EDUCATION FOR ASSIMILATION:
LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, AND ACCULTURATION
IN SENIOR ENGLISH

By

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Abstract

This thesis examines the application and role of education in general in the efforts to induce acculturation into and acceptance of settler society hegemony. Specifically, it illustrates how two disciplines currently work to incite passive indoctrination into the status quo, namely English Language Arts and Literature. During the imperial enterprise, language and literature acted as a means for the communication of settler conceptions of 'truth' and 'reality,' perceptions that subverted Native meanings of both. Supported by the law, institutionalized religion, and violence, this subversion of First Nations understanding contributed significantly to their colonization. Importantly, the application of language and literature and their influence in this context persists today in the neo-colonial educational environment. Public schools continue to stress the importance of the 'mother tongue' in providing success for students and recognize its role in advancing assimilation. At the same time, a pronounced lack of 'meaningful' Native representation and a number of fundamental impediments to its incorporation in the English classroom inhibit an understanding of Native cultures and concerns as they are communicated in literature. A qualitative content analysis of these resources, as well as theoretical application, is used to illustrate how all of these mechanisms work in conjunction to perpetuate the settler society objective of acculturation. In so doing, this thesis also recognizes the valuable contributions to pedagogy made by a number of groups and institutions in an effort to combat education for assimilation.

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This thesis was not intended to change the world in any way, but if it is recognized for its contributions to pedagogy, all the better. I sincerely hope it can make a positive difference in the education of students and teachers alike.

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Chapter One

Education for Assimilation:
(Neo)Colonialism in the High School English Classroom

<u>Introduction</u>

Since the advent of post-colonial theory some two decades ago, a virtual library has been written about the nature and effects of imperialism upon those affected by this assault, an enterprise that initiated the loss of both territory and cultures. Critical examinations of representation, language, literature, identity and the Other abound, each of which is marked by a strong proclivity towards giving voice to those historically silenced. The texts in this library, however, rarely pay homage to practical application, instead limiting their analysis to theoretical considerations. This thesis, then, aims to contribute to this discussion by providing a qualitative content analysis of the implementation and impact of neo-colonial attitudes within the modern classroom, ideologies that perpetuate imperial philosophies concerning those colonized. Pedagogy offers one of the principal means by which settler society can initiate and incur what Gramsci defines as 'domination by consent,' a situation in which the colonized are taught to accept historical and contemporary conditions of existence as 'natural.' In this manner, education represents a vehicle for assimilation or the acculturation of students (Native and non-Native alike) into the general mainstream of Canadian society. In so doing, the ideology of imperialism—the philosophies that governed the territorial expansion of Empire and those that were influenced by this domination—is perpetuated in a contemporary context.

In particular, this thesis examines the role and function of English and English Literature classes in this neo-colonial enterprise. These classes are those conventionally described by the high school curriculum, classes that introduce the student to literature and teach him/her competency in writing. While they are not solely to blame for this "kinder, gentler" style of colonialism—there are, after all, other courses that perpetuate imperial effrontery—these disciplines in particular remain discourses of assimilation for several reasons. First: as the archaic

title still ascribed to the study (*English* Literature) strongly suggests, the central focus remains the works, thoughts, and philosophies of English settler society. In limiting the educational breadth of its texts, ideologies, and instruction, English classes within this scenario thus advance sameness, rather than recognizing the broad range of alternate visions. At the same time, fundamental impediments are imposed on teachers desiring to teach post-colonial theories and concerns as they are communicated in literature and language. Second: because the discipline focuses on language, issues of power and authority as well as discursive conceptions of 'truth' and 'reality' come into being. Because there is no subject outside of language, the real and the known are purely linguistic constructs; in this respect, language constitutes reality. As Ashcroft comments, "language [is] the medium through which a hierarchical structure of power is perpetuated, and the medium through which conceptions of 'truth,' 'order,' and 'reality' become established" (7). During the colonial process, colonizers, through the implementation of settler conceptions of 'truth' and 'reality,' forcibly subverted Native understandings of both. Law, religion, and education were used to supplant Native understanding, meaning, and explanations of the known and the real. The classroom environment continues such a process, legitimizing these conceptions in a variety of ways. Moreover, a language in itself is exclusionary, its words defined by difference. In this manner, settler society constitutes, defines, and represents those it colonizes in a series of complex, conceptual hierarchies. The latter group is thus defined as the Other in comparison to Us or We of the settler population. Such discursive weapons continue to be advanced and employed in contemporary education and are legitimated in the classroom through the curriculum, textbooks, and pedagogical approach (teaching method and style). Education is therefore a means for ideological naturalization, for the inculcation of the culturally specific, humanist philosophies of the powerful. These philosophies, aided by language, are privileged as the signs of 'authenticity,' as the valid interpretations of truth, order, and reality. Ideology and education thus work in conjunction to produce what JanMohamed describes as the hegemonic phase of colonialism: "in [this] hegemonic phase (or neocolonialism) the natives accept a version of the colonizers' entire system of values, attitudes, morality, institutions, and, more

important, mode of production. This stage of imperialism does rely on the active and direct 'consent' of the dominated, though, of course, the threat of military coercion is always in the background" (81). For strictly pragmatic concerns, English and English Literature are the sole subjects of discussion because it is here that *all* students in some way are introduced to the works and thoughts of Native peoples. While First Nations classes do exist, they have yet to receive required status as defined by the provincial government. English or Language Arts, on the other hand, remains one of the principal courses demanded by the government in order to graduate. Consequently, English is often a student's only introduction to Native philosophies and concerns as they are expressed in language and literature. Other than History or Social Studies, English is the only course that offers an insight into Native peoples and cultures at the secondary level— though the former is not required for graduation. Accordingly, English should reflect a broad recognition of both rather than the neo-colonial role it currently assumes.

I use the term neocolonialism here to mean that defined by Philip Altbach, whose definition most closely mirrors my usage of the word throughout this thesis. Unlike post-colonialism which tends to be the study of nations *after* or *following* colonialism, neocolonialism suggests that the processes of imperialism are still in effect today. Writes Altbach, "neocolonialism means the impact of advanced nations on developing areas, in this case with special reference to their educational systems and intellectual life . . . Neocolonialism is partly a planned policy of advanced nations to maintain their influence in developing countries, but it is also simply a continuation of past practices . . ." (452). Education is one of the principal vehicles through which neocolonialism thus operates, continuing in a modern classroom environment past practices of imperialism, including the construction of binarisms and the enforcement of settler definitions of 'truth' and 'reality.' In order for education to be successful in this respect, however, students have to accept such conditions of existence. Pedagogy overcomes this hurdle by advancing assimilation, the process which brings about homogeneity to and absorption into the dominant majority. Herein lies the focus of this thesis; education for assimilation, a tool first used by missionaries, continues to be employed today in publicly funded institutions. Promoting the

acculturating influence of the English language and limiting the literature read in class to safe, generic abstractions of Native cultures and peoples does little to challenge the status quo. In this manner, settler society promotes 'domination by consent' and maintains its hegemonic rule. Importantly, however, there are schools that challenge such tactics and instead promote alternative systems of learning and curriculum. Moreover, it is not the primary objective of those responsible for 'traditional' curriculum to overtly instruct students for assimilation. This thesis, however, focuses on schools governed by provincial funding and rules, schools operated by settler, humanist ideals. The educational success of these institutions is not being questioned here; rather, education's role in the assimilation of students into the hegemony of the dominant culture is examined.

The efforts aimed at assimilation through pedagogy have long historical roots. Chapter Two examines the history of these attempts, beginning with the establishment of missionary schools in the years following first contact. Such schools were designed to bring God to a 'savage' people as well as teach them fundamental, Western ideals and skills (see Robin Fisher; J.R. Miller; Celia Haig-Brown). Metlakatla is taken to be the paradigmatic example of such institutions. With increased non-Native settlement, views regarding the education of the Native population underwent a dramatic shift. It came to be believed that if Native peoples were to be successfully assimilated into settler society, they must be separated from the western ills that plagued them. Consequently, government ordinances called for the development of residential schools, institutions designed to assimilate through division. The impact of such schools upon the Native population is well documented and recounts horrific tales of abuse and strict paternalism. Here, too, Native students were taught skills perceived to be necessary for success (and survival) in the general mainstream of society. Noting the failures of such schools to achieve this objective, however, policy makers began to encourage a policy of assimilation through integration, a goal formalized in the Indian Act of 1951. Yet, while policies concerning method have changed, the aim remains that first expressed by early missionaries, namely the acculturation of Native students.

