaching of Canadian studies, Hodgetts (1968) found that of 847 teachers, 51 per cent relied on a textbook approach. He concluded that this was the most important finding of his study.

Discouraging though this fact may be, there can be no doubt about its accuracy. The assignment method can be readily identified; its persistent use, lesson after lesson, is easily recognized. The completely factual quality of the questions and answers, the role of the teacher as the sole source of all questions, the close relationship between student responses and the textbook, the discrete, factual nature of blackboard outline and mimeographed work-sheets, the similarity of all notebooks to each other and to the textbook, the assignment of five or six pages to be read for homework, all are obvious to the outside observer (Hodgetts, 1968:46).

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Additionally, Hodgetts (1968:24) found that 89 per cent of the classes unquestioningly followed the gray, consensus version of the textbooks. Textbooks, then, are an important tool of instruction for the teacher. Given their special status, their content is of major importance.

The content of textbooks is implicated in the fourth assumption. It is assumed here that there is a relationship between textbooks and attitudes. Textbooks are assumed to influence attitudes.

This thesis, then, is devoted to an analysis of the social studies textbooks in relation to multiculturalism. The second and third chapters present the three different conceptualizations of multiculturalism, as a demographic reality, an ideology, and as a federal policy. The next chapter (chapter 4) discusses these three different conceptions of multiculturalism for education. The fifth chapter presents an historical overview of textbook analysis. The sixth chapter describes the research design. The subsequent two chapters (chapters 7 and 8) present a quantitative and a qualitative analysis of the treatment of the selected groups in the textbooks. The final chapter discusses the findings in relation to multiculturalism.

## Notes to Chapter 1

1) Education is a provincial concern. However, it is recognized that the federal government has input into educational policies and programmes in three ways. It shares in the funding by means of joint funding of specific programmes, such as programmes of instruction in English or French. Secondly, through its Department of the Secretary of State, the federal government provides support to organizations and community groups involved in language and cultural issues. A third form of federal involvement in educational programmes derives from the fact that its Department of Indian and Northern Affairs has responsibility for the education of status Indians and administers some reserve schools (Canada Multiculturalism Directorate, 1985:29).

## CHAPTER 2: IMMIGRATION AND POPULATION CHANGE

Canada has always been an ethnically and culturally diverse society. However, over the years, it has become increasingly ethnically and culturally diverse. This chapter presents an overview of the role of immigration in the development of the Canadian social structure.

### The Native Peoples

The first arrivals to North America were the Native peoples, the Indians and the Inuit. It has been estimated that they first arrived in North America thousands of years ago. When the first European settlers arrived, there were approximately 220 000 Native peoples inhabiting what is now Canada. They were dispersed over the entire region, ranging from the Arctic tundra to the forests of the Maritimes (Wood and Remnant, 1980:23).

### The French Colonists

France was the first country to stake a claim on what is now Canada. Its claim in North America dates back to the early seventeenth century and covered a vast territory. New France included all of the land surrounding the Great Lakes, most of

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what is now eastern Canada, and the entire Mississippi River valley. Much of this area was occupied by a isolated string of forts and trading posts. Most of the French colonists, who first arrived in 1605, were settled along the St. Lawrence River, in what is now Quebec (Wood and Remnant, 1980:23).

The French settlers kept civil and ecclesiastical records about their numbers. In 1666 a modern style census was conducted. In that year 3 215 people inhabited New France. This number increased to 40 000 in 1736. From 1700 onwards emigration from France virtually stopped because the French government believed that the national interest required a growing population at home. The population of New France was 65 000 in 1763 due mainly to natural increase.

In 1763 New France was surrendered to the British. The signing of the Treaty of Paris, which marked the transition from French to British rule, did not signal the end of the French culture in New France. Two reasons explain this fact. Firstly, the French colonists occupied a well defined geographical region in which they were the numerically and culturally dominant group. New France was a stable, organized, and strong society. Consequently, it did not disappear or submerge itself into the British colonial

empire. Social and political reasons were also responsible for the continuation of the French culture. During this period, the Thirteen Colonies were showing signs of rebellion against British authority. Therefore, the British sought to gain the loyalty and cooperation of the French colonists. The Quebec Act of 1774 was designed to facilitate this process. This Act guaranteed the French colonists the right to their language, religion, and laws (Wood and Remnant, 1980:23 and Overbeek, 1980:113). Thus, the transition from French to British rule did not mark the end of the French culture.

#### The British Colonists

Like the French, the British claim in North America dates back to the early seventeenth century. However, the British settlement was primarily in the Thirteen Colonies to the south. Their presence in the north consisted only of a scattering of trading posts concentrated mainly in the Hudson Bay region (Wood and Remnant, 1980:25).

In 1783 the Thirteen Colonies won their independence from Britain and a new nation (the United States of America) was created. Loyalty to the British Crown and uncertainty about America's future caused over 30 000 United Empire Loyalists

to emigrate to Canada. They settled primarily in Ontario, that is between Quebec and the Prairies. This pattern of settlement isolated the French-speaking part of Canada and put the English-speaking group in an ideal position to expand westwards. The British governors who were now ruling Canada wanted to transform Canada into an English-speaking colony. They encouraged immigration from the British Isles- England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland- to achieve this objective (Overbeek, 1980:114).

Thus, between 1850 and 1880 Canada received some 23 000 people annually from the British Isles. Most of these immigrants were attempting to escape from poverty and slum conditions of British factory towns. They settled on farmlands in the Maritimes, Ontario, Manitoba, and the west coast. These British Isles immigrants were different among themselves in many respects. However, these British groups shared important cultural features such as the English language, law, and political traditions. Consequently, British culture was the dominant culture throughout Canada, except in Quebec (Wood and Remnant, 1980:25 and Overbeek, 1980:114).

In 1867, Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia formed the Canadian Confederation. At the time of

Confederation there were essentially two recognized ethnic groups, the British and the French. As table 1 (page 125) shows, the Native peoples, the Indians and the Inuit, represented a small proportion of the then Canadian population. Only eight per cent of the population of three and one half million were of non-British or non-French ethnic origin. However, there were significant numbers of people of German and Dutch origin. Additionally, there were small but well-established Black and Jewish communities. Adventurers and entrepreneurs from most European ethnic groups were also present in Canada (Palmer, 1976:84). Subsequent immigration to Canada has built on this foundation and it has had a major role in influencing the social structure of Canadian society.

#### Post Confederation Immigration

Post confederation immigration to Canada can be divided into four distinct phases. Each phase of immigration had a different pattern, characterized by the ethnic, cultural, or religious background of the immigrants, their occupational skills, their educational levels, and where they settled. The four phases of immigration are defined as follows: (1) Immigration Prior to 1901; (2) The Settlement of the Prairies; (3) Immigration Between Wars; (4) Immigration After World War II- 1945-1981. Each of these phases will be

discussed in turn.

1) Immigration Prior to 1901

Until 1901, the pace of immigration was rather slow. In 1871 only 8 per cent of the population was of an ethnic origin other than Native Indian or Inuit, French, or British. However, by 1881 the per cent had increased to almost 9 per cent and by 1901 to nearly 10 per cent. Emigration to the United States was the major factor which accounted for this slow growth rate. From 1861 to 1901, it has been estimated that more people left the country than entered it (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1975:5).

During this period of immigration more than half the immigrants to Canada of ethnic origins other than British or French were Germans. These German immigrants included religious groups from Germany such as the Mennonites and Moravians, immigrants from the Thirteen Colonies, and some of the United Empire Loyalists from the United States. The Scandinavians and the Dutch were the only other origin categories listed in the 1901 census which constituted over one half of one per cent of the population. Asians, mainly Chinese, Slovaks, Hungarians, Ukrainians, Czechs, and Blacks were also present in Canada during this period (Royal

Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1975:5-6).

## 2) The Settlement of the Prairies

The late 1890's was characterized by massive immigration to Canada. Between 1896 and 1914 more than three million immigrants emigrated to Canada. The Yukon gold rush, the completion of the first continental railway and the building of other railroad lines, the closing of the American frontier, new developments in dry land farming, and Wilfrid Laurier's Liberal government's first concentrated policy to "settle the empty West with producing farmers" were all factors which combined to attract immigrants to Canada.

Of those who immigrated during this period, 1 250 000 came from the United Kingdom and approximately 1 000 000 from the United States. Between the censuses of 1901 and 1921 there was an increase of over 800 000 among those whose origin was neither British nor French. Thus, by 1921, they made up 15 per cent of the Canadian population (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1975:7).

During this settlement period, those groups that were already established in the West, particularly the Germans and the Scandinavians, increased their numbers greatly. The

outstanding feature of this era was, however, the influx of immigrants from central and eastern Europe- Ukrainians, Poles, Hungarians, Romanians, and Russians. These regions provided a steady flow of settlers to the West (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1975:8).

During this settlement period, the number of Italians in Canada increased from 11 000 in 1901 to 67 000 in 1921. Like many other immigrants of this era, the Italians were forced to emigrate due to unsettled economic and political conditions in their homeland. They were attracted to Canada by the demands of the railways and other construction enterprises for labor. The number of Jews, who were mainly refugees from eastern Europe, also increased from 16 100 in 1901 to 126 000 by 1921. Both the Jews and the Italians tended to settle in the towns and cities of Ontario and Quebec. However, some Italian laborers worked on western railway construction and some Jews settled in Winnipeg and elsewhere in Manitoba. A few Greeks, Syrians, Lebanese, and Armenians immigrated to Canada during this period. They resembled the Jews and the Italians in their preference for settling in the cities of central Canada (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1975:9).

The Chinese population on the west coast continued to

increase in spite of Clifford Sifton's discouraging Asian immigration by the imposition of a head tax which was increased from \$100 per immigrant in 1900 to \$500 in 1903. The Japanese also began to immigrate in larger numbers. In the first ten months of 1907, over 8 000 Japanese came to Canada. They settled on or near the West coast and worked primarily in farming, fishing, logging, boat building and mining. Anti-Asian sentiment in September of 1907 caused race riots in Vancouver. The outcome was a "gentlemen's agreement" in which Japan agreed to limit emigration of Japanese to the specific demands of the Canadian government. By 1921, there were 40 000 Chinese in Canada, 24 000 of them in British Columbia, and 16 000 Japanese, 15 000 in British Columbia. Also, there were about 5 000 East Indians, mainly Sikhs. They came to British Columbia between 1905 and 1908. They were mainly engaged in railroad construction and in the logging and lumbering industries (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1975:10).

### 3) Immigration Between the Wars

The increasing immigration that was evident during the previous phase did not continue for several years because of World War I. However, by 1923, the economic and political climate changed and another phase of rapid immigration was in

progress. The numbers never reached those of the peak years of 1902 to 1913. This phase of increasing immigration continued until 1931 when the Depression caused an abrupt reduction in immigration.

During this era, the United States restricted the total number of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe entering their country each year. Consequently, Canada replaced the United States as the preferred destination for these emigrants. As a result, Canada placed a ceiling on immigration during this period, but a formal quota system was not established. Instead, the government created a list of "preferred" and "non-preferred" countries from which potential immigrants were selected. This mechanism resulted in the virtual exclusion of the Chinese and placed a severe limitation on other Asians. However, as in the previous period of immigration, this phase also resulted in an increase in the proportion of the Canadian population that was not of native Indian, Inuit, British, or French origin. By 1931, they had augmented to more than 18 per cent of the total population (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1975:10).

During this period, fewer immigrants settled in the West because the fertile agricultural lands were filled and the

wheat boom was faltering. Additionally, many of the Ukrainian, Polish, and Hungarian immigrants of this period were more highly skilled and educated than their counterparts who had come to Canada earlier. They preferred to settle in the industrial and commercial centers of Ontario and Quebec.

Many immigrants, including a large number from peasant and working class backgrounds, also settled in the booming mining and pulp and paper towns of northern Ontario and British Columbia (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1975:11-12).

There were 20 200 new Jewish immigrants to Canada during this period. They settled mostly in urban communities. The Jews were treated as a separate group by Canadian immigration officials regardless of their citizenship or their country of origin. They were always required to meet special conditions.

Like the Jews, the Asians were also subject to special restrictions. The 1908 "gentlemen's agreement" was revised in 1928 to limit the entry of Japanese to 150 per year (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1975:12).

During the Depression of the 1930's, the federal government

virtually cut off the flow of immigrants to Canada. Between 1932 and 1941 only 140 000 immigrants entered Canada.

Furthermore, emigration to the United States was estimated to have exceeded immigration by 100 000 (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1975:12 and Overbeek, 1980:115).

In the late 1930's some of the immigrants to Canada were refugees. However, because of slow economic recovery and anti-Semitic sentiments, expressed by a small but noisy minority, the Canadian government gave preference to economic considerations rather than humanitarian ones. Consequently, the Canadian government was reluctant to admit even the victims of Nazi Germany (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1975:12).

#### 4) Post World War II Immigration: 1945-1981

The post World War II immigration can be further divided into distinct periods: the first lasting from 1945 to about 1955; the second from 1956 to the 1960 and the third from 1961 to 1981. The entire post World War II era was characterized by a sharp increase in the number of immigrants. From 1945 to 1970, for instance, over 3 million immigrants entered Canada. Two million remained and the other million either returned

home or emigrated to the United States.

The period from 1945 to 1955 saw increasing immigration for various reasons. Because of World War II, numerous refugees and displaced persons were without a homeland. Canada assisted in the placement of such persons. Returning Canadian soldiers who had fought overseas brought home their fiancées, wives, and children. The revitalization of the Canadian economy during and after World War II resulted in an increased demand for both skilled and unskilled labor. The Canadian government also encouraged immigration, especially from Europe. Then Prime Minister MacKenzie King saw immigration as a means to increasing the population and stimulating economic growth.

The ethnic origins, other than British, which were most strongly represented among the new immigrants from 1945-1955 were Italian, German, Dutch, Polish, and Jewish. Those of British origin made up one-third of the total number of immigrants (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1975:13).

The major difference between the post World War II immigrants of the first and other eras was that in the first era the migration still included a large number of farmers,

fishermen, loggers, trappers, and miners. This was due to the fact that immigration policy only recognized these occupations for all but preferred ethnic origins. As Canada moved towards industrial development and became increasingly urbanized the character of immigration changed. The majority of immigrants were now professional and technical people. They settled primarily in cities and towns.