Chapter Three then examines the means by which such acculturation is carried out as it is constructed and presented in the high school English and English Literature classroom. As mentioned above, English is the focus of study for a number of reasons. Of these, two in particular are the most significant. First: colonialism's survival depends much upon its subversion of Native conceptions of 'truth' and 'reality.' This process is conducted through language, which defines these concepts for a culture. Pedagogy offers a fundamental means through which such conceptions can be presented and indoctrinated. Second: these definitions, as well as our understanding of the lived world, is dependent upon the inherent nature of language to denote according to difference. In other words, one's understanding, and hence meaning, of an object is determined by that which it is not (among other, more secondary concerns). Colonialism also largely depended upon such a relationship, one that establishes a series of binarisms[1] to both denote and qualify the colonial act and those colonized. Both are particularly relevant to the English class because of its strong emphasis on language and language use as simultaneously a subject and medium of instruction.

One original intent of this research was quantitative analysis of student responses to education in general and English Language Arts and Literature in particular. For reasons which will be discussed below, the focus changed to a qualitative examination of curriculum and content for both classes. Chapter Four discusses the research methodology utilized, the manner in which data was collected, the logic of approach, as well as the defined parameters of the study and the assumptions made. It is important to note here that this thesis is written from a perspective marrying post-colonial theories of language and literature as applied to Native representation with practical examination of curriculum and course content. While curriculum resource materials are reviewed, however, this thesis does not introduce education perspectives on such concerns.

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[1] From the term *binary opposition*, "the principle of contrast between two mutually exclusive terms: on/off, up/down, left/right, etc.; an important concept of structuralism which sees such distinctions as fundamental to all language and thought" (Baldick 24). I use the two terms (binarisms and binary opposition) interchangeably throughout this thesis.

Consequently, references to theories of education on curriculum, curriculum development and evaluation, and/or critical foundations are not incorporated here.

Chapters Five and Six analyze the figurative role of language and literature in the particular neocolonial classroom environments of English Language Arts 11 and 12 and English Literature 12. The curriculum, as defined by the *Integrated Resource Package for Language Arts (IRP),* and the literature read in each class is examined for content in light of the formidable impediments that counter its communication in the classroom. This qualitative content analysis supports the arguments presented in the preceding chapters, namely that the discipline of English remains a pragmatic tool for acculturation. Moreover, the methods which hinder successful implementation of post-colonialism allow for the maintenance of the imperial tactics discussed in the third chapter. As is evidenced, although a superficial 'head-count' indicates a proportional number of resources designed to facilitate representation of Native cultures and/or concerns, these works are framed by specifications that severely restrict their overall impact. In fact, only three works can claim to be not refracted by some form of settler society influence. This exclusionary tactic thus fosters acculturation, despite the provincial government's efforts at political correctness. Included in this list, then, are such concerns as representation, questions of self and identity, and Othering, as well as more local issues, such as racial prejudices and stereotypes, substance abuse, and the balance of traditional ways with the demands and ideals of settler society. Research here is strictly limited to Grade 11 and 12 students, a decision influenced by several factors. Of these, the first involves issues of time and size; a study of all grades would have simply been too large in scope and would not have allowed for close examination of textual references and curriculum practices. It is also believed that Language Arts 11 and 12 and Literature 12 represents the culmination of English studies in secondary school. Ideally, students are expected to amalgamate all that has been learned in previous grades to construct a strong working knowledge of language and literature.

Finally, Chapter Seven discusses possible alternatives to education for assimilation based not only on personal recommendations developed from research, but also on approaches adopted

by schools elsewhere. Importantly, these suggestions are realistic in that they require small, but fundamental changes to policy governing educational curricula. While such changes are necessary across the curriculum, English in particular demands evolution. As indicated, the first fundamental step would be the adoption of much more meaningful Native literature into the English classroom. Attitudes concerned with teaching the canon and preparing students for the future must be altered to recognize the importance and vitality of cultural difference. This is not to suggest that sweeping reformation is necessary or that preparation for future success is a negative aspect of education. Rather, the pedagogy of English must learn to accommodate divergent perspectives into its curriculum, thereby limiting the influence of education for assimilation into white settler society and promoting a more well-rounded learning environment.

Overview of the Literature

The analysis and research of this thesis, then, is divided into four central themes or subjects: post-colonial theories of language and literature, the history of pedagogical assimilation, the influence and role of contemporary education, and concluding recommendations. Accordingly, the literature read as secondary resource material supplements these central discussions and answers the rudimentary three questions discussed below. The review of these sources will also be categorized in this manner. It is also important to note that the literature detailed below is considered to be the most influential to the theoretical basis of this thesis. Although many texts were required to provide the necessary theoretical foundation, this selection represents the materials used most frequently. It also excludes the two primary resources examined exclusively in Chapters Five and Six, the respective *Integrated Resource Packages*. These curriculum guides are described in enough detail in these chapters so as not to warrant further discussion here.

Antonio Gramsci's theories of hegemony as described in *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* perhaps best explain the reasoning for and mechanisms behind education and its substantial contributions to assimilation. In order to maintain their position, the dominant majority needs a means through which their ideals, beliefs, and values can be communicated to an

impressionable, young audience. Pedagogy offers one of the best mediums in which to re-affirm and legitimate the status quo and the supposed inferiority of the cultural Other, however defined. In *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, Louis Althusser describes this medium and others as Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA), vehicles through which the ideology of those in and with power is enforced and disseminated. These ISAs are so effective because they operate tacitly, yet they are ubiquitous. So successful is education in this role, Althusser argues, that it has replaced the influence of the Church.

Importantly, although education may be the location for the expression of this discourse, the ideology of the dominant majority is, in turn, expressed through two primary means: language and literature. In *Decolonizing the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*, Ngugi Wa Thiong'o recounts the impact upon both by imperialism, noting that the former is especially significant in defining a culture and its sense of understanding. Benjamin Whorf and Edward Sapir also note the importance of language in constructing 'truth' and 'reality,' though Thiong'o carries this one step further, suggesting that language and literature were employed as 'cultural bombs' aimed at destroying a culture's sense of its self. Thiong'o's work is also an important contribution in that he describes the influence of literature in defining his sense of indigenous self as based upon the 'reality' projected to him by the works of European authors. The result is definition according to difference, a principal tenet of the English language. Building on the theories of Jacques Derrida, Roland Barthes in *The Rustle of Language* describes common English vernacular as especially divisive because it is based upon a series of conceptual hierarchies or binary oppositions. Edward Said also details this trait and its implications in the imperial enterprise, though he describes it as Orientalism in a work by the same title. As a result of decades of imperialism, a tradition of thought and discourse composed of an Us/Them mentality has developed, in which Them is always the antithesis of Us. In this fashion, settler society not only defines the ascribed Other, but also itself.

Though other measures certainly may be implicated, the application of language and literature in education played a crucial role in the colonization of cultures. Efforts at the

assimilation of those encountered during colonialism therefore have deep historical roots. In British Columbia, these were engendered shortly after first non-Native settlement. Robin Fisher's *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890* details the dramatic transformation in attitudes towards the Native population following the conclusion of the fur trade. Attempts at assimilation through pedagogical means culminated in the missionary and residential schools, of which Metlakatla is taken to be paradigmatic. Celia Haig-Brown's *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School* is used to further explicate the contextual history of residential schools. It is especially important because this monograph, a record of abuse and violence, documents many instances of efforts at acculturation as they are represented in language and literature. J.R. Miller's *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* is also an excellent resource for information on residential schools and their impact upon Native children across Canada. A contemporary context of Native issues and continued governmental efforts at assimilation was provided by James Frideres' *Native Peoples in Canada: Contemporary Conflicts*, Pauline Comeau's *The First Canadians: A Profile of Canada's Native People Today*, and Andrew Armitage's *Comparing the Policy of Aboriginal Assimilation: Australia, Canada, and New Zealand*. All three texts are used extensively to explain current policies of assimilation and to illustrate the maintenance of historical practices.