Another major difference between these three eras of post World War II immigrants was the result of a major shift in Canadian immigration policy. In 1962 the existing immigration regulations were amended. This amendment signaled the end of explicit discrimination against non-Europeans. Anyone, regardless of colour, citizenship, country of residence, or religious belief, was eligible to apply for admission, provided that person had the education, training, skills or special qualifications Canada required. Occupational skill, rather than country of origin, became the main criterion for admission. In 1967 the admission policy was further modified. The universalistic points system was introduced. Three main categories of immigrants were distinguished: the independents, sponsored dependents (husbands, wives, and close relatives of Canadian citizens and residents) and nominated relatives. Nominated relatives are also close relatives of the sponsor. However, the

sponsor must be willing to provide care, maintenance, or provide him or her with a job or assist that person in finding one. The independent immigrant was admitted only on the basis of his or her potential adaptability to Canadian life and the economy. He or she had to obtain at least 50 out of 100 points. Points were awarded on the basis of education, training, qualifications, skills, occupational demand, personal qualities, language proficiency, age, and adjustmental potential. The nominated relatives went through the same assessment procedures. However, they might receive between 15 and 30 points on the basis of their relationship to the sponsor (Overbeek, 1980:122-123 and Elliott, 1983:296).

Thus, the shift in immigration policy resulted in a wider variety of social classes and occupations than in the earlier periods of immigration. There was also a wider variety of ethnic origin categories. The European countries were no longer the major contributors of new Canadians. Asia, Africa, the Carribean isles and Latin America have become major sources of immigrants.

In the 1961 census almost one-quarter of the population reported their ethnic origin as other than Indian, Inuit, French, and British and by 1981 the proportion of the

population of other than Native Indian, Inuit, British or French has not changed considerably (refer to table 1 on page 125).

In summary, at the time of Confederation, Canada's population was composed of essentially two main groups, the British and the French. The Indians and the Inuit constituted a very small proportion of the then Canadian population. Subsequent immigration has built on this foundation. Since 1867, there has been a continual increase in the heterogeneity in the population. Additionally, in each successive wave of immigration, the trend has been toward increasing numbers of urbanized, educated, skilled, and politically sophisticated immigrants (Burnet, 1976:201). Similarly, most of the post World War II immigrants did not settle in the rural west. Instead, they tended to settle in Toronto and Hamilton, and to a lesser extent in Montreal and Vancouver. This trend did not apply to all ethnic groups. The Greeks, Portuguese, Chinese, and Italians were most highly urbanized, whereas the Dutch, Hungarians and Scandinavians have continued to be the least urbanized.

Thus, it can be concluded that immigration has played an important role in the development of Canadian society. It is, in part, responsible for the current multicultural

definition of the Canadian society. Canada has always been ethnically and culturally diverse. However, over the years it has become increasingly culturally and ethnically diverse. In the next chapter, we will discuss how Canada deals with this heterogeneity.

### CHAPTER 3: EMERGENCE OF MULTICULTURALISM AS AN IDEOLOGY AND FEDERAL POLICY

As was seen the previous chapter, historically Canada has always been an ethnically and culturally diverse society. Therefore, multiculturalism as a demographic reality has always been a feature of Canadian society. However, multiculturalism as an official ideology and as a federal policy have not always been present. This chapter examines the emergence of multiculturalism as an ideology and as a federal policy.

During the settlement period and at least into the 1950's, Anglo-conformity was the dominant ideology in Canada. This assimilationist ideology was based on the assumption that the normative culture in Canada was that of Anglo-Saxons or Anglo-Canadians. Similarly, it was assumed that unity demanded a common language and common ideals. Therefore, it followed that the New Canadians should be assimilated to the Anglo-Canadian language and values. From this point of view, any minority group that rejected assimilation was perceived as a threat to national unity. According to Palmer (1976:85), "during this period when scarcely anyone questioned the verities of God, King, and country, there was virtually no thought given to the possibility that "WASP"

values might not be the apex of civilization which all men should strive for". Supporters of Anglo-conformity, then, held that it was the obligation of the new immigrants to conform to the values and institutions of Canadian society.

Reactionaries were not the only supporters of Anglo-conformity. Palmer (1976:88-89) points out that even J.S. Woodsworth, who played an important role in virtually all the reform movements of the pre-World War II period (such as women's rights, temperance, and labour, farm, and penal reforms) believed that immigrants should be assimilated to Anglo-Canadian Protestant values in order to establish a truly Christian society in English-speaking Canada. He also felt that Northern and Western European immigrants were more assimilable than Eastern and Southern Europeans. Also, those from outside of Europe were even thought to be less assimilable (Porter, 1965).

Women's groups also supported the Canadianization of new immigrants. They held that immigrants "must be educated to high standards or our whole national life will be lowered by their presence among us" (Palmer, 1976:89).

The 1970's marked a change in official conceptualizations concerning cultural diversity. The assimilationist ideology

was replaced by the ideology of multiculturalism. The emergence of this policy was in response to the findings of Volume 4 of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. This volume dealt with the contribution made by other ethnic minorities to Canada. The Commission recommended that measures should be taken to safeguard their contributions (Burnet, 1975:205; Eriks, 1980:3; Samuda, Berry and Laferrière, 1984:v).

In contrast to the assimilationist ideology, the ideology of multiculturalism is based on the national goal of one nation/many peoples/many cultures. Multiculturalism rests on three basic assumptions. Firstly, it assumes that all ethnic groups are characterized by high levels of ethnocentrism and that they are willing to adopt a laissez-faire attitude towards other ethnic groups whose values and lifestyles differ from their own. Secondly, it assumes that levels of prejudice and discrimination between ethnic groups are low enough to permit mutual tolerance. Thirdly, multiculturalism further assumes that power is fairly distributed among the various ethnic groups. This implies that no one ethnic group can exercise hegemony over others and that members of different ethnic groups limit and control the extent, spheres, and nature of interaction between them (Kallen, 1982:52).

Why did Canada adopt multiculturalism as official ideology in 1971? The term ideology has been defined as "a pattern of beliefs and concepts both factual and normative which purport to explain complex social phenomena with a view to directing and simplifying socio-political choices, facing individuals and groups" (Gould in Bullivant, 1981:11). This distinction between normative and factual is of major importance. Bullivant (1981:11), in a discussion of multiculturalism and education, explains:

Ideologies can take the form of substantive statements or truth-claims about the nature of society and its education system. These are essentially descriptive, and can be tested, to see if they are accurate by examining the facts. But normative statements are ideal-future claims about what society and its educational system should be, they are prescriptive, and consequently cannot be tested by examining the facts.

...Ideologies that are factual can be given a number of reality tests; ideologies that are normative can be given consistency tests, to see whether

they have some substance or are merely empty rhetoric, and used to push one political point of view against others. Often the rhetorical nature of an ideology will become apparent when its generalizations do not lead to educational outcomes and detailed policies.

Thus, the distinction made by Gould between normative and factual is an important one. Within the Canadian context, both the factual and normative features of multiculturalism will now be examined.

The official Canadian policy is that of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework. Do these substantive claims match the social, cultural, and demographic realities of Canadian society? The substantive claim that Canada is a multicultural society will be examined first. The ethnic composition of Canadian society prior to the introduction of multiculturalism as an ideology and federal policy can be seen in Table 1 (page 125). It indicates that Canada is an ethnically diverse society.

Baker (1977) has proposed that in Canada there is an English

dominant group and three types of minorities: non-whites, including indigenous and non-indigenous groups, immigrant white groups; and a white seige culture, the French Canadians. His classification categories will be used as the framework for the analysis of the ethnic composition of Canada.

Using Baker's (1977) analytic framework, certain important facts are highlighted. Firstly, the ethnic composition of Canada has changed over the years. The proportion of those of British origin has declined steadily since 1901. In contrast, the French proportion has remained relatively stable. The non-whites (Indian and Inuit, and other origins) and the immigrant whites have increased steadily.

In reference to the two latter groups, what is important here is that these two groups do not come close in number to the British and French. Additionally, it should be noted that the non-whites and immigrant whites are of diverse ethnic origins. The non-British and the non-French composition of the population is rather diverse. At one level of abstraction Canada is multicultural, but because of the nature of its ethnic diversity, this claim of Canada's multiculturalism can be brought into question. "Acceptance of the fact that Canada is in one sense multicultural does

not sufficiently take into account the complexities involved, nor is it very illuminating in considering the efficacy of multicultural policies" (Findlay, 1975:217).

Findlay (1975) proposes that polyethnic<sup>1</sup> is a more apt term to describe Canada's ethnic composition. Burnet<sup>2</sup> (1975:208) concurs with Findlay. She points out that the term polyethnic would have been used were it not for the negative connotations attached to the term "ethnic" in academic circles in the 1960's. Academic conservatism, then, played an important role in influencing official conceptualizations of pluralism (Bullivant, 1981:6).

Another line of argument against the multicultural definition of Canadian society is presented by Porter (1979). He argues that the distributions of ethnic origins are artifacts of the census itself and the result of the questions from which data are derived (Porter, 1979:113). The Dictionary of the 1971 Census, for instance, stated that an ethnic group "refers to ethnic or cultural background traced through the father's side". Additionally, it was pointed out that the "language spoken by the person or by his paternal ancestor on first coming to this continent was the guide to the determination of ethnic or cultural groups in some cases" (Dictionary of 1971 Census in Bullivant, 1981:6). Based on

these criteria, fifty-two different ethnic groups are identified.

The substantive claim that Canadian society is bilingual is also not supported by the factual evidence. Data from the 1971 census indicates that 60.2 per cent of the population spoke English, 26.9 per cent spoke French, and 13.0 per cent spoke other languages as their mother tongues. Additionally, only about 3 per cent of the population identify themselves as being bilingual (Bullivant, 1981:7). Multilingual, rather than bilingual would be a more accurate description of the language situation in Canada for individuals<sup>3</sup>.

The substantive claims on which the ideology of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework are based fail to match the realities of the Canadian situation. Why then did Canada adopt an ideology of multiculturalism? Multiculturalism has both arisen and been criticized for political and economic reasons. As Moodley aptly put it:

...the Canadian case demonstrates not only the wide scope but also the limits of ethnic manipulation from above, mainly circumstances circumscribed by economic conditions that activated and inspired

official ethnic policies in the first place (Moodley, 1983:330).

On October 8, 1971, then Prime Minister Trudeau introduced the federal policy of multiculturalism:

A policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework commends itself to the government as the most suitable means of assuring the cultural freedom of Canadians. Such a policy should help to break down jealousies. National unity, if it is to mean anything in the deeply personal sense, must be founded on confidence in one's own individual identity; out of this can grow respect for that of others and a willingness to share ideas, attitudes and assumptions. A vigorous policy of multiculturalism will help create this initial confidence. It can form the base of a society which is based on fair play for all (Multiculturalism and the Government of Canada, 1978:45).

The government's policy of multiculturalism has four

objectives:

1. The Government of Canada will support all of Canada's cultures and will seek to assist, resources permitting, the development of those cultural groups which have demonstrated a desire and effort to continue to develop a capacity to grow and contribute to Canada, as well as a clear need for assistance.
2. The Government will assist members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society.
3. The Government will promote creative encounters and interchange among all Canadian cultural groups in the interest of national unity.
4. The Government will continue to assist immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages in order to become full participants in Canadian society (Multiculturalism and the Government of Canada, 1978:45).

McLeod (1984:31-33) identifies five fundamental principles underlying the Canadian policy of multiculturalism. The first principle is that of equality of status. Equality of status, as McLeod (1984:31) explains, was not intended to mean that all ethnic groups would have equal impact because historically, English and French Canadians have had a great influence on Canadian society. The fact that they will continue to do so is not important. Rather, it was intended to recognize the "Third Force", the non-English, non-French, and non-Native populations.

Emphasis upon the Canadian identity is another component of multiculturalism (McLeod, 1984:32). Multiculturalism was to be conceptualized within a bilingual framework. Therefore, to be Japanese Canadian or English Canadian was not to deny the Canadian identity. Rather, it was to recognize a component of it, pluralism.

Another fundamental principle underlying the policy of multiculturalism is the sharing of cultures- of values, attributes, histories, experiences, and institutions. The argument here is that individuals can learn from each other and that each cultural group has made important contributions to Canada's growth and well being. Sharing was intended to lead to growth and gain for everyone (Eriks, 1980:3 and

McLeod, 1984:32).

A further principle underlying multiculturalism is that people would have a greater choice of lifestyles and cultural traits (McLeod, 1984:32). This policy underscores the fact that the preservation of ethnic identity is a voluntary matter for both the individual and the group.

The concern for and protection of civil and human rights is another fundamental principle of multiculturalism. Common Law provides the traditional protection for rights. However, an examination of Canadian history will illustrate instances in which legislatures and courts have neglected to protect basic human rights with particular reference to schooling, the public service, private business, property, and such general civil rights as the right to vote (McLeod, 1984:33).

Thus, the general principles of the federal policy of multiculturalism can be summarized as being to promote equality among ethnic groups, develop Canadian identity, strengthen citizenship participation, encourage cultural diversification, and preserve human rights.

This policy of multiculturalism is not without its critics. Rocher (1973) presents four reservations about the

-policy of multiculturalism:

Tout d'abord, elle compromet gravement l'avenir du bilinguisme.

La seconde réserve que je dois faire à l'endroit d'un Canada bilingue et multiculturel, c'est que dans ce nouveau contexte, le bilinguisme perd toute signification culturelle.

Ma troisième réserve porte sur le multiculturalisme lui-même. Je ne crois pas que le multiculturalisme consiste le fondement d'une nation.

Enfin, ma quatrième réserve tient au fait que, pour la communauté canadienne-française, cette nouvelle politique multiculturelle représente un immense pas en arrière dont, je crois, les Canadiens français n'ont pas encore pris conscience.

Rocher, then, is primarily concerned about the future of francophones. As far as he is concerned, multiculturalism does not offer the possibility of survival and growth for the French culture. As a result, the cultural survival of Quebec

is threatened.

Like Rocher, Lupul (1975), too, rejects the policy of multiculturalism, but from a different perspective. Lupul argues that such a policy perpetuates the inequitable situation of the non-French and non-British groups. This situation would persist because the policy of multiculturalism is tied to official bilingualism. According to him, multiculturalism without a viable linguistic base is not viable. Therefore, he contends that the policy should be that of multiculturalism within a multi-lingual framework (Lupul in Burnet, 1975:207-208).

Porter (1979) argues from a different perspective from those of Rocher (1973) or Lupul (1975). However, he too rejects the policy of multiculturalism. He argues that the revival of ethnicity is regressive because of its emphasis on descent group identification and endogamy. Also, it runs the risk of believed-in biological differences becoming the basis of judgements about groups of people. Furthermore, he contends that where ethnicity is considered salient, there is often an association between ethnic differences, social class and inequality. For him, social class inequalities become obscured and more difficult to analyse where there is ethnic heterogeneity in the social structure (Porter, 1979:121).

Porter, then, is concerned that a policy of multiculturalism will restrict equality of opportunity for individuals. Similarly, this policy will perpetuate the inequalities of the vertical mosaic.

The policy of multiculturalism is also criticized because of its emphasis on expressive rather than instrumental aspects of ethnicity. As Bullivant (1980:470) explains:

.A. the emphasis is on "understanding different cultures," particularly aspects such as values, beliefs, aesthetic pursuits, ethnic histories, basket weaving and spaghetti-eating lifestyles, the cultural heritage and so on.