Although acculturation efforts are communicated through pedagogy, they are accepted due to a number of complementary factors. Of these, the role of the teacher is perhaps most significant. Generally, secondary school educators are valorized as the sources of 'truth' and what they teach is accepted to be entirely valid. Paulo Freire in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* describes this tendency in contemporary education to be the result of a "banking ideology." According to this logic, teachers deposit carefully filtered information into students whose success depends upon their ability to reiterate what was read and spoken. Freire's text is also significant in that it discusses not only the role of education in creating a 'culture of silence' but also the need to give voice to those for whom pedagogy is oppressive. At the same time, this prominent role of the educator is further complemented by the esteemed position given to the written word. As

Linda Christian-Smith and Michael Apple in *The Politics of the Textbook* emphasize, however, associating the textbook and education with neutral knowledge is naïve. They point out that education is controlled by the dominant majority and therefore what is taught, including textbooks, is selectively filtered through an often biased lens. Teun A. van Dijk makes note of this bias in his analysis of racial discourse in education resource materials. He emphasizes the construction of binary oppositions and how the cultural Other is often defined in literature in a pejorative manner. Although the Ministry of Education, Skills and Training has, in recent years, made several efforts to remove overtly prejudicial content from its curriculum recommendations, other factors nonetheless contribute to a misinformed representation of Native peoples, as will be discussed. In *The Empire Writes Back*, Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin explain one of the impediments to the teaching of meaningful Native contents to be a result of the material conditions of the text in question. Solutions for making the curriculum more 'meaningful' in terms of content are discussed by Hope MacLean and Roberta Jamieson in *A Review of Indian Education in North America* as well as the editors of *Native Education in the Province of Alberta*. Their recommendations are emphasized due to their regional application and conclude this thesis, as do suggestions based upon personal research.

The literature described here represents only a small portion of the resources currently available. Much of this work, however, focuses only on one of these particular themes or subjects. Yet, other than Thiong'o's *Decolonizing the Mind*, very few texts have attempted to amalgamate all four themes. Perhaps the most significant contribution this thesis makes to contemporary theories on education, post-colonialism, and hegemony, then, is its integration of all these concepts within a local context. The combination of applied theoretical constructs with qualitative content analysis in a local environment distinguish this work as a relatively unique recipe. This formula presents itself as a possible methodological avenue for future studies of education, especially those that examine other required courses. Arguably, perhaps the most substantial limitation of this thesis (in terms of scope) is that it only focuses on two courses. There is a pronounced need, therefore, for further review and evaluation of other secondary

school classes, analysis that may also demand quantitative research in addition to what is offered here.

Statement of Purpose and Research Questions

The need for this thesis was born out of personal dissatisfaction with contemporary secondary school pedagogy and its failure to represent adequately Native, post-colonial concerns in its curriculum. While this interest extended to all aspects of secondary school education, English and English Literature came to be the focus of study for a variety of reasons, the most significant of which is their esteemed position in academia at this level. Both classes continue to hold such a high value in secondary institutions that they remain key requirements for graduation. Other reasons include their sole reliance on a language fraught with imperialist baggage and their general neglect of literature that is representative of Native peoples, cultures, and concerns. Through such means, settler society maintains its hegemonic control and, in turn, procures the assimilation of all students involved into its predominantly Western, humanist ideals and traditions.

As a result, the purpose of this study was to examine how such acculturation practices work and the means by which they are incurred in the classroom. Consequently, the focus of the research revolves around three primary questions:

(a) How does the English language work to colonize?
(b) What are its implications in the Language Arts 11 and 12 classroom?
(c) Does the literature read in Language Arts 11 and 12 and English Literature 12 promote assimilation? If so, how?

These questions are answered in the following chapters, each providing an in-depth analysis of the various means by which acculturation is invoked and encouraged in the English classroom. The study will conclude with a number of suggestions for reducing, and even eradicating, the current pattern of pedagogical assimilation.

Chapter Two

A History of Pedagogical Assimilation

> The biggest weapon wielded and actually daily unleashed by imperialism against . . . collective defiance . . . [is] the cultural bomb. The effect of a cultural bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland. It makes them want to identify with that which is furthest removed from themselves . . . It makes them identify with that which would stop their own springs of life. It even plants serious doubts about the moral righteousness of struggle. Possibilities of triumph or victory are seen as remote, ridiculous dreams. The intended results are despair, despondency, and a collective death wish.
> -- Ngugi wa Thiongo, *Decolonizing the Mind*, 1989

Since contact, the relationship between the peoples of Native ancestry and the settlement population perhaps has been best symbolized by Thiongo's analogy. While many scholars contend that initial encounters between traders and Native peoples were reciprocal in nature, the majority also agree that this relationship soon devolved. With the institution of the Indian Act in 1876, the settlement population formally initiated the first of many steps aimed at the assimilation of Native peoples into the general mainstream of Canadian society. Provisions ranging from the definition of "Indian" to the system of reservations characterize just a small example of the active and passive attempts to eradicate the vestiges of Native social, economic, and cultural institutions. Yet the most significant of these "weapons" is the policy of assimilation conducted through pedagogy that began with missionary and residential schools and continues today in conventional, provincially operated schools. This chapter will examine the historical applications of efforts at acculturation through education undertaken by the provincial government as well as the current state of pedagogy in this context.

Antonio Gramsci's notion of hegemony, a theory used to define both the institution and division of power within society, offers a good explanation of the mechanism(s) behind assimilation. Gramsci offers the following definition:

the spontaneous consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group: this consent is 'historically' caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production. (12)

The role and function of education in the operation of hegemony is to transmit the ideology necessary for the acquiescence of a subjugated group to the interests of the dominant group. Pedagogy acts as a principal vehicle through which the ideological structures of hegemony are presented as common sense. Says Rick Hesch,

> hegemony is maintained, primarily, through the operations of the institutions of civil society, such as the church, trade union, schools, and the press. Civil society is the site of ideological production. It is civil society that supports the persistence of workers' common sense, that is, those views 'inherited from the past and uncritically absorbed' (Gramsci, 1971: 333). Hegemony depends, in large part, on people accepting the ruling ideas in society as common sense. (429)

Importantly, it is the business of ideology to produce general acceptance of these "ruling ideas in society as common sense." In his discussion of these ideas that govern popular thought and their corresponding apparatuses, Louis Althusser notes that ideology and its state implementation (what he terms Ideological State Apparatuses) provide the ruling elite with a mechanism of control that does not rely on oppression. In this respect, education acts as a key medium for the transmission of ideology, particularly that of the ruling class. Writes Althusser,

> in the concert of ISAs, one ideological State apparatus certainly has the dominant role, although hardly anyone lends an ear to its music: it is so silent! This is the School. It takes children from every class at infant-school age, and then for years, the years in which the child is most 'vulnerable', squeezed between the family State apparatus and the educational State apparatus, it drums into them, whether it uses new or old methods, a certain amount of 'know-how' wrapped in the ruling ideology . . . or simply the ruling ideology in its pure state. (155)

Moreover, these structures operate so that their workings are not made apparent to the individual; in fact, should their operation be consciously ascertained, their very function is lost. Consent to a

"general direction of social life" without revolution or violence usually requires a tacit *modus operandi*. For this reason, "the organized sets of ideas most clearly expressed by spokespersons . . . [that provide] the ideational and evaluative content of most popular thought" (Hesch 429)—ideologies—are transmitted via institutions such as education, producing, in Gramsci's terms, a 'domination of consent.' This domination of consent, obtained via the ideology of acculturation present in education, "is achieved through what is taught to the colonised [and coloniser], how it is taught, and the subsequent emplacement of the educated subject as a part of the continuing imperial apparatus . . ." (425). What is taught, then, is the dominant mode of thought, those ideas set forth and defended by the dominant majority. And it is taught as common sense, as views inherited from a pedagogical tradition to be uncritically absorbed. Writes Althusser,

> [the majority of teachers] do not even begin to suspect the 'work' the system (which is bigger than they are and crushes them) forces them to do, or worse, put all their heart and ingenuity into performing it with the most advanced awareness . . . So little do they suspect it that their own devotion contributes to the maintenance and nourishment of this ideological representation of the School, which makes the school today as 'natural,' indispensable—useful and even beneficial for our contemporaries as the Church was 'natural,' indispensable and generous for our ancestors a few centuries ago. (157)

In the context of this argument, then, education for assimilation is indoctrinated into both the dominant majority and the indigenous minority; the ideology concerning the forced, yet passive acculturation of Native peoples is presented and accepted as common sense, as notions somehow necessary for their cultural survival. Moreover, because hegemony is procured by the ideology of the dominant majority and this ideology is fostered via pedagogy, what is taught is therefore perpetuated. As Althusser's comment on teachers argues, the education which prepared them for the position as instructor was one also assimilationist in nature; their viewpoints (and those of others) are therefore often unconsciously governed by the limitations of their 'common sense' and their evaluations of Native education rooted in (mis)conceptions concerning Native progress as determined "by how well and how fast they can adopt the characteristics and qualifications

demanded of life in the contemporary society" (Hanson 67). Consequently, not only are they indoctrinated via ideology into a system of acculturation, but so too are their students and the process repeats itself.