Neglected or glossed over are the low socio-economic positions of many ethnics, their lack of access to social rewards and economic resources, the prejudice and discrimination shown them by the dominant host society, and similar power-conflict issues.

Similarly, Moodley (1983) argues that the policy of multiculturalism tends to focus only on the expressive

aspects of culture. Such an emphasis has important ramifications:

As long as cultural persistence is confined to food, clothes, dance, and music, then cultural diversity provides colour to an otherwise mundane monotonous technological society. It even enhances tourism, if one considers how much Indians and ethnic restaurants add to the magnificence of Canadian landscape. As such, it proves to be no threat, but on the contrary, trivializes, neutralizes and absorbs social and economic inequalities. However, if this should shift from an expressive to an instrumental orientation, whereby cultural adherence becomes a vehicle for mobilization and a voice for expressing grievances, then the relationship between private identity and public policy has more controversial consequences for Canadian society (Moodley, 1983:326).

In sum, some critics of the multicultural policy reject it

primarily because they see it as conserving the reality of the vertical mosaic. In other words, this policy, intentionally or not, preserves rather than eradicates the Canadian ethnic stratification.

### Notes to Chapter 3

1) The term "polyethnic" is derived from two Greek words, polus- many, and ethnos- nation (Bullivant, 1981:242). A polyethnic society is one in which there are people from many nations.

2) Jean Burnet was a Research Associate of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. She was therefore involved in the official conceptualization of Canadian pluralism.

3) However, federally and in one province there is a state policy of institutional bilingualism, although its imposition is limited.

## CHAPTER 4: MULTICULTURALISM AND EDUCATION

In the first chapter, we saw that multiculturalism, as a demographic reality, has always been a feature of Canadian society. In the previous chapter, we saw that multiculturalism, as an ideology and as a federal policy, has only been in existence since the fall of 1971. This chapter examines the implications of the three different conceptions of multiculturalism for education.

### Reality and Ideology of Education: Assimilation to Multiculturalism

As was mentioned in the second chapter, Anglo-conformity was the dominant ideology in the settlement period and at least into the 1950's. Therefore, it was not surprising that schools during that period functioned to assimilate the children of minority groups to the desired values and attitudes of the dominant group. This assimilating function is apparent from the following comment by Hodgins. For the then assistant to the Chief of Superintendent of Ontario Schools, the teaching of history and geography were to serve assimilative and uplifting purposes:

To have at least a general acquaintance

with the geography and history of the country in which we reside, is essential to our intelligent appreciation of its physical resources and civil institutions. This is not only true in regard to those who are native born in the provinces, but they are especially in the case with the newer residents in it, many of whom have come hither long after the period of their school education had closed, when they had, doubtless, neither the inclination nor the opportunity of learning much of interest in regard to the history or condition of British North America (Hodgins, 1866, quoted in McLeod, 1975:20-21).

For Hodgins, then, the teaching of history and geography were part of the national purpose and the Canadianization process. Troper has also pointed out that the assimilating function of the schools has persisted into the 1950's.

In addition to the inclusion of British history and literature to the curriculum, not as separate from Canadian history and

literature but as Canadian history and literature, English Canadian children were subject to daily ritual of saluting the Union Jack, singing "God save the King" and pledges of allegiance to the crown. The Loyalists were reconstituted. In this new incarnation in the school history curriculum they appear not as Americans, which they were, but as noble British victims of American excess (Troper, quoted in Bullivant, 1981:48).

Thus, it was not unusual that schools during that period functioned to remake minority group students in the Anglo-conformist mold. The objective was to provide the students with a new value orientation in order to erase their ethnocultural distinctiveness (Wolfgang, 1975:3). Cultural diversity, as conceptualized in that period, was not a value to be retained or promoted. The school, as the major agent of socialization, was to assist in the process of assimilation. In 1971, a radical shift occurred—multiculturalism was introduced as the official ideology concerning cultural diversity.

From this perspective, cultural diversity is seen as a value

to be retained and promoted. The argument here is that if the acceptance of one's ethnicity is encouraged, then this will lead to greater acceptance of the ethnicity of other people. However, this argument appears to be in opposition with ethnocentrism theory. This theory is substantiated in psychological theory. It states that the more positive the attitudes one holds towards one's own group, then the more negative or lower are the attitudes one will hold towards other groups (Berry, 1977:29). In other words, positive self or own-group attitudes are generally associated with negative attitudes toward other groups.

However, according to Berry (1977:35):

If efforts are made to generate security, ethnic security or status security, only through own-group awareness and acceptance; if the multicultural policy promotes only the value of being Ukrainian or being Italian or being Chinese Canadian, then we are in danger of developing further the ethnocentric structure of attitudes. If the policy only promotes the value of each individual group's identity, then the net

result, I think, will be that each group will like itself more and like every other group less. If, however, the multicultural policy implementation is directed towards confidence in one's own group, as was originally stated (rather than through glorification in one's own ethnicity) and if it is directed towards acceptance of all (not just one's own group), then the multicultural structure may be the operative one. That is to say, if we really promote confidence in one's own identity without glorifying the ethnic group, if we really promote confidence in one's own group without denigrating all others, then I think the multicultural policy will fly.

#### Multiculturalism and Educational Policy

In the strictest sense, the federal policy of multiculturalism does not specifically affect education because education is a provincial, rather than a federal concern<sup>1</sup>. Therefore, it does not necessarily follow that Canadian schools will promote multiculturalism in their

curricula. However, since 1971, Ontario, along with Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, have proclaimed policies of multiculturalism (Burnet, 1984:22).

The introduction of provincial policies of multiculturalism underscores the importance of the ideology of multiculturalism for education. In addressing a Conference on Multiculturalism in Education, the then Minister of Education in Ontario, Thomas Wells pointed out:

For me multiculturalism is a positive dynamic force, a philosophy that should permeate all curriculum [sic]. It is a philosophy based on the concept that each and all of the diverse cultures now present in our country have something of value to offer, something to share with other cultures, as together we strive to build a new and better way of life together, a more ideal society (Wells, 1977:4).

In 1975, a new official curriculum policy for grades 1 to 6 was introduced in the document The Formative Years. This document included a very specific statement that, in

acquiring a "reasoned knowledge of and pride in Canada", all children should be given the opportunities to:

- develop and retain a personal identity by becoming acquainted with the historical roots of the community and culture of his or her origin, and by developing a sense of continuity with the past;
- begin to understand and appreciate the points of view of ethnic and cultural groups other than his or her own;
- develop an understanding of such concepts as community, conflict, culture, and interdependence;
- learn the social skills and attitudes upon which effective and responsible co-operation and participation depend (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1975a: 22-23).

The Ministry of Education also published the document Multiculturalism in Action. This document provides teachers with ideas on how to translate the concept of multiculturalism into meaningful classroom activities and

discussions (Wells, 1977:5-6).

The adoption of the philosophy of multiculturalism is further articulated in the document Education for a Multicultural Society. In this document, the Ontario Ministry of Education acknowledges the responsibility of preparing all students to live in Canada's multicultural society and in an increasingly interdependent world. Additionally, the Ministry states that it strives to ensure that the principles of equality, freedom of access to public services and facilities, and the right to maintain one's cultural heritage are operational in all schools (Ontario Ministry of Education, n.d).

Ontario's concern for multicultural education has also been outlined in a handbook for authors and publishers entitled Race, Religion, and Culture in Ontario School Materials (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1980). This document outlines the basic principles for developing learning materials. It also explains the responsibilities of authors, publishers, illustrators and editors in developing learning materials. Further, it provides specific suggestions for language usage and illustrations in the development of learning materials. This document then, provides a framework of suggestions which should ensure the elimination of biased materials in Ontario schools relating to racial, religious,

and cultural groups in Canada and elsewhere.

It would thus appear that Ontario is committed to the principles of multiculturalism and multicultural education. The educational system in Ontario was to follow the province's multicultural policy. What is meant by the term multicultural education? Multicultural education is:

... an education in which the individual child of whatever origin finds not mere acceptance or tolerance but respect and understanding. It is an education in which cultural diversity is seen and used as a valuable resource to enrich the lives of all. It is an education in which differences and similarities are used for positive ends. It is an education in which every child has a chance to benefit from the cultural heritage of others as well as his or her own. It is an education for all who hope to live in the Canada of the future (Minister of Education of Ontario, 1975 quoted in Dubois, 1977:13).

## Approaches to Multicultural Education

Four major types of multicultural education have been identified by analysts. These are: the target group approach, the problem-centred approach, the museum approach, and the cultural-intercultural approach (Eriks, 1980:4-5 and McLeod, 1984:34-39).

### 1) Target Group/Ethnic-Specific Approach

The target group approach is also referred to as the ethnic specific approach to multicultural education. This approach has been defined in terms of specific ethnic groups, usually recent immigrant groups. Programmes based on the target group approach have tended to be related to what is perceived as the problem of integrating immigrants into Canadian society. The objective has been that of making the students fit "some artificial definition of Canadianism" (Eriks, 1980:4).

Education in a multicultural society should be much broader than a study of immigration and of strategies for the most rapid and complete assimilation of minority group children. Consequently, the target group approach is narrow, negative and unrealistic. It is narrow in the sense that it ignores

the fact that some ethnic groups have lived in Canada for generations and are no longer immigrants. Consider, for instance, the situation of the Ukrainians. In 1971, 82 per cent of this ethnocultural group was Canadian born (Petryshyn, 1978:78).

Similarly, the target group perspective is negative because it views the immigrant child as having a problem integrating rather than as having a positive contribution to make within the classroom. Additionally, it is unrealistic because it does not look at the totality of the population, and consequently, it does not prepare the students to live in a multicultural society (Eriks, 1980:4).

In spite of these shortcomings, the ethnic specific approaches to multicultural education have fulfilled some important functions. They have bolstered the sense of security and continuity of ethnic communities. Also, they have enabled children to bridge the gaps that have existed between their minority communities and the larger society by increasing their sense of identity and security. This approach, then, has enabled many children to cope with both the minority culture of their families and community and the dominant cultures beyond. From this point of view, ethnic specific programmes have assisted children and ethnic

communities in recognizing their importance and success (McLeod, 1984:35).

## 2) Problem-Centered Approach

The problem-centered perspective is another approach to multicultural education. In this approach specific programmes are developed to address particular perceived needs or demands associated with schooling and the assimilation or integration of students of diverse backgrounds. Underlying this approach is the assumption that the cultural environment of the family was incorrect or at best inadequate. ESL and compensatory programmes are the most common types in this perspective (McLeod, 1984:35).

From one point of view, this approach to multicultural education is beneficial because a genuine recognition of the economic handicaps of disadvantaged families could provide support and attention. However, at the same time, when society in general and teachers in particular possess this negative attitude, this perspective could become a self-fulfilling prophecy. The children may then come to view themselves and their culture as inadequate (McLeod, 1984:36).

Additionally, like the target group approach to multicultural

education, this approach also ignores the reality of the society in which the student lives. As a result it denies the student the opportunity for a relevant educational programme which will prepare him or her to live in that society.

### 3) Museum Approach

Another approach to multicultural education is the museum perspective. This approach is most often found in the primary and junior grades. In these grades there is usually no stated rationale in the curriculum for teaching about multiculturalism and the orientation is deliberately monocultural, that is, it represents "token" multiculturalism.

In this approach the programme of studies is presented in folkloric or exotic terms. It tends to be limited to the recognition of national days, national foods, and costumes. Further, it tends to make objects of people, emphasizes trivial differences among groups, and perpetuates stereotypes.

This approach only provides the teacher with "an easy answer" to the more difficult and complex problems of teaching true understanding and communication (Eriks, 1980:5). It has been argued that because this approach often represents the

student's first introduction to multiculturalism, it may be the most undesirable for fostering cross-cultural understanding (Wilson, 1984:68 and Werner et al., 1977:27).

#### 4) Cultural/Intercultural Approach

The cultural/intercultural approach is the final approach to multicultural education. In this approach emphasis is placed on developing the capabilities that will enable individuals to function effectively in a multicultural society. It is concerned with producing individuals who will be capable of transcending the boundaries of their own ethnic cultures.

"Skills, knowledge, attitudes, and emotions are developed so that persons acquire a sense of security of their own being and group identity, a knowledge of other cultures and subcultures, and the ability to behave and act capably in more than one culture" (McLeod, 1984:37). As Morrison further explains:

The transcultural person is one whose horizons extend significantly beyond his/her culture in such a way as to come to grips socially and psychologically with the idea of a multiplicity of realities. What is unusual about the

transcultural person is an abiding commitment to the essential similarities between people everywhere, while paradoxically maintaining an equally strong commitment to their differences. What is new about this person is a fundamental change in structure and process of identity. The identity of the transcultural person is based not on a "belongingness", which implies either owing or being by culture, but on a style of self-consciousness that is capable of negotiating ever new formations of reality (Morrison, 1980:16).

It thus appears that the cultural/intercultural approach to multicultural education is grounded in a realistic appraisal of the nature of Canadian society. Multicultural education is not only for ethnic, cultural or religious minorities, but for all students regardless of background. This perspective is not dependent upon the ethnic mix nor the heterogeneity or homogeneity that is present in a particular school or community. It recognizes the mobility of families. Further, it is the only approach which appears to be based upon fundamental principles of multiculturalism.

The examination of the policy statements and the policy documents presented above leads to the inference that Ontario's approach to multicultural education is the cultural/intercultural approach.

#### Notes to Chapter 4

1) Education is a provincial concern. However, it is recognized that the federal government has input into educational policies and programmes in three ways. It shares in the funding by means of joint funding of specific programmes, such as programmes of instruction in English or French. Secondly, through its Department of the Secretary of State, the federal government provides support to organizations and community groups involved in language and cultural issues. A third form of federal involvement in educational programmes derives from the fact that its Department of Indian and Northern Affairs has responsibility for the education of status Indians and administers some reserve schools (Canada Multiculturalism Directorate, 1985:29).

## CHAPTER 5: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF TEXTBOOK ANALYSIS

The literature concerning textbook analysis has been extensively reviewed elsewhere (McDiarmid and Pratt, 1971, Pratt, 1969 and Pratt, 1971). Therefore, this chapter does not present a comprehensive review of the literature. Rather, it is devoted only to a discussion of the highlights concerning the substantive and methodological findings. The objective here is to present a framework in which to situate the present research.

### Substantive Findings

Research on textbook analysis is not new- it can be traced back to 1889. In that year, the International Peace Conference recommended that textbooks should not include false ideas about the nature and causes of war. However, it was not until the period following the First World War that attempts were made to analyse and revise textbooks to eliminate such expressions of bias. During this period, studies were sponsored by the League of Nations' Institute for Intellectual Cooperation. These studies were focused on the treatment of Germany in the textbooks of other countries. Invariably, these studies reported instances of anti-German sentiments. In 1925, the League of Nations passed the

Casares Resolutions recommending the exchange of textbooks between countries. The objective was to enable each country to study and criticize textbooks used in other countries. The Scandinavian countries were the first to put this into effect (McDiarmid and Pratt, 1971:8).