In his influential book *Contact and Conflict*, Robin Fisher describes the initial relationship between traders and British Columbia's Native peoples—a relationship largely based on the fur trade—as a reciprocal one. Following first contact, trade and other business governed the majority of the interactions between Natives and the foreign newcomers. Consequently, little imposition of either culture over the other was brought into play in the relationship.[1] Instead, exchanges between natives and newcomers were maintained at a strictly business level, one that brought mutual benefits to each party involved. As fur resources depleted, however, so too did the mutually beneficial relationship between both parties. At the same time, increasing non-Native settlement saw the arrival of Europeans who cared little for the Native cultures they encountered and who brought with them preconceptions about the original inhabitants of the land. Whereas fur traders were dictated by economic necessity to accommodate their Native counterparts, the arriving settlement population had no need for the Native population and therefore desired their assimilation (Fisher 49-73). Fisher notes that this new attitude regarding Natives was engendered in the first wave of gold miners. He writes,

> the gold miners were the advance guard of the settlement frontier. These
> newcomers not only had a different set of attitudes from those of the fur traders,
> but they also made quite different demands on the Indians. The reciprocity of
> interest between Indians and Europeans broke down because settlers came not so
> much to accommodate the frontier as to re-create the metropolis. (96)

Mutual economic reciprocity turned into economic rivalry as the increasing hordes of settlers, first arriving in great numbers following the discovery of gold, began to demand settlement lands. Consequently, as large-scale settlement became a factor, "the Indian could not escape the

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[1] See Fisher, Robin. *Contact and Conflict.* Vancouver: UBC Press, 1977.
Also, Haig-Brown, Celia. *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School.*
Vancouver: Tillacum Library, 1988.

unappreciative attention of the incoming developers and home-steaders" (Frideres 63). Given the

changed relationship between natives and newcomers, then, it is not surprising that the former lost

large amounts of its territory. With the establishment of the settlement frontier, missionaries also

began to re-assert their attempts at spreading Christianity amongst the Native population. As

Fisher indicates, while settlers "did not come to British Columbia with a specific policy of

transforming Indian culture" the missionaries, on the other hand, "had developed quite

deliberately and consciously thought out plans of acculturation for the Indians" (119).

Consequently, direct contact amongst the Native population gradually evolved into the formation

of missionary schools, institutions that will be discussed in greater detail elsewhere in this chapter.

What is significant to note here is that these missionary schools represented the first

institutionalized efforts at acculturating the Native population. At the same time, newly appointed

government bodies, working hand-in-hand with the churches responsible for education (Roman

Catholic, Anglican, and Methodist), instituted a number of steps specifically designed for the

eradication of Native cultural, social, and religious institutions. J.R. Miller describes these efforts

as Canada's "policy of the Bible and the plough," noting that

> this complex of legislation and programs embraced the missions and schools of
> which residential schools were a subset, campaigns to control and reshape
> Aboriginal political behaviour, efforts on the western plains to coerce Native
> hunters to become sedentary subsistence farmers, and attacks on traditional
> Aboriginal customs such as the potlach on the Pacific and the Sun Dance and
> Thirst Dance on the prairies. (186)

This policy of forced acculturation culminated in the *Indian Act* of 1876. As Andrew Armitage

describes,

> this single act made provisions for: the definition of 'Indian'; the recognition,
> protection, management, and sale of reserves; the payment of moneys to the
> support and benefit of Indians, including, specifically, 'contribution to schools
> frequented by such Indians'; the election of councils and chiefs; Indian privileges,
> particularly the exemption from taxation and from debt obligations of all types;
> provision for receiving the 'evidence of non-Christian Indians' in criminal
> prosecutions; special measures for the control of intoxicants; and provisions for
> 'enfranchisement.' (78)

Subsequent amendments to the *Act*, including a strict ban on customs and ceremonies (in British Columbia, for instance, it became a legal offence to celebrate the potlatch) and forced residential school attendance, made its provisions even more effective in achieving the government's goal of assimilation. Perhaps most significantly, however, the *Act* assigned a label to Native peoples, a precise definition to ensure that the requisite assimilationist services could be properly targeted (Armitage 84). Three qualifications defined an individual as an "Indian": any male person of Indian blood reputed to belong to a particular band; any child of such a person; and any woman who is or was married to such a person (Armitage 84). Notwithstanding the future problems that would arise for Native women as a result of this definition,[2] the term "Indian" provided the government with a target denotation, a specific group to whom assimilationist tactics could be imposed. Yet, while each provision either actively or passively pursued the assimilation of Native cultures, education came to be regarded as the central vehicle by which Natives could be transformed from barbarism and savagery to civilized life. Andrew Armitage, for example, notes that from the passage of the first *Indian Act* (1876) until the late 1960s, child welfare policy for Native children was governed by massive attempts to use pedagogy as the method for changing both their cultures and their characters.[3] Future alterations to the *Indian Act* and the birth of other policies did little to alter the government's objective of assimilation. For instance, despite a growing concern for improving race relations after the Second World War, cross-Canada hearings between 1946-48 found that the current education system was in fact hindering the ultimate goal of assimilation (Brookes 169; Comeau 129; Frideres 15). As a result, Ottawa signed agreements for the integration of Native children into provincially operated schools, a policy also legislated by

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[2] For further reading, please refer to *Women of the First Nations: Power, Wisdom, and Strength*, an anthology of essays edited by Christine Miller and Patricia Chuchryk that discusses the impacts of colonization, including the legislation of the *Indian Act*, upon Native women.

[3] See also Brookes, Sonia. "The Persistence of Native Educational Policy in Canada". *The Cultural Maze: Complex Questions on Native Destiny in Western Canada*. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1991. pp. 163-180.

the 1951 *Indian Act*. Within a decade, approximately 45 percent of the Native school population was enrolled in provincial institutions (Brookes 170). Despite the rather high figures, however, the education for assimilation policy was marked by serious flaws, particularly in achieving its objective. According to the Hawthorn Report of 1966-67 which measured the success or failure of Indian education, Native children were academically far behind their non-Native counterparts. Significantly, however, the Report equated success with acculturation; students were judged according to their participation as 'social equals of other Canadians,' an evaluation indicating the ultimate goal of Native education. Since the 1951 *Indian Act*, several other administrative strategies at assimilation via pedagogy have been attempted, while others, like the *White Paper* of 1969, have been soundly rejected. These and other initiatives attempted since this period reflect a policy of assimilation through education that has persisted in those institutions not regulated and maintained by Native cultures. Today, Comeau notes, a little less than half of the 100,000 status Indians enrolled in schools across Canada attend such schools (131). For these students, pedagogy bears little if any resemblance to the culture experienced at home. Consequently, "for many Indian/Native people within this reality, the current educational process is a continuation of the earlier indoctrination process of civilization, Christianization, and colonization . . ." (Hanson 74).

The roots of this institutionalized process in British Columbia stretch back to the first missionaries in British Columbia, who felt it was their obligation to 'Christianize' the 'pagan savages' encountered with European settlement. To achieve this goal, missionaries established a number of schools designed to introduce Native peoples to a more 'civilized' way of life. It was believed that through Christianity, Native children could be saved from a life of heathenism; an education that emphasized Christian studies would allow them to shed their 'pagan' skin and initiate their assimilation into the general mainstream of Christian white society. Paramount to their missionary work, then, was a self-prescribed need to 'Christianize/civilize' the Native population—education offered the best means for accomplishing this task. Robin Fisher suggests that initial 'civilizing' attempts may have been acts of blind benevolence, well-intentioned deeds

originating in good faith, especially in comparison to the attitudes expressed by their settler

counterparts:

> as far as many of the settlers were concerned, the Indians had no future. To the
> missionaries, however, the Indians very definitely had a future; although it was
> seen in terms of them ceasing to be Indians and closely imitating the whites. The
> belief that the Indians would soon die out, which some settlers used as an excuse
> to ignore their problems, was, for the missionary, a spur to immediate action. The
> missionaries thought that the Indians could be saved from extinction if they could
> be turned, as quickly as possible, into red-skinned replicas of the Europeans. [The
> missionaries] believed that with appropriate action and legislation the Indians could
> be saved, even though their culture would be destroyed. (142)

No matter what the intent was, the goal was assimilation. This is where pedagogy was perceived

to offer its most supportive role. In conjunction with other legislative action aimed at

'conversion,' education was regarded as the perfect vehicle for the 'improvement of the heathen,'

terminology that was usually synonymous with westernization. As a result, re-education usually

meant a total transformation of Native students, often with little regard for indigenous cultures.

With this firmly set in mind, therefore, early educational institutions following initial contact were

closely modeled after ideals of the Catholic church (Armitage 105; Fisher 138).[4] Here,

missionaries believed, students free of traditional influences would be easily moulded into

hybridized versions of both their instructors and European society in general.