In 1945, the role formerly played by the League of Nations in analysing textbooks was assumed by UNESCO. In 1949, UNESCO published a guide proposing criteria for the analysis and revision of textbooks. These criteria included accuracy, fairness, balance, world-mindedness, and comprehensiveness. UNESCO also promoted a series of major international conferences on the writing and revision of textbooks for international understanding. The main recommendation arising from these conferences was that textbooks should be purged of all expressions deemed to convey hatred or contempt for other peoples or races (McDiarmid and Pratt, 1971:9).

In contrast to European research, where the tradition of textbook criticism and revision has its origins in bilateral agreements between national committees, American studies have been the product of university research. Additionally, American research has tended to focus primarily on the treatment of internal minorities. The American Black has been the most frequently studied minority. However, during

the 1960s attention shifted to the treatment of the American Indian in history textbooks. Frequently these American studies reported inaccuracies, omissions, and distortions, and the reports led to textbook revisions (Pratt, 1971:2).

Canadian research has been rather slight in volume and recent in date. In contrast to European and American research, Canadian research has been sponsored primarily by voluntary organizations and governmental bodies. However, there are exceptions. The earliest research on Canadian textbooks was conducted in the United States. In the 1940's, attention was focused on the treatment of American and of Quebec history. During the 1960's and 1970's, Canadian Indians were the focus of various studies (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1969; McDiarmid and Pratt, 1971; Dicks, 1971; Fowler and Moore, 1972; Saskatchewan Human Rights Commission, 1973, 1974; Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, 1974; Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission, 1974, and Vincent et Arcand, 1979). The findings reported by these studies have been fairly consistent. Treatment of the Canadian Indian was found to be rather negative. Adjectives such as "hostile", "cruel", and "barbarous" were frequently used to describe the Indian. Further, heavy emphasis was placed on Indians' supposed predisposition for massacring, scalping, and drinking.

Other minorities have been superficially presented, and often with disdain or contempt. In summarizing the findings of textbook treatment of minorities, general biases of omission and commission have been identified.

The main sins of omission, the researchers suggest, are the failure to note the positive contributions and qualities, the contemporary condition, and the persecution of, or discrimination against, minorities. The main sins of commission identified are an excessively political approach, resulting in emphasis on war and conflict, the unscholarly reproduction of stereotypes, and the casual use of emotive or pejorative terms to describe members of specific groups (McDiarmid and Pratt, 1971:25).

#### Methodological Approaches to Textbook Analysis

In their review of textbook analysis, McDiarmid and Pratt (1971:122) have identified two main types of content analysis: qualitative and quantitative analysis.

In general, much of the early research on textbooks was qualitative in nature. Prior to the 1920's, research tended to focus on major omissions, obvious distortions, and blatant expressions of prejudice. During the 1920's, the conceptual basis and the research design of the studies began to show greater rigor. During this period new approaches were developed. These included: assessing the casual use of pejorative terms; examining the presentation of stereotypes; and employing sampling techniques, such as choosing specific areas or episodes for analysis rather than attempting an exhaustive study of the entire history of a group. In addition, quantitative analysis was used to calculate the amount of space a textbook devoted to different countries, groups, or topics (McDiarmid and Pratt, 1971:13).

The 1930's marked the development of statistical techniques; and the 1940's marked major developments in communications research (Pratt, 1971:3). However, despite these developments, textbook analysts made little attempt to employ these techniques that could provide quantitative and comparable measures of the textbook treatment of different groups, countries, or topics.

Methodologically, most of the studies conducted in the 1950's

and 60's were virtually unchanged from those in the 1930's. However, a number of studies in the 1960's and later in the 1970's employed quantitative techniques as an aid to evaluating texts. These quantitative techniques were applied to textbook analyses in an attempt to give greater scientific rigour, to reduce the incidence of subjectivity, and to facilitate greater comparability between texts.

The quantitative techniques that were applied included: frequency analysis, which counts the number of references given to a particular item; non-frequency analysis, which is concerned only with the presence or absence of particular references; contingency analysis, which calculates the frequency with which different concepts are related or juxtaposed in a text, and evaluative assertion analysis, which measures "descriptions of specific objects or persons in verbal passages" (McDiarmid and Pratt, 1971:122).

Quantitative techniques such as frequency and non-frequency analyses were found to be of limited usefulness. They are difficult to apply and their failure to allow for irony or dissimulation makes them an unreliable basis for inferences about the source (McDiarmid and Pratt, 1971:123).

It has been argued that assertion analysis is the most

promising kind of content analysis for the study of textbook treatment of minorities.

Assertion analysis will probably be found to be the most productive type of content analysis, inasmuch as the 'thematic content' corresponds most nearly to the overall signification of communication....The assertions found in a communication are the primary content indications of the intentions and motives of the communicator. Similarly, the effects which a communication produces on an audience are primarily due to the assertions content (Janis, 1949, quoted in Pratt, 1971:4).

Evaluative assertion analysis was the method of evaluation employed by McDiarmid and Pratt (1971) in their analysis of the treatment of various minority groups in Ontario social studies textbooks. These authors found that "there were several limitations in the methodology, chiefly arising from the need for a more sensitive instrument than evaluative assertion analysis for the measurement of value judgements in textbooks" (McDiarmid and Pratt, 1971:124). In response to

these limitations, a new but similar instrument, the Evaluative Assertion Rating System (EARS) was developed. This instrument was found to produce reliable and valid scores representing value judgements expressed about groups in textbooks. EARS was further modified to make it simpler to apply. The resulting instrument was Evaluative Coefficient Analysis (ECO Analysis). This instrument of evaluation will be used as one of the methods of evaluation in this present study. It will be presented in chapter 7.

Thus, the substantive findings concerning textbook analysis indicated that history texts were the major sources of evaluative references to minorities. Additionally, we have seen that textbook analysts have identified biases of omission and commission as the two main types of shortcomings that can lead to unfair treatment of minority groups. Methodologically, we have seen that over the years, there has been a shift from purely qualitative to quantitative analyses.

## CHAPTER 6: RESEARCH DESIGN

This chapter presents the research design of the present study. It includes a description of the study, the sampling procedures and the structure of the analysis.

### Objectives of the Present Study

The objectives of the present study are to examine the way in which the various minority groups are presented in the social studies textbooks. The overall objective is to determine how multiculturalism is reflected in these texts. The Ontario Ministry of Education contends that it "is fully aware of its responsibility to all Ontario students to ensure that the learning materials used in the province's schools reflect fairly and accurately the reality of Canada's multicultural society" (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1980:3).

### Sampling Decisions

#### a) Subject Area

Social studies has been selected as the subject area for various reasons. In the fourth chapter, we saw that history

and geography textbooks were used in the past to serve assimilative purposes. In the fifth chapter, we also saw that history textbooks were identified as the main sources of evaluative references to minorities. Consequently, the assumption was made here that social studies was the subject area in which a great deal of the material concerning multiculturalism will be found. However, it is recognized that multiculturalism is not restricted to any particular specialized field.

b) Grade Samples

According to the Ministry of Education (1975b:4) education in the Primary and Junior years, both in the home and in the school, is of major importance. "The experiences of these early years mould the child's attitudes to learning and provide the basic skills and impetus for his continuing progress". Attitudes, then, are assumed to be formed in early life. Therefore, it would have been appropriate to chose the primary grades. However, these grades were not selected because there would not be sufficient texts to use social studies as the subject area. Also, textbooks in the primary years tend to have more pictures and illustrations rather than text. The selected methodologies focus on the examination of text and not illustrations and pictures. The

selected methodologies, then, are more appropriate to the junior rather than the primary grades. Consequently, the Junior grades, grades 4, 5, and 6, were selected as the grades of examination.

c) Textbook Samples

The textbooks were selected from Circular 14. This is an annual publication that provides a list of textbooks approved by the Ontario Ministry of Education for use in Ontario schools (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1985).

Books listed in Circular 14 are approved according to established guidelines. Publishers wishing to have a book included in Circular 14 submit nine copies of the book to the Special Projects Branch of the Ministry of Education. The Ministry then sends a copy to each of several evaluators for comments and recommendations. Evaluators are classroom teachers, other specialists from the educational community, and at least one person familiar in the evaluation of materials for bias. The books are examined on the basis of the following criteria:

Acceptable content involves good taste,  
avoidance of derogatory terms and

anthropological errors, accurate accounts of the contributions of all groups to the Canadian community, a scholarly, balanced and up-to-date treatment and presentation of controversial themes both in Canadian and world history, and indication of an awareness of contemporary relevance (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1980:6).

Reports are then submitted to the Ministry. These reports are reviewed in detail. A decision is then made under the authority of the Ministry of Education with respect to Circular 14 listing (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1985).

McDiarmid and Pratt (1971:35) found that both random and systematic sampling by chapters or pages omitted too much information. These authors therefore suggested that each book should be read in its entirety. However, in the present study all of the 94 social studies textbooks were not read. Some were not read because their title alone indicated that they would not contain any references to the chosen minority groups. Books such as Camel Herders of the North African Desert and Cultivators and Traders of the East African Highland fit into this category.

Appendix A lists all the books that were examined. Books were selected on the basis of pre-established criteria. Each time a reference was made to one of the selected groups, it was be noted. A reference is a paragraph that contains any mention of that particular target group. Books containing no reference to the target group were rejected for that particular target group. Additionally, books containing fewer than five references to any target group were eliminated because they would not yield enough material to provide a sound basis for quantitative analysis (McDiarmid and Pratt, 1971:36).

d) Groups Selected for Study

The Scottish-Canadians were selected as the ~~control~~ control group for the section on ECO analysis because they are an ethnic group of British Isles origin and thus a member of the English dominant group (according to Baker, 1977). Their inclusion at that stage of the analysis would allow for a comparison with each of the other groups.

The other groups, the Canadian Indians, the Inuit, the Italian-Canadians, the Japanese-Canadians, the Jewish-Canadians, and the Ukrainian-Canadians were chosen because they represent two of the three types of minorities

in Baker's typology. The Canadian Indians and the Inuit represent indigenous and non-white minority cultural groups. The Japanese-Canadians represent a fairly recent non-white immigrant group. The Italian-Canadians, the Jewish-Canadians and the Ukrainian-Canadians are immigrant white groups. Additionally, the Italian-Canadians are a fairly recent immigrant white group, the Jewish-Canadians are a minority religious group and the Ukrainian-Canadians are an established immigrant group.

#### Structure of Analysis

The first part of the analysis (Chapter 7) presents a quantitative analysis of statements about the selected groups. The second part of the analysis is presented in Chapter 8. This chapter examines the overall presentation of the various groups in the textbooks.

## CHAPTER 7: ANALYSIS OF STATEMENTS ABOUT THE SELECTED MINORITY GROUPS

This chapter is devoted to an examination of statements about the selected ethnic, religious, and cultural groups in the social studies textbooks authorized for use in Ontario schools in grades 4, 5, and 6 in 1985. The sample includes 25 books (see Appendix A). The groups are: the Canadian Indians, the Inuit, the Italians, the Japanese, the Jews, the Ukrainians, and the Scots. The rationale for the selection of these groups and sampling procedures was provided in the previous chapter.

### Method of Evaluation

ECO analysis was the method of evaluation that was used in the analysis of statements about the selected groups. This method of evaluation was developed by Pratt (1972) to provide classroom teachers, school administrators, textbook selection committees, and researchers with a method of analysing the attitudes expressed towards any minority or other group in a textbook. This method of analysis provides the researcher with a percentage score which indicates the extent to which a textbook's evaluation of a group is favorable or unfavorable (Pratt, 1971:5 and Pratt, 1972:5). ECO analysis

permits the researcher to describe and compare textbooks on a less subjective basis than earlier methodologies.

ECO analysis does not analyse every component of textbooks through which attitudes are communicated. Rather, it focuses on the value judgements expressed in textbooks for the following reasons: the expressed value judgements are hypothesized to be the main vehicle for the communication of attitudes. They are the attitudinal element least apparent to the casual or subjective reader. In other words, both the reader and the author may in fact be unconscious of the subtle evaluation that is being communicated. Finally, value judgements represent a gratuitous evaluation- an evaluation independent of the obligation to state facts (Pratt, 1972:14). For instance, as Pratt (1972:14) points out, the author of a history textbook may feel a responsibility to accurately record the fact that the Americans fighting at the Alamo were killed by the Mexicans. However, he has no obligation to explain that the Mexicans slaughtered, massacred, or murdered the Americans. These latter terms include a value judgement with the factual statement.

#### Procedures in ECO Analysis

- 1) All the evaluative terms used to refer to the selected

groups were listed on standard score sheets. A separate score sheet was used for each group. Evaluative terms were adjectives, adverbs, nouns, or verbs. If an evaluative term was negatively associated with a subject, then the assertion was reversed if this did not violate the meaning. For example, Pontiac was no coward = Pontiac was brave.

2) Using Pratt's (1972) ECO word list, all the words listed on the score sheets were scored as favorable, unfavorable, or neutral. If a word were not found in the ECO word list, then a synonym from the word list was used. A copy of the ECO word list is provided in Appendix B.

3) Next the Coefficient of Evaluation was calculated. This value was based on a minimum of 10 evaluative terms.

The formula was:

$$\frac{100 F}{F + U}$$

F = totally favorable terms, U = unfavorable terms. The calculation is performed as follows:

- a) Count the number of "+" signs in the direction column.
- b) Multiply this figure by 100.
- c) Divide this product by the total number of "+" and "-" signs.

The Coefficient will always be between 0.0 (totally unfavorable) and 100.0 (totally favorable). Fifty represents the point of neutrality or ambivalence.

4) Finally, a Contingency Analysis was done. This measure gives a qualitative indication of the treatment of a subject. It was calculated after the Coefficient of Evaluation was calculated. A count was made of the evaluative term most frequently used to describe a particular subject in a source or sources.

### Results of ECO Analysis

#### 1) Treatment of the Canadian Indians

A total of fifteen junior textbooks used in Ontario schools had five or more references to the Canadian Indian. They were examined in order to evaluate how Canadian Indians were portrayed in them. These books contained 236 evaluative terms, an average of 15.7 terms per book. Of these 190 (80.5 per cent) were favorable. Ten texts contained ten or more evaluative terms. The average ECO score for these books was 81.2.

Proud, able and raiding were the terms most frequently used

to describe Canadian Indians (see Table 2 on page 126).