While noting many illustrations of the missionary schools established after initial

settlement, Robin Fisher provides a close discussion of one in particular, emphasizing that its

founder, William Duncan, was "in many ways typical of the rest [i.e. the other missionaries]"

(124). Certainly, not all possessed the zeal which went into the founding and operation of

Metlakatla, Duncan's model village among the Tsimshian people. A paradigm of the

assimilationist ideal, Metlakatla represented the fundamental manifestation of missionary

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[4] The authors of the *Indian Education Paper* (1982) also note that programs within such
missionary schools naturally concentrated on religious matters. They write, "for a considerable
period the main moving force in European-style education for Indians continued to be various
orders of the Roman Catholic Church" (3).

objectives, namely the Christianization/Westernization of Native cultures. Here, isolated from any "Indian influence," a select group of Tsimshian began a process designed to disengage them from their Native culture. As described by Duncan, the objective was to "draw the Indians out of the miasma of heathen life, and away from the deadening and enthralling influence of heathen customs" (qtd. in Fisher 132). The point of setting it in isolation, then, was not to foster the continued existence of Native customs and heritage, but to deny both, as was emphasized in the number of strict rules developed and enforced by Duncan. Of these, schooling for Native children ranked highly, thus encouraging the ingratiation of future generations into European settler society. While similar ventures were attempted, none achieved as great as 'success' as Metlakatla.[5] In this regard, Duncan's outpost of Christianity was unique; yet its very existence and success indicate the origin of a disturbing trend in the future of education for the Native population. Metlakatla stands out as one of the first institutions in British Columbia with the specific objective of assimilating Native peoples. No matter the intent—whether benevolent zeal or intentional assimilation—it represents the first of many pedagogical efforts by governing bodies at acculturation. More importantly, it was in Metlakatla that education came to be seen as a principal vehicle for accomplishing this aim. Future residential schools followed a similar pattern, setting themselves apart from traditional Native cultures and communities so as to ensure both uninterrupted contact with and the acculturation of its pupils to the mainstream of society.

The first residential schools were established following the Bagot Commission of 1842 which concluded "that day schools were inadequate to the task of assimilating First Nations children" (Armitage 103). In British Columbia, the development of schooling for Native students was strongly influenced by a report published by the Province of Canada in 1847, a document loosely based on the ideas of Egerton Ryerson. As Celia Haig-Brown notes in her monograph on residential schooling in the Kamloops area, this report clearly expressed the desire to further advance Native assimilation through education. At the same time, however, "the contradictory

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[5] See Fisher, *Contact and Conflict*, pp. 130-140.

need to isolate Indians from the evil influences of white society" (29) was also acknowledged.

The failings of missionary schools, it was believed, were the result of the fact that Native peoples

had been 'corrupted' by the evils of European society, a notion that paralleled the Romantic

conception of the 'noble savage.' To combat such problems, residential schools were established,

designed for 'protection through segregation' under the continued guidance of missionaries. It

was here, as in Metlakatla, that cultural oppression through pedagogy became written policy. For

instance, within the discussion of the recommendations for residential schooling is the following

comment:

> their education must consist not merely of the training of the mind, but of a
> weaning from the habits and feelings of their ancestors, and the acquirements of
> the language, arts, and customs of civilized life. (Prentice and Houston, qtd. in
> Haig-Brown 29)

Like that for their historical predecessor, then, the principle objective of residential schools

remained acculturation, an aim that was invoked in a number of ways. J.R. Miller, for instance,

notes that a substantial component of this "hidden curriculum" resided in aesthetics; assimilation,

it was believed, could in large part be procured through forced adoption of English styles in dress

and grooming. Dress was often viewed to be one of the indicators of successful acculturation, as

is evidenced in the many before-and-after photographs church officials and bureaucrats were so

fond of (195-96). The most prominent of these efforts at assimilation, however, dwelled in the

assault on the use of Native languages. While Miller notes that the assimilative linguistic

campaign was not wholly successful (201), the impact of the strict, and often violent, enforcement

of the English language cannot be denied. In her collection of thirteen interviews with select

Native people of the central Interior of British Columbia, for instance, Celia Haig-Brown writes of

horrific stories of abuse whenever Native dialects were spoken (56-59, 82, 92-94). Miller also

recounts the story of one woman who was told "her language belonged to the Devil" (205).

Recognizing that language is the medium of a culture, by prohibiting the use of Native dialects,

bureaucrats and educators alike simultaneously worked to silence Native cultures.

Current Trends in this Context

Significantly, the ideology surrounding both the creation and operation of missionary and residential schools carried forward into the development of provincially funded educational institutions, which is the focus of this study. As Eber Hampton indicates,

> the education of Indians [continues to be] carried out by Anglos using Anglo models to satisfy Anglo purposes. In contrast to schooling for self-determination, these schools for assimilation have been characterized by high failure rates in literacy and educational attainment, having assimilation rather than self-determination as goals, poor school-community relations, negative attitudes towards Natives cultures, and prohibition or non-use of Native languages (Oleksa and Dauenhauer 1982). (9)

Following a Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons (1946-48) recommendation, the 1951 *Indian Act* emphasized practical measures for the integration of Native peoples into the Canadian melting pot. Included in the provisions was a call for "the development of agreements with the provinces for the provision of services to Indian peoples, including their integration into the regular school system" (Armitage 104). By 1964, 26,000 Native children, or about 45 per cent of the Native school population, were enrolled in about 950 provincial schools 'across Canada (Brookes 170). The *Hawthorn Report of 1967,* an in-depth analysis "of the political, economic and educational problems of Indians" (*Indian Education Paper* 7), provided further impetus for increasing these numbers. According to the *Indian Education Paper* (1982), the recommendation of the *Hawthorn Report* that

> Indian students should be integrated with the rest of school population strengthened Government resolve in pursuing this policy. It was believed that decentralization of the federal system would increase efficiency and allow for increased Indian involvement. It was considered that provincial systems were able to offer better programs and a wider range of educational opportunities. Above all it was thought that the economic and social assimilation of Indians could be brought about by this means. (7)

In 1972, then Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chretien promised a significant alteration in the manner in which the education of Native students would take place, indicating that the curriculum, teaching staff, and parental involvement would come under Native jurisdiction. Twenty-five years later, however, "Ottawa [only] provides a per-pupil grant to operate the schools and cover staff salaries. The teaching staff . . . work from a provincially approved curriculum, using specific texts" (Comeau 130). Despite increasing calls for the "recognition" and "appreciation" of Native cultures by provincial curricula, however, the general trend in such pedagogy remains education for acculturation. The *Integrated Resource Package for Language Arts 11 and 12* (1996-97), for instance, argues that "language experiences should encourage students to understand and respect cultural, racial, and linguistic diversity" (2), while literature should allow students to "increase their understanding of and respect for their own and other cultures" (3). Nonetheless, writes Bill Hanson,

> for many Indian/Native people within this reality, the current educational process is a continuation of the earlier indoctrination process of civilization, Christianization. and colonization . . . Education within the single reality concept of human development [what currently exists], serves not to enrich the traditional Indian/Native's legitimate way of life, but rather to take away the human resources it requires to continue as an aboriginal collectivity. (74)

In the twenty-five years since releasing the White Paper (which proposed the elimination of all federal and legislative bases of discrimination against Natives), moreover, Ottawa has spent more than $7.5 billion on Native education with minimal results (Comeau 126). Writes Comeau, "Indian students continue to show higher drop-out rates, poorer test scores, and a greater number of grade failures compared to national and provincial averages" (126). Much of this money has been spent on extending provincial services from federal coffers to Native peoples, further evidence that the assimilationist policy of integration continues. Though Native children attend provincial schools, every student is carefully counted so that the province can be reimbursed by Ottawa. As a result, "First Nations peoples are still not provincial citizens in practical, everyday

matters of social policy—their services are determined not by elections and provincial taxes but by negotiations between federal and provincial governments" (Armitage 98). Comeau also points to the outcome of the 1991 census which revealed that "28 percent of the adult Indian population was considered illiterate or had less than a Grade 9 education, and 1.3 per cent of Native people were university graduates" (127). While many attribute the poor results to stereotypical generalizations concerning Native peoples, there exists fundamental flaws in the methods and styles of instruction and the provincial curricula, as will be discussed. It is simply too easy (and prejudicial) to blame Native students for failure, especially when success is measured according to non-Native criteria. For instance, the *Hawthorn Report* of 1966-67 "viewed the success or failure of Indian education in terms of how well the system managed to encourage Indians to engage fully in economic competition as the 'social equals of other Canadians'" (Brookes 171). In a similar vein, the *Integrated Resource Package for Language Arts 11 and 12* (1996-97) notes that high assessment of the student depends upon his/her comprehension of both the *English* language and canonical literature. Not only are Native students faced with legislative cutbacks concerning such things as curriculum development, but they must also endure a system that does little to incorporate Native languages, texts, history, or to address issues of representation and identity. Rather than developing new standards and curricula that reflects Native concerns, Ottawa has generally done little to change a system rooted in the historical precedent set by missionary and residential schools. Argues Comeau,