These findings are inconsistent with research published in the early 1970's. Research published during that period indicated that the Canadian Indians received rather negative treatment in Ontario school textbooks. McDiarmid and Pratt (1971) and Pratt (1971) examined the treatment of Canadian Indians in 29 history textbooks authorized for use in Ontario schools in grades 5 to 12 in 1969. They found that "savage" was the term most frequently used to describe Indians. It was employed 155 times. The ECO score was 34.6. This indicates that almost two out of every three value judgements about Indians are negative (McDiarmid and Pratt, 1971:125-127 and Pratt, 1971:9-11).

Pratt (1984) re-examined the treatment of Canadian Indians in six representative Canadian history textbooks authorized for use in Ontario schools in grades 6 and 7 in 1981. He found that the Indians were now favorably treated. One hundred and sixty-two evaluative terms were applied to Indians. Of these, 67.9 per cent were favorable. The mean ECO score was 62.4. Additionally, the word savage which was applied to Indians an average of five times in the 1969 authorized textbooks appeared only four times. In each instance, "savage" appeared in a quotation from a primary source

(Pratt, 1984:153-154).

Table 3 and figure 1 summarize the results of studies dealing with Canadian Indians in Ontario textbooks. They indicate that there has been a steady upward shift in the positive evaluation of Canadian Indians in textbooks. The ECO score has increased from 34.2 in 1969, to 62.4 in 1980, to 81.2 in 1985 (refer to Figure 1 on page 130). Additionally, in 1969, three of the ten terms used most frequently to describe Indians were positive. In 1980, six of the ten words were positive and in 1985, nine of the ten most frequently used terms were positive (see Table 3 on page 128).

#### Treatment of the Inuit

Six textbooks, (Ferry, 1980c; Fenton, 1983; Cruxton and Wilson, 1982; Gibson and Griffiths, 1981, MacLean, 1982 and Bennett and Flannigan, 1981) included five or more references concerning the Inuit. In these six textbooks, 41 evaluative terms were found, an average of 6.8 per book. Of these 37 (90.2 per cent) were favorable. Of the six books, only one (Bennett and Flannigan, 1981) contained ten or more evaluative terms. The ECO score for that book was 81.3.

Skillful, able and helpful were the terms most frequently

used to depict the Inuit (see Table 2 on page 126).

#### Treatment of the Italians

Two textbooks (Mastrangelo, 1979 and Girth et al., 1977) contained five or more references to the Italians. There were 83 evaluative terms, an average of 41.5 per book. Of these 72 (86.7 per cent) portrayed the Italians in a positive way. Each of these two books contained 10 or more evaluative terms. The mean ECO score was 83.

Proud, famous, and helpful were the terms most frequently applied to Italians (see Table 2 on page 126).

#### Treatment of the Japanese

There were two texts (Ito, 1978 and Jereroux, 1981) which contained five or more references to the Japanese. In these two books forty-one evaluative terms were applied to this ethnic group. This represents an average of 20.5 terms per text. Of the forty-one evaluative terms 31, (75.6 per cent) were favourable. The mean ECO score was 82.6.

The terms most frequently applied to Japanese were:  
hard-working, popular and able (refer to table 2 on page

126).

### Treatment of the Jews

Only one book (Gutkin, 1983) mentioned five or more references pertaining to Jews. It contained thirty-five evaluative terms and 29 (90.6 per cent) of these were favorable. The ECO score was 90.6.

The terms most frequently applied to Jews were active, eager, and warm (see table 2 on page 126).

Table 4 summarizes the findings of research concerning Jews in Ontario textbooks. It indicates that the current results are consistent with previous findings reported by McDiarmid and Pratt (1971). These researchers found that the Jews were favorably presented.

### Treatment of the Scots

Of the books examined, only two textbooks (Jeneroux, 1981 and Jeneroux, 1981) made five or more references to Scots. In these two texts, 103 evaluative terms were applied to Scots, an average of 51.5 terms per book. Of these, 97 (94.2 per cent) described the Scots in a positive manner. The average

ECO score was 96.7.

Proud, hard-working, and strong were the terms most frequently used to describe Scots (refer to table 2 on page 126).

### Treatment of the Ukrainians

Only two books (Girt et al., 1977 and Burke, 1978) had five or more references pertaining to this group. There were 59 evaluative terms in them referring to Ukrainians, an average of 29.5 evaluative terms per book. Of these 57 (96.6 per cent) depicted the Ukrainians positively. The mean ECO score was 90.9.

Table 2 indicates that helpful, careful, and able are the terms most frequently applied to Ukrainians.

### Summary of Findings

To summarize, 94 social studies textbooks were listed in Circular 14 for grades 4, 5, and 6. Of these, 25 contained five or more references to the selected groups. Figure 2 (see page 131) indicates the ECO scores for the various groups. It shows that all the groups were favourably treated

in the textbooks. However, the non-white groups (the Indians, the Inuit, and the Japanese) and the more recent white immigrant group (the Italians) were less favorably treated than the charter group (the Scots), the established immigrant group (the Ukrainians) and the Jews. However, much emphasis should not be placed on this result because it may be a function of the methodology. Dean et al. (1983:40) argue that:

The process of reducing concepts to numerical indices, apart from being a very cumbersome procedure, also carries the danger of losing sight of the continuity of narrative by focusing on the isolated phenomena. For instance, evaluation assertion analysis tends to oversimplify the meaning of a text by reducing its content to a single positive-negative dimension when the overall picture may be considerably more complex.

These criticisms were specifically aimed at evaluation assertion analysis. However, they could be generalized to ECO analysis. ECO analysis is a cumbersome procedure- it

requires considerable time and energy to apply. Furthermore, it did tend to oversimplify the meaning of a text. Consider, for instance, the use of the word "raiding" in a text. This term was applied to Indians a total of 17 times in eight textbooks. Following the ECO word list, this word was scored as a negative evaluation. The following quotations are typical of the contexts in which the term "raiding" was used.

The Blackfoot gained many horses by raiding. However, since their own horses were raided as well, they may have just come out even in the end.

Most Blackfoot warfare took place while raiding for horses. Once in a while, however they fought pitched battles with other nations (MacLean, 1982:57).

Men were hunters and warriors. They made raids on other groups, often to try to capture horses. Men made weapons and tools and cut up carcasses of animals they hunted (Cass, 1983a:5).

In these three contexts, the author was merely describing an

activity in which the Indians were engaged. By reducing the content of these texts to a single positive/negative dimension, the meaning of the texts was oversimplified. The overall picture was more complex. The methodology, then, could be criticized for failing to capture subtleties of meaning that may be the most relevant characteristics of the texts.

ECO analysis also suffers from other limitations. It can not analyse all the aspects through which attributes can be communicated. For instance, biased illustrations, factual inaccuracies, and omissions can be used to present a distorted view of a minority group (Pratt, 1972:14). ECO analysis does not attempt to deal with such instances of bias. In the next chapter, further analysis of the same texts will be presented based on attempts to deal with instances of factual inaccuracies and omissions.

## CHAPTER 8: ANALYSIS OF THE OVERALL TREATMENT OF THE SELECTED GROUPS

In the previous chapter, an ECO analysis of the statements about the selected minority groups was presented. The results reveal that all the groups were favorably presented in the textbooks. This chapter presents an analysis of the textbooks' overall treatment of the minority groups. The objective here is to deal with instances of factual inaccuracies and omission. The first section of this chapter describes the methodology and the second chapter presents the results of this analysis.

### Method of Evaluation

Following McDiarmid and Pratt (1971), protocols outlining the main features of the groups selected for study were developed. Each protocol consisted of a description of the main established facts about the groups. These protocols constituted the standard against which each text's treatment of a group was judged. Each text was judged according to four criteria: validity, comprehensiveness, balance, and concreteness. These criteria are defined as by McDiarmid and Pratt (1971:57) as follows:

Validity: Is the information accurate and unambiguous?

Comprehensiveness: Are the relevant facts mentioned? To be rated "good," the texts should contain most of the points mentioned in the protocols.

Balance: Is the subject treated in historical perspective?

Is bias shown in the inclusion of some facts and the omission of others?

Concreteness: Is the material factual, objective, and realistic, or does it consist mainly of generalizations and platitudes?

The four criteria will be judged by categorizing the treatment as "good", "fair", and "poor".

### The Canadian Indians<sup>1</sup>

#### a) Legal Status

Non-registered Indians have no special legal status.

Registered Indians are persons descended in the male line from a paternal ancestor of Indian identity who has chosen to

remain under Indian legislation. These Indians are the responsibility of the federal government, specifically of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

Apart from the special provisions of the Indian Act, registered Indians are subject to the same criminal and civil law as other citizens. They may vote in federal elections and provincial elections, except in Quebec. Some provinces, including Alberta and Quebec, have legislation preventing Indians from buying liquor on the same basis as other Canadians. In some cases, no alcohol may be consumed on Indian reserves; in others, no alcohol may be purchased.

The federal government sets aside for the use of registered Indians some 2 200 reserves with a total area over six million acres. Internal administration of the reserves is conducted by the Indians through the chief and the band council (usually elected) who have authority over land allotment by laws, public services, and criminal offences. In 1974, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development spend a total of \$360 million on Indian Development. Approximately, one-half of this money was spent by the department on administrative expenses. Another quarter was used for various support services. The remaining 25 per cent went directly to Indian reserves in the form of

grants and loans for such items as the installations of utilities, the development of reserve resources, the promotion of tourism, and the establishment of business and cooperatives.

A government proposal to eliminate the special legal status of Indians, placing them on the same legal basis as other citizens, has been strongly questioned by several groups of Indians.

b) Population

In 1977 there were 291 171 status Indians in Canada, 63 685 of whom lived in Ontario and the balance mainly in Quebec and the western provinces. It is estimated that there are approximately 798 250 Métis and non-registered Indians in Canada. Most of the facts reported in this summary are based on official statistics, which refer strictly to registered Indians. However, because of geographical location and economic conditions, social, health, and educational conditions tend to be similar for both groups.

c) Living Conditions

Indian life in Canada is marked by widespread and often

extreme poverty. Data from the 1960's indicates that over 45 per cent of Indian families on reserves earned \$1 000 or less, and that 75 per cent earned \$2 000 or less. The Hawthorne Survey found that total earnings of status Indians in Canada was \$300 per capita, compared to the then Canadian average of \$1 400.

In 1970, it was estimated that 62 per cent of status Indians earned less than \$2 000. More recent data shows that the income level of status Indians has not changed substantially. Only 20 per cent of the total status Indian population earn more than \$3 000 per year. Data from the 1971 and 1976 censuses indicate that the average income of status Indians is below the Canadian average.

It is not only their income that is below the national average, as government figures on family housing in 1971 and 1973 show:

Inhabit House with:	<u>Indians</u>	<u>All Canadians</u>
Bath and Toilet	41.38%	93.52%
Sewage System	64.90%	90.44%
No Running Water	50.27%	3.97%

Most non-registered Indians tend to live in similar

conditions, either in urban slums or in settlements outside towns.

Many Indians engage in fishing, trapping, logging, traditional crafts, and agriculture. While some small businesses and cooperatives have been established on reserves, at least a third of the Indian population is unemployed and subsists on government relief.

Government figures indicate that five times as many Indians are sentenced to penitentiaries as non-Indians. Although the following reasons are not independent of one another, it seems probable that social conditions, the greater likelihood that Indians will be convicted and imprisoned if tried, and the provision by jails of food and shelter are contributing factors.

#### d) Health

The infant mortality rate for status Indians is high compared to the general population. In 1974, the infant mortality rate was three times the national average.

Similarly, the life expectancy for status Indians is lower than for the general population. In 1974, the

life-expectancy of Indian males was 46 years compared to 68 years for the rest of the male population. For Indian females, the life expectancy was 47 years compared to 75 for the general female population.

e) Education

The Department of Indian Affairs underwrites the cost of education for Indians. Indians may proceed through school, university, and graduate school at government expense. However, they have lower educational attainment levels than do their counterparts in the general Canadian population. For instance, in 1971, 64 per cent of Indians over fifteen years old had grade eight or less, compared to 33.5 per cent for the same age group in the rest of Canada. Only 2.7 per cent had some post-secondary education, compared to 18.6 per cent for the general population.

There is a growing desire by the Indians and Métis for education to be put in their own hands. They want to elect their schoolboards and to have the right to choose their own curricula. This is already being done in several places in Canada.

## The Inuit<sup>2</sup>

### a) Legal Status

The Inuit are not wards of the federal government- they are full citizens of Canada. However, full citizenship in the legal sense does not guarantee an equal share in the benefits of citizenship. Over the years, the federal government has been diligent in sending vessels to the far North and establishing police posts there in order to affirm its territorial sovereignty over the region. However, it did not view the care of the Inuit as a special concern. They were simply expected to live off the land. The education and medical care of the Inuit were left to missionaries and trading companies. The establishment of law and order through the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Stations was the only service provided directly to the Inuit by the federal government.

By having the missionaries and trading companies provide social services meant that the cost of schools, hospitals, and relief to the federal government could be reduced to the price of a small subsidy. The services provided for the Inuit were haphazard and inadequate. The Inuit paid the price of this inadequacy through inflated disease and massive

mortality rates, massive illiteracy, and widespread poverty.

In the 1920's and 1930's there was some governmental interest in the welfare of the Inuit. However, aid was hindered by federal and provincial disputes. Each level claimed that such aid was primarily the other's responsibility.

In 1946 the federal government formulated an active and effective set of social policies for the Inuit. Under the direction of Dr. Keenleyside, a Department of Resource and Development was established to administer the Northwest Territories and provide care for its Inuit. Dr. Keenleyside also proposed that more control over the Inuit should be given to the various provinces as the native groups become increasingly more integrated into the mainstream of Canadian society.

b) Population

In 1977, there were estimated to be 22 760 Inuit. Nearly all Inuit live permanently in small settlements along the Arctic coastline.

c) Living Conditions

The Inuit workforce is employed almost exclusively by the governments of Canada and of the Northwest Territories in a variety of service occupations. It has been estimated that 60 per cent of Inuit-earned income is gained from those sources. Additionally, 37 per cent is derived from hunting and trapping, and 3 per cent from employment in the private sector.

The general standard of housing for the Inuit is below that for the rest of the Canadian population.

The Inuit crime rate has been estimated to be ten times that for the general population.

d) Health

The infant mortality rate for the Inuit is high relative to that for the general population of Canada. In 1974, the Inuit mortality rate was five times the national average.

The rate of natural increase for the Inuit has been declining, but it is still higher than the national rate. For instance, in 1964 the rate of natural increase per one

thousand, for the Inuit was 5 compared to 1.6 for the general Canadian population, while in 1974 the growth rate for the Inuit was 2.3, compared to 0.8 for the rest of the population.

e) Education

The Inuit have considerably lower educational attainment levels than do their counterparts.

The Italians<sup>3</sup>

a) Legal Status

Italians have been subjected to special discriminatory treatment. On June 13, 1940, the government's policy towards known Fascists and all those of "Italian origins who have become naturalized British subjects since September 1, 1929" was announced. When Italy declared war on Great Britain and her allies an order was signed by the Minister of Justice which resulted in the internment of many hundreds of men of Italian origin whose names were on the list of the RCMP as suspects. They were interned at Camp Petawawa.

Today, the Italians are subject to the same civil and

criminal laws as other citizens.

b) Immigration

Italian immigration to Canada was negligible until the late nineteenth century when conditions in both Italy and Canada lead to migration. Italy had become a unified state. Unification, however, did not improve the lot of the peasants. It only served to pass the reins of power to the middle class who appeared unwilling to help the poor. Peasants, particularly those from southern Italy, opted for a new life in Canada. Steamship agents and recruiters promoted the crossing to the Canada where intensive labor was needed and seasonal work was available on the railways, in mining and in industry.

Between 1900 and 1914, more Italians entered Canada than any other immigrant group except for those from the British Isles. They came from southern Italy and from the Little Italies of the American East Coast. They were mostly bachelors. Many returned to Italy after the summer's work to contribute income earned in Canada to the upkeep of southern Italian villages and to the provision of dowries for sisters and daughters. Those who did not return spent the winter in the railway cities, particularly in Montreal. It has been

estimated that in 1904 there were between 6 000 and 8 000 Italian laborers in Montreal alone.

By the First World War, the migratory nature of Italian immigration to Canada began to change. The migrants were becoming immigrants: they did not return to Italy. Instead, they sent for their wives and relatives. The process of close-knit families replaced recruitment as a reason for immigration. The padrone, who had recruited laborers for the railway companies, was joined by a more settled middle class of importers, shopkeepers, priests, caterers, and undertakers. By 1914, 50 per cent of the fruit merchants in Toronto were of Italian origin.

The years of Fascism and the Second World War (1936-45) marked a precipitous decline in Italian immigration to Canada.

Official Canadian government encouragement combined with the tightening of immigration restrictions in other countries produced a second great wave of Italian immigration to Canada after the Second World War. Family chains were renewed and sponsorship of friends and relatives grew rapidly. In 1951, there were 152 245 people of Italian origin in Canada. This figure had increased to 450 351 by 1961.

c) Population

In 1971, there were 730 820 persons of Italian origin in Canada. The largest Italian-populations are found in the provinces of Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia. These provinces have Italian origin populations of 463 095, 169 655 and 53 795 respectively.

Over 90 per cent of this ethnic group lived in urban areas of more than 30 000 people in 1971.

In 1941, only 1 per cent of Canada's population was of Italian origin. However, by 1971 Italians represented 3.4 per cent- the fourth largest group after the British, French, and German origin groups.

d) Living Conditions

In the early years of this century, the Italians provided much of the manual labor that went into the building of railroads, roads, canals, harbour installations, and other construction projects.

Despite Canada's shift to immigrants with high occupational

skills since 1967, until 1974, over 70 per cent of labor force immigrants from Italy occupied manual occupations. The proportion has since dropped from 1975 to 1978. However, this will have little impact on the group in Canada as a whole because during those four years the total immigration from Italy was only 15 995.

In terms of annual income, Italians earned on the average \$5 219 in 1971.

e) Education

In terms of education, Italians differ substantially from the general Canadian population in the 1970's. Of the Italians aged 15 years and over, 59 per cent had grade 8 and below compared to 33 per cent for the general Canadian population. Additionally, 6 per cent of the Italians had completed more than high school compared with 11 per cent for the total Canadian population.

The Japanese<sup>4</sup>

a) Legal Status

The Japanese have been subject to special discriminatory

0  
treatment. For instance, in 1900 British Columbia passed a law which required every immigrant in that province, when so ordered, to write an application to the provincial secretary in a European language. The failure to comply or the inability to write satisfactorily in such a language could result in a \$500 fine, a year's imprisonment, or deportation. Because of protests by the Japanese ambassador, this particular legislation was disallowed by the federal government.

However, in 1902, 1903, 1905, 1907, and 1908, British Columbia enacted similar legislation. With the exception of the 1907 bill, all these acts were disallowed by the federal government. The 1907 bill failed to receive the assent of the Lieutenant Governor.

The fact that such measures could be passed through the provincial legislature is indicative of the fierce climate of racial prejudice which was present in the society during that period.

British Columbia was not the only province to pass discriminatory legislation against the Japanese. In 1912 Saskatchewan passed a law which prohibited white women from working in restaurants, laundries, or other businesses owned

by Japanese. This legislation took effect when there was only a total of 57 Japanese and Chinese in that province. Furthermore, most of them were engaged in farming.

In Ontario, a law similar to that of Saskatchewan's against the Japanese was passed. However, this law was never enforced.

Today, there are no special restrictions on the Japanese. They are subject to the same criminal and civil laws as other citizens.

#### b) The Franchise

In 1875, the Japanese were denied the right to vote in British Columbia. Provincial barriers against the Japanese vote were extended to the federal level. Exceptions were made only for those who had served in World War 1.

The Japanese-Canadian veterans were eventually granted provincial voting rights in 1931. This came in effect as the result of many years of lobbying by the Japanese Retired Soldiers Association and it benefited less than 80 men. Exclusion from the provincial voters list could have important consequences for the Japanese since it could affect

their employment opportunities. For example, an amendment to British Columbia's Liquor Licence Act in 1899 denied licence to persons of Japanese descent by stating that no one whose name was omitted from the voting list could obtain them.

Likewise, Japanese were prohibited from practising law and pharmacy by the rules of the Law Society of British Columbia and by the Pharmacy By-Laws. These rules stipulated that eligibility as a student or apprentice in the aforementioned fields was limited only to those who were entitled to be placed on the Voter's List under the Provincial Elections Act.

In 1949 voting restrictions against the Japanese were removed. At both the provincial and federal levels, all franchise restrictions on the Japanese have been eliminated.

#### c) Immigration

Japanese adult males first entered Canada in 1877. They settled in British Columbia. In addition to the general immigration provisions, the Japanese were subject to numerous special regulations which were designed to restrict Japanese immigration. In 1907, Canada entered into a gentleman's agreement with the Japanese government that restricted the rate of immigration to 400 workers annually. This quota was

later diminished to 150. However, this agreement permitted the unrestricted entry of wives and children.

Since the Japanese government was restricting the flow of Japanese immigrants itself, the Canadian could accomplish its objective of the near exclusion of Japanese entrance without resorting to openly racist barriers.

d) Population

According to the 1971 census, 37 260 persons of Japanese background reside in Canada. This number represents .17 per cent of the Canadian population. British Columbia and Ontario have the largest concentration of people of Japanese origin. Toronto has the largest population of Japanese origin of any major urban center in Canada.

e) Living Conditions

As previously mentioned, the Japanese were subjected to severe job discrimination. They were excluded from licenced professions because they were excluded from the voting lists. Additionally, they were prohibited from other occupations for which licences were required. For instance, they were forced out of the fishing industry by a federal Department of Marine

and Fisheries regulation which reduced the number of fishing licences issued to "other than white British subjects and Canadian Indians". They were also excluded from direct or indirect employment by any contractor holding a British Columbia Department of Public Works contract. Similarly, they were denied public school teaching positions in British Columbia. In 1925, the Male Minimum Wage Act also adversely affected the Japanese by setting the minimum wage above that normally paid to the Japanese. In effect, this Act diminished the attractiveness of the Japanese as "cheap labor" to employers in lumbering.

The trade unions in British Columbia supported such discriminatory practices against the Japanese. Businessmen in British Columbia were not against using the Japanese as strike breakers.

The Japanese today are widely dispersed throughout the labor force. There are few pronounced concentrations of Japanese in specific occupational sectors, except in the west coast fishing industry.

The Japanese are no longer concentrated in geographically separate ethnic communities.

e) Education

The Japanese, particularly Nisei and subsequent generations have consistently made good use of the educational opportunities available to them. Japanese have ranked above the Canadian average in education. Today, many are enrolled in universities.

The Jews<sup>5</sup>

a) Immigration

Jewish immigration to Canada can be discussed against the backdrop of three main waves of immigration.

The first wave of immigration runs from the early years of British colonization until 1841. The presence of Jewish immigrants can be traced back to 1760 when Canada came under British rule. Prior to this period, non-Catholic settlers were not admitted to Canada. Most of the first Jewish settlers were from the American colonies or Britain. They arrived not as penniless refugees, but as alert businessmen in search of new economic horizons.

These immigrants were of Sephardic origin from Spain,

Portugal and North Africa. They maintained a distinctive religious identity while adapting to the larger society. Most lived in Montreal.

The period beginning in 1840 and extending to about 1900 marked a new period of Jewish immigration. The immigrants during this period came from Germany, Poland, and later from the Russian Empire. Canadian immigration policy encouraged immigration and aided in settlement. Economic and population pressures were responsible for German Jewish migration to Canada in the 19th century. The 1870's marked the start of the eastern European phase of Jewish immigration to Canada. This phase of increasing immigration continued until 1914. During this period, the push factors for immigration included desire for economic growth, increased social status, and greater religious freedom.

Postwar Jewish immigration to Canada has declined sharply since 1954. By then, 42 203 Jews had emigrated to Canada since the end of World War II. Until the mid-1950's, Jewish immigration to Canada came mainly from Europe. The last influx from Europe came in 1956-57 following the Hungarian revolutionary in Europe. Of the 37 000 Hungarian refugees admitted to Canada, 4 500 were Jews.

In Egypt, the Suez crisis in 1956 resulted in the expulsion of 25 000 Jews from that country. Some of them emigrated to Canada. Political developments in North Africa between 1956 and 1969 and the Arab-Israeli war of 1969 caused thousands of French-speaking Jews to emigrate to Canada. They came from Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria. Most of them settled in Montreal and Toronto, and other urban regions.

b) Population

The 1971 census lists 296 945 persons of Jewish origin in Canada. This figure represents 1.3 per cent of the total Canadian population. The provinces of Ontario, Quebec, and Manitoba have the largest concentrations of Jews. Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Vancouver, and Ottawa have the largest number of Jewish residents. Approximately 99 per cent of all Jewish people live in urban areas.

c) Living Conditions

Jews are mainly overrepresented in the following occupations: law, medicine, and dentistry.

Census figure of 1971 indicate that the Jews had an average income of \$3 545.50 above the national average. They rank

first among the various groups in Canada.

d) Education

In terms of education, the Jews rank above the national average. In fact, 23.6 per cent have some university education or a university degree.

The Ukrainians<sup>6</sup>

a) Immigration

Ukrainian immigration to Canada can be divided into three phases. Early Ukrainian immigration to Canada was to the Prairies. The majority of these early settlers came from the provinces of Galicia and Bukovina within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. They were primarily peasant farmers.

During the second phase of immigration, after World War 1, the type of immigrant changed. During the 1920's most were laborers, discharged soldiers, political refugees, and university professors. Many of these immigrants settled in Ontario.

The third wave of immigration, after World War 11

(1947-1952), was composed primarily of displaced persons who were attempting to escape communist domination. These immigrants were, for the most part, skilled workers, professionals, scholars, scientists, musicians and artists. They tended to settle in urban centers, especially in Ontario. During this period, most of the people were not voluntary immigrants. They emigrated because of social and political problems in their homeland. These third wave immigrants included a higher percentage of intellectuals than the first two waves.

After 1952 the Iron Curtain cut off most emigration to Canada. Those Ukrainians who entered Canada after 1952 came from Yugoslavia, Poland or South America.

#### b) Population

According to the 1971 census, 580 660 people of Ukrainian origin reside in Canada. Ontario has the largest Ukrainian population. Winnipeg, Edmonton and Toronto all have Ukrainian populations over 60 000.

#### c) Living Conditions

Initially, Ukrainians were mainly involved in primary sector

occupations such as agriculture and other unskilled jobs. Today, although the majority of Ukrainians have moved out of agriculture and unskilled occupations, they are still more engaged in agriculture than other ethnic groups. They are over-represented in agriculture by 6.1 per cent. In trade, sales, finance, management, and professional occupations, the Ukrainians have not yet reached the point of equal representation with other ethnic groups. In terms of income, Ukrainians earned on the average \$4 637 in 1971.

d) Education

Of all Ukrainians twenty-five years and older, 49.3 per cent had elementary school as their highest educational attainment, 43.1 per cent had one to five years or more of high school education. Additionally, 7.6 per cent had either some university education or had obtained a university degree.

Group Protocol Ratings

In this section the books are analysed according to the method described in the first section of this chapter. After reading the texts, certain patterns began to emerge which indicated that it would be more productive to sub-divide the

the books into two groups: 1) books dealing with the Indians and the Inuit, and 2) books dealing with the Italians, the Japanese, the Jews, and the Ukrainians.

#### Treatment of the Canadian Indians and the Inuit

Of the twenty-five books, fifteen contained five or more references to the Indians and six contained five or more references to the Inuit. Overall, in terms of validity and concreteness, all the books are rated good. On the other hand, in terms of comprehensiveness and balance most of the books are rated poor. The Indians and the Inuit are often presented in the past. Contemporary issues and ideas about these groups are presented in a few lines, or at the most, one to two pages. In these few references, the student usually learns the occupations in which these groups are presently engaged.

However, this shortcoming of most of the books is not of major consequence because there are books which are outstanding in their presentation of the present day conditions of the Indians and the Inuit. Indians, Inuit, and Métis of Canada is an example of such a book:

Not all Native people in Canada are

poor. In fact some are well off, just as some non-Native people are. They are successful business people, construction workers, lawyers, doctors, teachers and professors. But these people are few in number. Most of Canada's Native population face unemployment. For example, almost 50 per cent of status Indian have no jobs for part of the year. And on reserves, up to 95 per cent of the people are unemployed during the winter. (MacLean, 1983:123).

Consequently, a conscientious teacher could use this text as a main source and the others as supplementary reading materials. In this way, the student could obtain a balanced and comprehensive understanding of Canadian Indians and the Inuit past and present.

The Canadian Indians are not a homogenous group. The various groups are different in terms of language, culture, and lifestyle. Yet, this impression could not be gained from most of the textbooks.

Treatment of the Italians, the Japanese, the Jews and the Ukrainians

These four groups were treated in a total of six books. Two of the books were in the form of narration- they simply related a series of stories in which the Italians, the Japanese, and the Ukrainians were implicated. Therefore, because of this thematic approach, these books were not judged in terms of comprehensiveness. Rather, only the validity, balance, and concreteness of what was presented was evaluated. They were both rated as good.

The other four books were specialized textbooks from the Multicultural Canada Series. In terms of validity and concreteness, these books are good. The information was accurate, unambiguous and objective. However, in terms of balance and comprehensiveness, these books are poor because they did not present the current situation of these groups.

Present day life warranted one, or at the most two pages. Consequently, what is derived from these textbooks is a superficial picture of the present day conditions of these groups. Thus, it was difficult to obtain a comprehensive picture of the Italians, the Japanese, the Jews, and the Ukrainians.