> the federal government has no legislative right to allow for the creation of Indian education authorities. There is no national Indian education act. Academic standards are set by each province. The entire framework of Indian education is the creation of cabinet orders and Treasury Board guidelines. Without a legislative framework to prescribe education programs and without federal funding, Ottawa offers only programs that it deems necessary or that it is pressured into providing . . . . [At the same time], Ottawa has reduced its funding for curriculum development, teacher and student support, and the monitoring of standards. (131)

This pronounced lack of development concerning education for the Native student populace is also evidenced at the micro level. Analysis of the senior Language Arts and English Literature

programmes, for instance, reveals a strong trend towards the maintenance of non-Native hegemony, rather than challenging its fundamentally Western precepts. In this respect, provincial schools thus represent a continuation of the ideology and processes institutionalized by their historical precedents, namely the encouragement of acculturation and, in turn, the preservation of hegemony.

In this education for assimilation, then, instruction in English language arts and literature focuses on indoctrinating the student into accepting contemporary conditions of existence as elements of 'common sense.' For Native students, this means inculcating an ideology of oppression and a system that is specifically designed for their assimilation into the general mainstream of Canadian society. Yet while all pedagogy is at fault (including the sciences and the humanities), one discipline in particular displays a penchant for assimilationist discourse. In its reliance both on language (that of settler society) and a canonical curriculum, English perhaps best demonstrates acculturation efforts through education. Moreover, because it concurrently acts as both a medium and a subject of instruction, the influence of English in the pedagogical/assimilation process is compounded. Barbara Burnaby notes the distinction between the two, writing that while medium of instruction refers "to the language which is used by the teacher to teach any subject matter," a language is considered to be a subject of instruction "if it is being taught as an end to itself" (18). English is both, and while this thesis focuses on the latter, English as a medium of instruction cannot be overlooked. While there is no law that legislates the use of any particular language in the classroom,[6] English is used primarily because it is regarded to be the language which will best prepare students for the future. As Burnaby goes on to note, schooling for Native children is conducted in the language of the majority simply for that reason:

> the majority feel that English schooling offers the best education for Native
> children. They feel that it is important for Native-speaking children to learn
> English or French and that the best way to teach them is to put them into an

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[6] Barbara Burnaby, for example, notes that it is legally possible for a Native language to be the medium of instruction in provincial schools in some provinces (19).

environment in which they hear and use the language all the time . . . Even if
Native medium education were provided in school, all higher education and
training demands a knowledge of English or French. Also, English or French is
necessary for most jobs and for many other kinds of participation in everyday life.
(23-4)

Although an in-depth analysis of the English language as a neo-colonial tool is provided in

Chapter Three, it is important to note here that, while education in the English language may

prepare the student for life beyond academia, his/her 'participation' is limited to 'everyday life' in

settler society. In this respect, English as a medium of instruction also acculturates, forcing the

Native student to adopt the central means of communication not only for success in the classroom

but also for economic and social survival following graduation.

While the significance of English as a medium of instruction and as a tool for colonisation

cannot be denied (as will be discussed elsewhere), the subject of English represents a central

instrument for what I call pedagogical acculturation. Here, through a variety of mechanisms

including the use of a canonical curriculum, critical claims to 'universality', misrepresentation, and

fundamental curricular impediments, settler society perpetuates the historical tradition of

assimilation through education. As the archaic title still ascribed to the discipline suggests, the

focus remains the study of *English* language and literature, despite the proliferation of other

linguistic and textual resources. Moreover, while alternate classes do exist (though they are few

in size and number), they remain electives. Students' introduction to other cultures, in this case

those of Native, is fostered in the English classroom through the literature read and discussed in

class. As Agnes Grant notes, "literature is generally considered an effective vehicle for the

transmission and understanding of a culture. It has the power to recreate reality and it combines

cognitive and affective insights in a manner that may be lacking in other disciplines" (6). In a

similar vein, the *Integrated Resource Package for Language Arts 11 and 12* (1996) upon which

the future curriculum for English classes is based insists that English fosters awareness and

appreciation of other cultures. Yet, if literature other than that of the literary canon is not read,

there seems to be little chance for such awareness and appreciation to develop. As will be

demonstrated, the resources recommended for use in the Language Arts 11 and 12 classrooms, for instance, though superficially substantial in number, are heavily burdened with a number of impediments that inhibit effective teaching and understanding of them. On the rare instances that Native literature is incorporated into the curricula, claims of its universality eradicate the conditions involved in its existence as well as any issues or concerns presented. Like the employment of canonical texts which "continually display and repeat for the colonised subject, the original capture of his/her alterity and the process of its annihilation" (Tiffin 98), claims to the universal qualities of literature ignore the "multiplicity of cultural experiences" (Larson 65). The idea of broad, universal qualities to literature dismisses particular cultural differences and issues presented in texts, subordinating them to larger concerns perceived to be more 'worldly' in scope. The result is often a misrepresentation of Native cultures and concerns. Either subsumed to the whole or reduced to stereotypical generalizations, literary representations of Native post-colonial concerns are typically cast aside. In this respect, Native and non-Native students alike are taught an important part of material imperial practice, namely the continual display and repetition of "the original capture of [the colonised subject's] alterity and the processes of its annihilation, marginalisation, or naturalisation as if this were axiomatic, culturally ungrounded, 'universal', natural" (98).

Despite the many fundamental problems inherent to pedagogy in general and the English class in particular, both remain locations for change. The assimilationist trend in education can be reversed; a first step is the institution of Native classes into the curriculum, a move initiated by a number of schools.[7] Designed for those of all cultural backgrounds, such classes introduce students to Native languages, philosophies, religions, and so forth. Conventional, hegemonic patterns of thought are thus challenged, in part denouncing traditional education for assimilation.

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[7] Prince George Secondary School (PGSS) is the first, provincially-funded secondary institution in this area to have such a program. Carol McCauley, First Nations Programme Director at PGSS, notes that 51 school districts across British Columbia have developed similar additions to their regular curriculum.

Other avenues for change are suggested in the *Indian Education Paper: Phase 1* of 1982 (see Appendix I). On a much smaller, though in no way less significant, scale, curricular transformations should also occur in the English class, often a student's only introduction to Native cultures. While instruction in Native languages may not be feasible at this point in time, Native literature could be incorporated into the curricula. It is believed that such small, yet highly significant, developments would initiate the first of the many steps required to alter the ideologies that support the contemporary hegemony. Until this occurs, however, education for acculturation will not only continue to maintain the patterns of hegemony as they currently exist but also continue to act as the principal 'cultural bomb' employed against Native cultures. Chapter Three examines the role and function of the English language in this assimilation process, its employment as a colonising tool, its historical applications in this context, and its influence today in the classroom.

Chapter Three

Rationale for Assimilation:
Language, Reality, and Pedagogy—Colonial Tools for Assimilation

"You taught me language, and my profit on't / Is, I know how to curse"
Caliban in *The Tempest* (I.ii.365-366)

Though not all languages are the same, we are always involved in the realm and
scope of a particular vernacular. Roland Barthes notes that "everything suggests that we
cannot escape: by culture, by political choice, we must be committed, [to] engage in one
of the particular languages to which our world, our history, compels us" (109). This
involvement is further enhanced because no culture is without some form of linguistic
dialect. Language empowers the individual by granting license to dialogue with others and
because this communication is "so important to [our] survival" (Salzmann 14), we are
forever bound within its freedoms and, conversely, its constraints. While acting as the
medium of communication, then, language is also so much more. Teun A. van Dijk
describes it as

> the graphic layout, intonation, stylistic variations of word selection or
> syntax, semantic implications and coherence, . . . schematic forms and
> strategies of argumentation or news reports, [and] rhetorical figures such
> as metaphors and hyperboles, speech acts, and dialogical strategies of face
> keeping and persuasion . . . (12)

In his analysis of the subject, Roland Barthes divides languages into two distinct
categories, "encratic" and "acratic" (108), the former of which is particularly relevant to
the involvement of language in the colonial enterprise (see Introduction). Defining it as
"vague, diffuse, apparently 'natural,' and therefore not easily discerned," encratic language
"is the language of mass culture (popular press, radio, television) and it is also, in a sense,
the language of conversation, of public design (of the *doxa*); [it] is both (a contradiction
which constitutes its strength) *clandestine* (it is not easily recognizable) and *triumphant* (it

is inescapable) . . . .(107-108). Sylvia Soderlind carries Barthes' model one step further, distinguishing between four classifications of languages she labels the vernacular, the mythic, the referential, and the vehicular.[1] What is important to note here is that in each definition, language is described in terms of its direct relation to the power involved in its creation, dissemination, and imposition. Barthes' definition of encratic language, for instance, suggests that it is the language of the oppressors, those with the power to control not only the mediums of popular culture, but also to determine *doxa*. The very fact that it is concurrently clandestine and triumphant implies such a relationship. This is not to suggest, however, that all persons involved in language usage are guilty of oppression, but rather to indicate the inherent power at the heart of a language. It is also important to recognize the subtle, yet significant, difference between language and a language, between the latter which "refers to any one of the several thousand systems of oral communication used by different societies" and language in general which is described as simply "the gift of speech" (Salzmann 155). This chapter is primarily concerned with English, the vernacular of those who colonized the greater part of the Occidental world, including Canada.