Other sources were consulted in an attempt to obtain a comprehensive view of these groups. For example, at the end of each book in the Multicultural Series, the author provides suggestions for supplementary reading materials. Mastrangelo (1979) suggests three other books as supplementary sources on the Italians: Roman Candles, Immigrant: A Portrait of the Urban Experience, 1890-1930 and The Cooking of Italy. These books do not deal with current issues concerning the Italians. Rather, they focus on poetry, past experiences, and cooking.

The Japanese are also poorly presented in terms of their present day conditions. Ito (1978) suggests: Origami in the Classroom, Cooking Around the World, A Choice of Dreams, The Exodus of the Japanese and A Child in Prison Camp as some of the additional reading materials. These materials focus either on the group's past experiences or poetry. None of the above mentioned books deal with the current situation of the Japanese.

Gutkin's (1983) suggestions for further material on the Jews include: The Diary of a Young Girl, A Pictorial Treasury of Jewish Holidays and Customs, The Jewish Party Book, Journey Into Our Heritage, and Naftali the Storyteller

and His Horse. These books do not deal with the present day issues of the Jews in Canada.

The Ukrainians are as poorly treated in respect to current issues as the other groups examined. Recommendations for further study include: Ivanako and the Dragon, Ukrainian Folk Tales, An Introduction -Canadian Immigrant, Sons of the Soil and Traditional Ukrainian Cookery. All these books with the exception of Sons of the Soil which, depicted Ukrainian pioneer life, focus on cultural aspects. Contemporary issues and facts about the Ukrainian are neglected.

The suggested readings, then, do not present the teacher with additional materials to supplement the treatment of the groups in the present day. Therefore, unless a teacher is highly motivated and resourceful in finding additional material, the student would never have the opportunity, in school at least, to obtain a comprehensive and balanced view of these groups.

Another shortcoming of these series of books is that, although they are written by different authors, they appear to be written according to a formula. All the books employed a combined historical and thematic approach. Each book traced the experiences of three or four generations of the

particular ethnic group. Their experiences were intended to be representative of other immigrants of that particular group. Yet, one was left with the impression that their experiences were representative of all the other immigrant groups. All the groups seem to perceive life in general, and Canada specifically, in the same way. They were, for the most part lonely and sad. Additionally, they were all preoccupied with learning English. No consideration was given to the learning of French. As a matter of fact, the French were rarely mentioned. The Native Peoples were mentioned, but only in terms of their helpfulness and usefulness to the other groups. For example, the Indians were sought only when their skills as trappers and guides were required. The various groups were rarely seen interacting with others outside of their own group. Thus, from each book the conclusion could be made that each group saw itself only in relation to the English.

#### Summary of Findings

To summarize, on the whole what the books present are the past experiences of the various groups. A comprehensive and balanced picture of the various groups is not presented. Thus, the student is left with the impression that these groups are static and traditional rather than contemporary

and changing. The student could however learn from the texts that the Canadian Indians and Inuit are contemporary and changing since there are books which presented the past, the present, and the emerging realities of these groups. In the case of the Italians, the Japanese, the Jews, and the Ukrainians, no such book exists in the recommended list.

## Notes to Chapter 8

- 1) This protocol was borrowed from McDiarmid and Pratt (1971:66-68). Additional information was added from the following sources to update it: Davis and Krauter, 1971:7-23; Breton et al., 1980:79-93; Brady, 1983:39-55.
- 2) Information on the Inuit is drawn mainly from Davis and Krauter, 1971:24-39; Breton et al., 1980:79-93 and Brady 1983.
- 3) The information on this group is taken from Canada Multiculturalism Directorate, 1979:128-133, and Jansen and LaCavera, 1981).
- 4) Information on the Japanese is drawn from Davis and Krauter, 1971:55-72 and Ujimoto, 1983:121-147.
- 5) Information on the Jews is drawn from Kage, 1981:27-48; Shaffir, 1979:280-289; and Canada Multiculturalism Directorate, 1979:140-145.
- 6) Information on the Ukrainians is taken from Petryshyn, 1978:74-94; Isajiw, 1982:59-84.

## CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSIONS

An examination of the social studies textbooks authorized for use in Ontario school in the Junior grades in 1985 reveals that while certain aspects of multiculturalism are present, others are not. In reference to bias, the Ministry of Education contends that acceptable textbook content:

... involves good taste, avoidance of accounts terms and anthropological errors, accurate accounts of the contributions of all groups to the Canadian community, a scholarly, balanced and up-to-date treatment and presentation of controversial themes both in Canadian and world history, and indication of an awareness of what is of contemporary relevance (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1980:6).

The Ministry of Education, then, has indentified, the two main biases (bias of omission and commission) which often lead to unfair treatment of minority groups. Biases of commission are non-existent in the 1985 authorized textbooks. The ECO analysis revealed that all the groups were favourably

presented. This result is in contrast to that reported by McDiarmid and Pratt (1971). In their examination of the 1969 authorized textbooks, they found that instances of bias of commission were common. For instance, terms such as "savage", "massacre", and "fierce", were frequently used to describe Indians.

Biases of omission are present in the 1985 authorized textbooks. A balanced and up-to-date treatment of the various groups was not presented in most of the texts. Present day conditions warranted a few lines or at the most one to two pages in most of the texts.

Therefore, the textbooks do not "reflect the past, present, and emerging realities of Canada's heritage" as the Ministry of Education contends (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1980:11). The books reflect only one reality, the past.

In addition to neglecting the present and emerging realities of the various groups, the textbooks also failed to conceptualize the diversity and relative numerical strength of the various minority groups. An examination of the textbooks gives the impression that the Canadian Indians and the Inuit are the numerically dominant minority groups. Of the twenty-five books examined, fifteen contained five or

more referenes to the Canadian Indians and six contained five or more references to the Inuit. Only six books contained five or more referenes to the other four groups, the Italians, the Japanese, the Jews, and the Ukrainians.

One could argue that this result is a function of the groups selected. In other words, if other minority groups were selected, maybe they would have been as extensively presented as the Indians and the Inuit were. This argument can be refuted. Other minority groups were presented in social studies curriculum, for instance the Mennonites and the Chinese. However, their coverage mirrors that of the other four groups rather than that of the Indians and the Inuit.

The question then arises of why the Canadian Indians and the Inuit are the overrepresented group within the social studies curriculum. An examination of the curriculum provides no reason for this situation. There are, however, three possible explanations.

Firstly, it is possible that minority groups are selected based on representation by population. An examination of table 1 does not support this claim. The Canadian Indians and the Inuit comprise 1.5 per cent of the total population of Canada<sup>1</sup>. The Germans, the Italians, and the Ukrainians

are the three largest minority groups. They comprise 6.1 per cent, 3.4 per cent, and 2.2 per cent respectively of the Canadian population. The Italians and the Ukrainians were included in the present study. Each of these groups was discussed in only three textbooks. Additionally, there was only one book which dealt exclusively with each of these two groups. Thus, it is obvious that representation by population is not the chief criterion for minority group selection.

Werner et al. (1977:6) offer another explanation. They point out that the Canadian Indian and Inuit are listed in more provincial curricula and appear across more grade levels than do any other minority groups. In terms of cross-grade visibility, the British and the French are accorded second place. Werner et al. (1977:6) hold that the Indians are often discussed in terms of historical contrast and conflict with the British and the French. Therefore, they become important by association.

However, this argument is not substantiated in the present study. In the majority of the textbooks, the Canadian Indians were not often seen interacting with either the British or the French.

3

It has also been argued that minority groups are selected for study on the criteria of cultural visibility and perceived isolation from the dominant group (Werner et al. 1977:6).

This argument appears to be justified and it applies not only to the Canadian Indians and the Inuit but also to the other groups. All were discussed primarily in terms of dress, food, or religious rituals. These differences were the main focus of the books.

Thus, an examination of the textbooks does not support the Ministry of Education's claim that it is "fully aware of its responsibility to all Ontario students to ensure that the learning materials used in the province's schools reflect fairly and accurately the reality of Canada's multicultural society" (Ministry of Education, 1980:3).

An examination of the policy statement and the various documents concerning multiculturalism would lead one to expect that the cultural/intercultural approach would be the perspective to multicultural education which was adopted. Yet, because of the largely historical emphasis in the textbooks, the images of the various groups are of the past. They are presented in folkloric or exotic terms. This emphasis, as already mentioned is on expressive aspects of culture such as music, dress, arts, religion, and crafts. In

its textbooks, Ontario has adopted the museum approach, the perspective that provides the teacher with an "easy answer" to the more difficult and complex problems of teaching true understanding and communication (Eriks, 1980:5). Further, Wilson (1984:68) and Werner et al., (1977:27), point out that this approach may be the most undesirable for fostering cross-cultural understanding.

Thus, the educational manifestations of multiculturalism also suffer from some of the limitations of the federal policy of multiculturalism. In the third chapter, we saw that the federal policy has been criticized for its emphasis on expressive rather than instrumental aspects of ethnicity. The same criticisms are also applicable here. The emphasis in most of the textbooks was on the expressive aspects of culture such as food, dress, music, and religious ritual. Additionally, Rocher's concerns that multiculturalism might undermine biculturalism are not unfounded. The French fact in the textbooks was almost non-existent. Equally, French was not seen as a desirable language to learn. Emphasis was placed only on the learning of English.

Notes to Chapter 9

1) If non-status Indians were included, it is possible that this would increase the percentage to make degree of treatment more representative.

Table 1  
Ethnic Origin of the Canadian Population  
(Percentages) 1871-1981

Origin	1871	1901	1921	1941	1961	1971	1981 <sup>1</sup>
British	60.6	57.0	55.4	49.7	43.9	44.6	40.2
French	31.1	30.7	27.9	30.3	30.4	28.7	26.7
Dutch	0.9	0.6	1.3	1.9	2.4	2.0	1.7
German	5.8	5.8	3.4	4.0	5.8	6.1	4.7
Italian	*	0.2	0.8	1.0	2.5	3.4	3.1
Jewish	*	0.3	1.4	1.5	1.0	1.4	1.1
Polish	-	0.1	0.6	1.5	1.8	1.5	1.1
Russian	*	0.4	1.1	0.7	0.7	0.3	0.2
Scandinavian	0.1	0.6	1.9	2.1	2.1	1.8	1.2
Ukrainian	-	0.1	1.2	2.7	2.6	2.7	2.2
Other European	0.1	0.4	2.4	2.5	3.9	3.7	4.0
Chinese	-	-	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.6	1.2
Japanese	-	-	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Indian and Inuit	0.7	2.4	1.3	1.1	1.2	1.5	1.7
Others and Not Stated	0.8	1.4	0.6	0.7	1.5	1.6	10.7
Total	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.2	100.3	100.1	100.0

Source: Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book IV, Table A-4 and Census of Canada, 1981 Bulletin 92-911 (Volume 1- National Series), Table 1.

1. Data from the 1981 census are not comparable with those of previous censuses due to the possibility of declaring multiple ethnic origins. These are in the "others and not stated category".  
\* Percentage lower than 0.1.

Table 2

Ten<sup>1</sup> Terms Most Frequently Used to Describe the Selected Groups in Textbooks Authorized for Use in Ontario Schools in 1985

Indians	Frequency	Inuit	Frequency
proud	17	skillful	6
able	17	able	4
raiding	17	helpful	4
helpful	16	successful	3
skillful	12	famous	2
careful	11	weak	2
brave	7	well-known	2
famous	7	quick	2
loving	7	respectful	2
happy	7		

Italian	Frequency	Japanese	Frequency
proud	8	hard-working	9
famous	8	able	5
helpful	5	popular	4
successful	4	angry	3
hard-working	4	unhappy	3
happy	4	happy	3
able	3	helpful	2
sad	3		

Jews	Frequency	Scots	Frequency
active	5	proud	9
warm	3	hard-working	9
eager	3	strong	9
able	2	helpful	6
helpful	2	careful	5
skillful	2	loving	5
sad	2	warm	4
hard-working	2	able	3
		sad	3
		intelligent	3
		loyal	3

Ukrainian	Frequency
helpful	19
careful	10
able	6
quick	4
happy	3
good	3
hard-working	2
well-known	2
proud	2
slow	2

## Notes to Table 2

- 1) In some instances there are less than ten terms because, of the remaining terms, none appear more than once.

Table 3

Ten Terms Most Frequently Used to Describe Canadian Indians in Textbooks Authorized for Use in Ontario Schools in 1969, 1980, and 1985

1969	29 Texts	1980	6 Texts	1985	15 Texts
savage	155	skillful	9	proud	17
friendly	94	loyal	6	able	17
massacre	76	great	6	raiding	17
skillful	61	respect	5	helpful	16
hostile	58	honour	5	skillful	12
fierce	48	hostile	4	careful	11
great	35	"savage"	4	brave	7
murder	32	angry	4	famous	7
unfriendly	26	harmony	4	loving	7
thief	25	famous	4	happy	7

Table 4

Terms Most Frequently Applied to Jews in Textbooks Authorized  
for Use in Ontario Schools 1969 and 1985

1969	28 Texts	1985 <sup>a</sup>	1 Text
great	8	active	5
faithful	3	warm	3
just(ice)	3	eager	3
wise	2	able	2
genius	2	helpful	2
		skillful	2
		sad	2
		hard-working	2

Figure 1

Location of the Canadian Indian on a Favorable/Unfavorable Continuum Based on Mean Coefficients of Evaluation

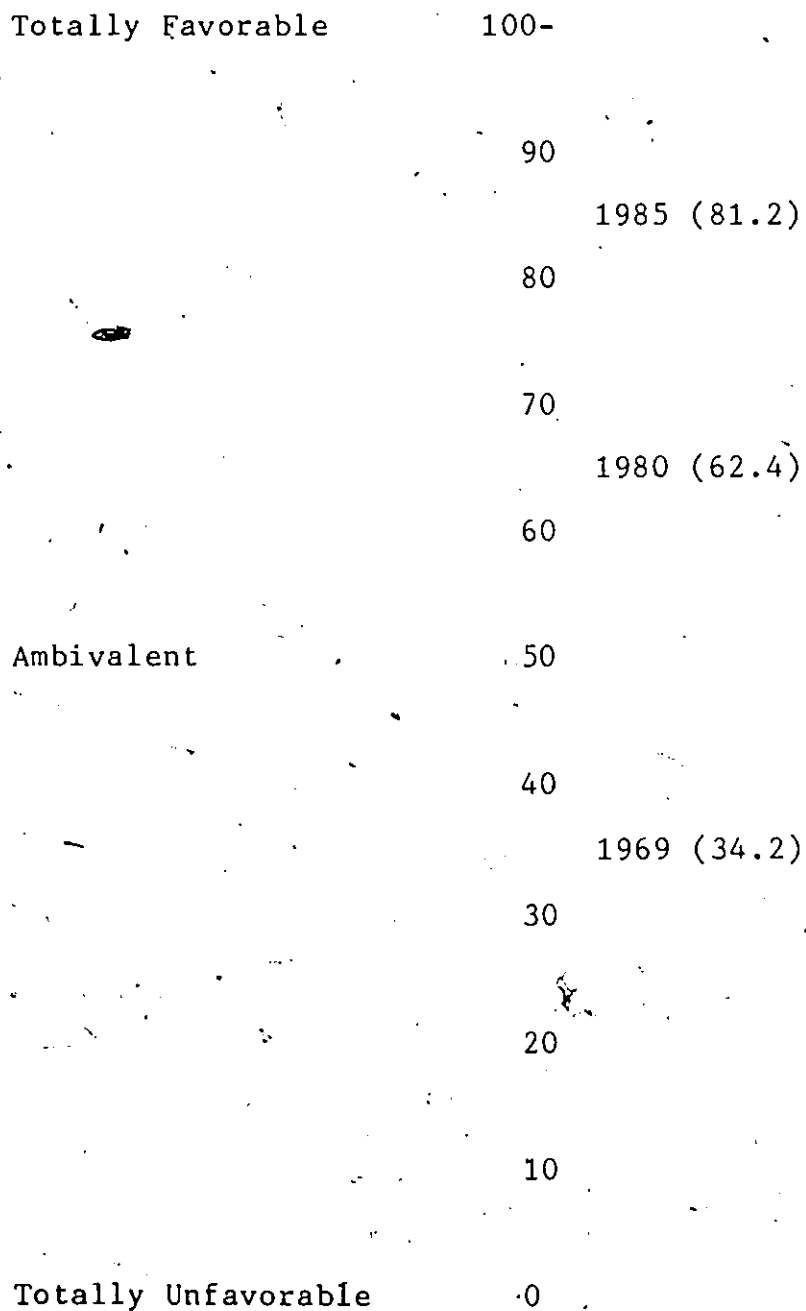
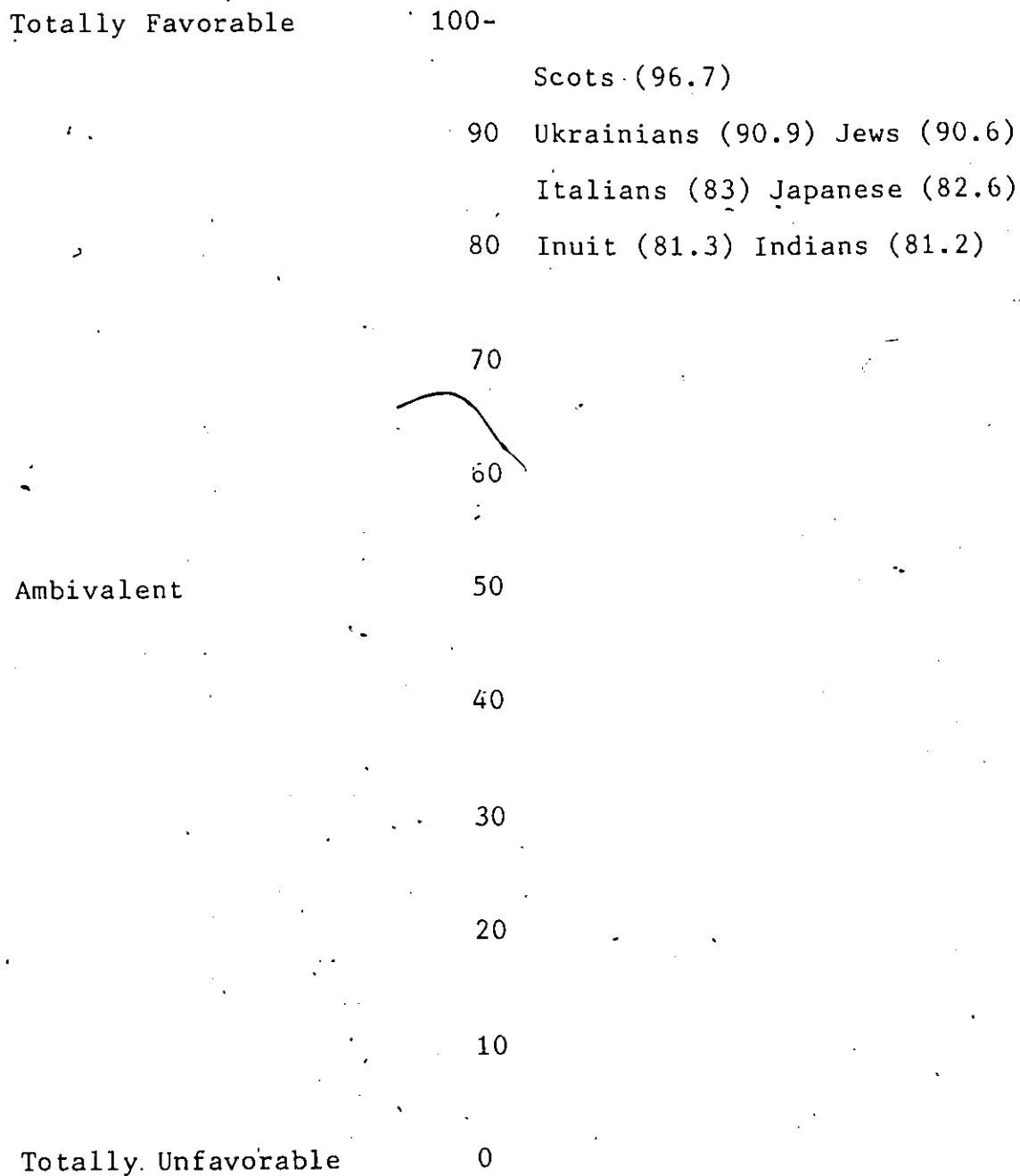


Figure 2

Location of the Selected Groups on a Favorable/Unfavorable  
Continuum Based on Mean Coefficients of Evaluation



## APPENIX A

## TEXTBOOKS ANALYSED IN STUDY

- Andrews, Allen  
1981 The Scottish Canadians. Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold.
- Bennett, Allan  
1981 Inuit Community. Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside.
- Burke, Marguerite  
1978 The Ukrainian Canadians. Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold.
- Cass, James  
1983a Ekahotan, the Corn Grower: Indians of the Eastern Woodlands. Toronto: Heath.
- Cass, James  
1983b Mistain, the Buffalo Hunter: Indians of the Plains. Toronto: Heath.
- Cass, James  
1983c Ocheckak, the Caribou Hunter: Indians of the Subarctic. Toronto: Heath.
- Cass, James  
1983d Oyai, the Salmon Fisher and Woodworker: Indians of the North Pacific Coast. Toronto: Heath.
- Cruyton, J.B. and W.D. Wilson  
1982 People Call it Home. Toronto: Oxford.
- Fenton, Jill  
1983 Canadian Ways. Toronto: Globe/Modern.
- Ferry, Winnifred  
1980a Cultivators and Traders of the Eastern Woodlands. Agincourt: GLC Publishers.
- Ferry, Winnifred  
1980b Fishermen and Traders of the North Pacific Coast. Agincourt: GLC Publishers.
- Ferry, Winnifred  
1980c Hunters and Gatherers of the Central Arctic. Agincourt: GLC Publishers.
- Ferry, Winnifred

- 1980d Hunters and Gathers of the Western Plains.  
Agincourt: GLC Publishers.
- Garrod, Stan  
1980 Indians of the Northwest Coast. Toronto: Fitzhenry &  
Whiteside.
- Gibson, E. and B. Griffith  
1981 Canada Our People. Toronto: Gage.
- Girt, Hilary et al.  
1977 World Communities. Toronto: Ginn.
- Goller, Claudine  
1984 Algonkian Hunters of the Eastern Woodlands. Toronto:  
Grolier.
- Gutkin, Harry  
1983 The Jewish Canadians. Scarborough: Nelson.
- Hall, A. J. and K. M. Hall  
1981 Indians of the Plains. Toronto: Fitzhenry &  
Whiteside.
- Ito, Roy  
1978 The Japanese Canadians. Toronto: Van Nostrand  
Reinhold.
- Jeneroux, John  
1981 Canada Our Place in the World. Toronto: Gage.
- Kirkness, Verna  
1984 Indians of the Plains. Toronto: Grolier.
- MacLean, Hugh  
1982 Indians, Inuit and Metis of Canada. Gage: Toronto.
- Mastrangelo, Rocco  
1979 The Italian Canadians. Toronto: Van Nostrand  
Reinhold.
- Monture, S. and J. McSweeney  
1976 Fort Albany Reserve. Toronto: Fitzhenry &  
Whiteside.

APPENDIX B  
ECO WORD LIST

able	+
achievement	+
admirable	+
advanced	+
adventurous	+
afraid	-
agile	+
alert	+
amazing	+
ambitious	+
angry	-
ardent*	0
attractive	+
audacious	0
backward	-
bad	-
barbarian	-
beautiful	+
bickering	-
bitter	-
blind	-
blood-thirsty	-
boastful	-
bold	0
brave	+
bright	+
brilliant	+
butcher	-
calm	+
capable	+
careful	+
charitable	+
charming	+
cheap	-
chivalrous	+
civilized	+
clean	+
clever	+
cold	-
colorful	+
common	0
complex	0
conscientious	+
conspirator	-

corrupt	-
courageous	+
courteous	+
coward	-
crafty	0
criminal	-
cruel	-
cultured	+
daring	+
dauntless	+
dear	+
dedicated	+
delicate	+
delightful	+
dependent	0
deserter	-
determined	+
devoted	+
devout	+
dictator	-
dirty	-
disgruntled	-
dishonest	-
disloyal	-
distinguished	+
drunk	-
eager	+
elegant	+
eloquent	+
enduring	+
energetic	+
enthusiastic	+
experienced	+
expert	+
extremist	-
failure	-
fair	+
faithful	+
false	-
famous	+
fat	-
fearful	-
fearless	+
feeble	-
ferocious	-
fierce	-
fiery	0

fine	+
foolish	-
foreign	0
free	+
friendly	+
furious	-
genius	+
gentle	+
gentleman	+
gifted	+
glorious	+
good	+
goodwill	+
gracious	+
grave	0
great	+
greedy	-
handsome	+
happy	+
hard	0
hardworking	+
hardy	+
haughty	-
healthy	+
heathen	-
helpful	+
hero	+
honest	+
honorable	+
horde	-
horrible	-
hospitable	+
hostile	-
howling	-
humble	+
idealistic	+
idle	-
ignorant	-
imaginative	+
impatient	-
important	+
independent	+
industrious	+
inferior	-
infidel	-
ingenious	+
insane	-

insolent	-
inspired	+
inspiring	+
intelligent	+
interesting	+
jealous	-
just	+
kind	+
late	-
lazy	-
liar	-
lively	+
lovely	+
loving	+
loyal	+
lurking	-
magnificent	+
martyr	0
massacre	-
mean	-
menacing	-
merciless	-
mistaken*	0
mob	-
moderate*	0
modest	+
murderer	-
mutinous	-
natural	+
nice	+
noble	+
normal	+
notable	+
outrage	-
outstanding	+
pagan	-
panic-stricken	-
patient	+
patriotic	+
peaceful	+
pillager	-
pious	0
pitiless	-

pleasant	+
pleasurable	+
plotting	-
plunderer	-
polite	+
poor	0
popular	+
primitive	-
problem	-
promising	+
proper*	0
proud	+
prowling	-
pure	+
quality	+
quarrelsome	-
quick	+
quiet	+
raiding	-
reasonable	+
rebel*	0
reckless	-
remarkable	+
renegade	-
renowned	+
resentful	-
resourceful	+
respected	+
respectful	+
revengeful	-
rich	0
right	+
rioter	-
robber	-
rough	-
ruthless	-
sacrificial	0
sad	-
savage	-
scheming	-
scholarly	+
selfish	-
sensitive	+
serious	+
shrewd	0
shrieking	-
simple	0

sincere	+
skillful	+
slaughter	-
slow	-
smelly	-
soft	+
splendid	+
strange	0
striking	+
strong	+
successful	+
sullen	-
superb	+
superior	+
suspicious	-
swarm	-
sweet	+
sympathetic	+
talented	+
tenacious	0
terrible	-
terrified	-
terrifying	-
terrorist	-
thief	-
threatening	-
thrifty	+
tireless	+
tolerant	+
tough*	0
traitor	-
treacherous	-
trickery	-
troublesome	-
true	+
trustworthy	+
ugly	-
uncivilized	-
undisciplined	-
uneducated	-
unfriendly	-
unreliable	-
unselfish	+
unskilled	-
untrustworthy	-
useful	+
vain	-

valiant	+
valuable	+
venerable*	0
vicious	-
victorious	+
vigorous	+
violent	-
warlike	-
warm	+
wasteful	-
weak	-
well-known	+
wild	-
wise	+
wonderful	+
worthy	+
wrong	-
zealous*	0

The values are based on judgements by students in Grades 11 and 12 and in a teacher education programme. An asterisk beside a word indicates that there was significant disagreement between the two groups regarding the value to be assigned to the word (Pratt, 1972:39).

Source: Pratt, 1972:39-44.

## APPENDIX C

## SUPPLEMENTARY READING MATERIALS

The Italians

DiCicco, Pier Giorgio (ed.)

1978 Roman Candles. Toronto: Hounslow Press.

Harney, Robert and Harold Troper

1975 Immigrants: A Portrait of the Urban Experience, 1890-1930. Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Root, Waverley L.

1968 The Cooking of Italy. New York: Time-Life Books.

The Japanese

Araki, Chiyoko

1968 Origami in the Classroom, Book 2. Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig.

Cross, Kate

1964 Cooking Around the World. London: Blandford

Kogawa, Joy

1974 A Choice of Dreams. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Patton, Janice

1973 The Exodus of the Japanese. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Takashima, Shizuye

1971 A Child in Prison Camp. Tundra Books.

The Jews

Frank, Anne

1967 The Diary of a Young Girl. New York: Doubleday.

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1978 The Jewish Party Book. New York: Schocken Books.

Singer, Isaac Bashevis  
1976 Naftali the Storeyteller and His Horse. New York:  
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The Ukrainians

Bloch, Marie Halun  
1969 Ivanko and the Dragon. Toronto: McClelland and  
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1964 Ukrainian Folk Tales. New York: Coward-McCann.

Kiriak, Illia  
1959 Sons of the Soil. Toronto: Reyerson Press.

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1980 Cultural Boundaries and the Cohesion of Canada.  
Montreal: The Institute for Research on Public  
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1980 "Multiculturalism in Canada: A Muddle",  
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 1981 The Pluralist Dilemma in Education.  
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 1985 Education: Cultural and Linguistic Pluralism in Canada. Ottawa: Supply and Services.
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