What is of significance here is not the words themselves, but the power implicitly behind them. The words that constitute a language are themselves without power, without a moral, political, or social influence. Left simply to their denotation words are

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[1] Soderlind describes these categories as follows: "the language most closely linked to the territory is the vernacular, the mother tongue, which is primarily spoken, and whose function is to establish a 'communion' rather than a communication between the interlocutors"; at the opposite end of vernacular, we find the mythic, . . . the sacred language . . . [which] demarcates a realm of beliefs shared by all members of the community. It is a paradigmatic, static, and conservative language"; "between the vernacular and the sacred we find the referential languages, which is the locus of culture as defined by sociologists and anthropologists in terms of common heritage or collective memory . . . this is the language of the past"; finally, the vehicular "belongs to the city and to bureaucracy; alienated from any territory, it is addressed by anybody to whom it may concern" (Soderlind, *Margin/Alias*, 9).

generally weak and ineffectual; it is the connotations of a particular term that give it power, give it the capacity to influence. The word "Indian," for instance, when analyzed strictly in a Canadian denotative context, indicates a title given to peoples as a result of a historical blunder. The connotations of the same term, however, suggest much more: stereotypes and generalizations regarding the cultures, ideologies, and practices of Canada's Native population. As Simon During writes, "[what] one encounters here is a politics of language which rests not on the power within language, the power of rhetoric, but on the power behind language" (128). In *The Rustle of Language*, Barthes describes this power inherent in language as a "discursive weapon" that accounts for "the aggressive force, the power of domination of a discursive system" (109). This power is solicited from discourse in three ways. First: every discourse is a representation, a drama in which words only metaphorically represent, rather than define with precision. No truth(s) can be ascribed to a word, then, only representation, one that is collectively and culturally regarded to be axiomatic. Second: within this discourse there exists certain "figures of system" designed to close the system to those defined as the adversary (the Other). These figures operate via inclusion as object rather than subject; objectifying the Other in discourse as a simple object makes it much easier to exclude it from "the community of subjects speaking the strong language" (109). In this regard, the Other (in this case, the Native population) is talked about and for, rather than given a voice and permitted to speak for itself. Finally, Barthes speculates that the sentence itself is a weapon, "an operator of intimidation". He indicates that "there is a mastery of the sentence which is very close to power: to be strong is first of all to finish one's sentences. Does not grammar itself describe the sentence in terms of power, of hierarchy: subject, subordinate, complement, etc.?" (109). While this latter thought is mere speculation, it nonetheless raises a fundamental issue in what I call education for assimilation: students are rewarded in English for mastery of the sentence (its construction, complements, and so forth).

Power is thus given to the pupil who skillfully exhibits an above average understanding of sentences as well as to those who first "finish [their] sentences" (109).

The relationship between a language and power is of particular interest to post-colonial studies for a number of reasons, all of which centre on the fact that "the colonial process itself begins in language. The control over language by the imperial centre--whether achieved by displacing native languages, by installing itself as a 'standard' against other variants which are constituted as 'impurities,' or by planting the language of empire in a new place—remains the most potent instrument of cultural control" (Ashcroft 283). Thus, although the physical aspects of imperialism may have atrophied (e.g. the overt territorial expansion of Empire), the ideological principles behind the imperial enterprise remain intact. This is not to suggest that imperialism was marked by a single, homogeneous effort aimed at complete domination, but rather to indicate that while a variety of nations were involved in this enterprise, each was driven by similar philosophies concerning those they colonized. These attitudes were (and are) reflected in the imperial "control over language" discussed by Ashcroft above. This form of neo-colonialism[2] operates at various levels, perpetuating traditional/historical ideologies concerning race and difference through such mediums as the law, media, and pedagogy. The ideology of imperialism is thus in effect prolonged to preserve the contemporary status quo of inequality while at the same time presenting oppression and suppression as a 'fact of life' to both colonizers and the colonized. Its very power resides in the fact that it operates unbeknownst to the general populace, generating acquiescence to historical, imperial ideologies. One of the principal means for tacitly inducing 'acceptance' of these ideologies is through education, in which language and language use play a prominent role. Here, students are taught, not only through language but also *in* language, a cardinal tenet of education for assimilation, a point to be discussed further. As Philip G. Altbach

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[2] For a definition of neo-colonialism, please see the Introduction.

concludes, "the continued use of European languages [especially English] in many developing countries is one of the most important aspects of neocolonialism and the impact of the colonial heritage on [colonized nations]" (454).

At the core of this relationship between language and colonialism is the role of the former in providing the terms by which 'truth' and 'reality' are constituted. It is language, after all, which offers a means for explaining and understanding the world and from which conceptions of 'truth' and 'reality,' though culturally specific, are derived. Language, then, is the vehicle through which the generally accepted axioms and standards of a culture originate and are expressed and legitimated as truths and the real. The ability to give meaning to the lived world, however, to give title to both 'truth' and 'reality,' inherently involves an expression of power, one that is produced in two ways. First: the ability to name an object, and hence give meaning to it, grants the speaker a position from which the world can be understood. In this regard, he/she is gradually incorporated into the culture and is permitted a linguistic license to communicate with others. Second: the assertion of one's 'reality' as it is constructed and defined by language over another's further grants the individual a significant measure of power. For example, one need only think of a parent correcting his/her child when the latter incorrectly identifies an object. The parent is telling his/her child that the definition is wrong, thereby asserting the 'culturally accepted' denotation as 'truth' and one that the child learns to understand as the real. In a similar vein, colonizers forcibly interjected their interpretations of the known and the real upon the colonized, deeming all other meanings as either false or, more often, as pagan, uncivilized beliefs. While the medium of communication for a culture, language is also a tool for subjugation, for the silencing of those interpretations of reality deemed unworthy. As far as the neo-colonial role of pedagogy is concerned, this subversion of other voices is further strengthened by the (im)balance of power that exists in the student/teacher relationship and privileges the latter as Author(ity). Moreover, current educational practices largely focus on a textually based curriculum, one that valorizes the written

word. In this manner, what is written is often regarded to be true according to a Western, humanist tradition, a point to be discussed elsewhere. Education remains liberal and contestatory but, like ripples in a pond, is restricted by governing boundaries that dispel substantial challenges. Hence, different perspectives are permitted so long as the waves they make do not upset the status quo. In this fashion, pedagogy's affirmation of the ideals of settler society is maintained and the 'truths' and 'reality' of this dominant majority are legitimated.

As early as 1929, linguistic anthropologists questioned the function of language in the creation of an individual's conception of the known world. Edward Sapir, for example, is noted as stating at a conference that "language is a guide to 'social reality'" (Salzmann 153). One decade later, Benjamin Whorf (1940:61) developed his now famous hypothesis, included in which is his concept of linguistic determinism: "the way one thinks is determined by the language one speaks" (152). Despite the objections of Salzmann[3] and others, language has generally come to be recognized as constituting an individual's and, subsequently, a culture's, understanding of the known world, of 'truth' and 'reality.' With the advent of post-modernism in the 1960s, these latter concepts underwent radical re-definition as both became subjects of focus in a number of critical essays. Lyotard, on the one hand, questions the structure of known reality as it had been traditionally defined with his proclamation on the 'growing incredulity to the cultural meta-narratives' he identified as Emancipation and Enlightenment. Some years later, Jean Baudrillard introduced his

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[3] Salzmann remains rather obscure on this subject, asking in *Language, Culture, and Society*, "do grammatical features have any influence on how speakers of a language perceive and categorize around them? In some instances they do, at least to some extent. In others, the influence is negligible, if present at all" (158).

See also: Edwards, John. "Identity and Language in the Canadian Educational Context." *Heritage Languages and Education: The Canadian Experience*. Eds. Marcel Danesi et al. Oakville: Mosaic Press, 1993.

conception of the simulacra[4] as the new basis of the real. No matter the theoretical

discussion, the important thing to note here is that whereas 'truth' and 'reality' were once

largely conceived as being objective constructs, both have generally come to be accepted

as social formulations. Truth is regarded by many to be not an existential property, but

rather a construct of society. As Steinar Kvale writes, "postmodern thought is

characterized by a loss of belief in an objective world and an incredulity towards meta-

narratives of legitimation. With a delegitimation of global systems of thought, there is no

foundation to secure a universal and objective reality" (19). Truths and the reality they

constitute are thus subjective, particular to the individual or culture that ascribes

significance and validity to certain interpretations of the world over others. While

culturally specific, both are enunciated, transmitted, and enforced through the medium of

language, whether it be orally or textually based. Language is therefore ubiquitous. As a

result, conceptions of truth and reality cannot be understood beyond linguistic terms. And

since no subject is divorced from language[5], both the individual (the subject) and his/her

understanding of the world (his/her *weltanschauung*) are also always involved in a

language, a point Barthes elsewhere emphasizes as being an inescapable fact of culture. In

this regard, "language and knowledge do not copy reality. Rather, language constitutes

reality, each language constructing specific aspects of reality in its own way" (Kvale 21).

To name the world is therefore to understand it and to have control over it.

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[4] Baudrillard uses this term to describe the superabundance of disconnected images and
styles that characterize postmodern culture. In this respect, postmodernity is said to be a
"culture of fragmentary sensations, eclectic nostalgia, disposable superficiality, in which
the traditionally valued qualities of depth, coherence, meaning, originality, and authenticity
[i.e. the real] are evacuated or dissolved amid the random swirl of empty signals" (Baldick
174-75).

[5] Writes Barthes, "there is no subject outside language, since language is what constitutes
the subject through and through . . ." (101).

In designating an object with a specific title, however, and therefore denoting it as both a 'truth' and an understanding of reality, the speaker is not only imbued with significant power, but he/she also concurrently restricts further definition of the same object. The ability to name the world and the privilege to define societal norms is simultaneously the power to displace other meanings. It is important to note here, however, that language is a tool for cultural accommodation and therefore naming is an entirely arbitrary act. We are socialized by language to make the jump from simple referential meaning to semiotic interpretation, from labeling to meaning. In other words, our socialization leads to the acceptance of terms not for their denotation but for what they identify. Thus, it is when a particular relationship between the signified and the signifier[6] is asserted as a 'truth' and/or 'reality' (thereby restricting alternate definitions of each) that power is inscribed in language. The power of a language thus lies not in the word itself, but in a series of related conditions including the speaker, the context in which it was spoken, and the connotations of the word. In this way, language becomes a 'discursive weapon,' subverting one system of understanding and meaning for that of "the community of subjects speaking the strong language" (Barthes 109). And while the language of those responsible for the imperial enterprise was certainly not stronger than that of the Native population, it was supported by a combination of overt and tacit mechanisms, including pedagogy. As a result, English was employed by colonial oppressors to subjugate and silence the Other, a tactic still solicited today.

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[6] From Ferdinand de Saussure and his notion of the sign, a basic element of communication that is either linguistic or non-linguistic (e.g. a picture). The former unites a concept and what he titles a "sound-image." The sound image is not the material sound, but rather the image, the impression, the sound makes upon us. This psychological imprint is defined as the signifier and the concept is indicated to be the signified. The relationship between the two, importantly, is arbitrary, based upon social convention rather than on natural necessity.

In denoting specificity to an object, not only is a certain 'truth' and 'reality' ascribed to the word(s) but, at the same time, differences are embedded and the object comes to be defined *by that which it is not.* Identifying an object, emotion, or action with a specific, though usually broad, title privileges that term over other interpretations of the same thing, authorizing it as the 'true' designation of validity. As a result, implicit differences within the object itself are buried within this limiting denotation. The term "education," for instance, has numerous interpretations, with each culture affirming its particularities. Similarly, the word "pipe" means something entirely different to someone of settler society than it does to a Native elder. Thus, while naming may be an arbitrary act, the assertion of this name as the synchronous interpretation for all to accept severely restricts further, alternate conceptions. This logocentric tradition[7] produces a complex series of often violent, conceptual hierarchies in which the central term is privileged over the marginal alternatives. As Barthes writes, "in our culture, in the *Pax culturalis* to which we are subject, there is an inveterate war of languages: our languages exclude each other; in a society divided (by social class, money, academic origin), language itself divides" (101). This binary pattern of thought is fundamental in understanding the philosophy of many in settler society. There exists in this society a tradition of thought composed of an Us/Them mentality in which Them is always the Other, always the antithesis of Us. Them is thus constructed as a representation and a figure of systems (as Barthes outlines) of everything Us or We are not: civilized/savage, advanced/primitive, Christian/heathen, and so on.[8] In each instance, the subaltern (Them) is assigned both a

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[7] From the deconstructionist term *logocentrism,* the term "used by Jacques Derrida and other exponents of deconstruction to designate the desire for a centre or original guarantee of all meanings, which in Derrida's view has characterized Western philosophy since Plato. The Greek word *logos* can just mean 'word,' but in philosophy it often denotes an ultimate principle of truth or reason, while in Christian theology it refers to the Word of God as the origin and foundation of all things" (Baldick 125).

[8] The idea of a centre/peripheral dichotomy, however, is described by Ashcroft as "a myth which is only retained by post-colonial discourse in order to be deconstructed. As a

negative denotation and a connotation, as each word is fraught with often repugnant baggage that defines Them beyond their literal definition. The term 'savage,' for instance, has been given many other meanings, usually terms that dehumanize. Edward Said, in his analysis of its application in the Far East, describes this destructive thought process as Orientalism in which

> the Orient is not only adjacent to Europe; it is also the place of Europe's greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other. In addition, the Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience. (87)

The role and function of such a system of thought is particularly relevant to the colonial enterprise in Canada for a number of reasons. First: it is much easier to colonize a culture, to subjugate is populace and suppress their voice, when it has first been demonized. To see the objects of colonialism as subjects, as Us rather than Them, would morally and spiritually hinder any form of imperial 'development.' Second: labeling the Other legitimates the imperial process as it becomes, as so often was repeated, the "white man's burden" to "civilize" the "primitive heathens."[9] Finally, such dichotomous thinking is perpetuated in the modern classroom, represented in the curriculum and style of teaching and thus acculturating the unquestioning student.

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geographical myth the centre/margin binarism leads by logical extension to such absurdities as the idea that all people in colonies are marginalised while nobody at the imperial centre can be marginalised; or, even more crudely, that whites are the colonisers and blacks the colonised. Obviously if we try to find the centre of the empire, we will never find it, . . . because the structural notion omits the institutions and process by which power is disseminated and maintained" (213).

[9] For the best example of this attitude, refer to Rudyard Kipling's "White Man's Burden," a poem that patronizingly discusses the role of European society in imperialism, that being the 'civilization' of pagan cultures. While Kipling's poem refers to India specifically, its intonation is one that governed a majority of colonizing efforts.

Once again, however, what is emphasized here is not the word itself, but the connotative power inherent in the term. While settler society may think in terms of such conceptual hierarchies, such binarisms alone do not constitute colonialism. Instead, they act as the foundation upon which the imperial enterprise is not only legitimated, but also perpetuated. Such binarisms serve as the ideological basis of the colonial process which, in conjunction with the subversion of Native conceptions of 'truth' and 'reality,' worked to advance Empire. So effective was this process that it has become ingrained in the collective mind of contemporary settler society and has become part of the settler's conscious awareness of the Other. In *The Economy of the Manichean Allegory*, JanMohamed writes:

> By thus subjugating the native, the European settler is able to compel the Other's recognition of him and, in the process, allows his own identity to become deeply dependent on his position as a master . . . .This process operates by substituting natural or generic for those that are socially or ideologically determined. All the evil characteristics and habits with which the colonialist endows the native are thereby not presented as the products of social and cultural difference but as characteristics inherent in the race—in the 'blood'—of the native. (20-21)

This is not to deny the role and/or function of guns, guile, and disease in the colonial venture, but rather to emphasize the participatory and exclusionary nature of language as it operated in this process. The pronounced military presence of the English and the arrival of foreign diseases undoubtedly played a crucial role in the colonization of Canada, for instance. Yet, without a language through which meaning could be redefined, the impact of both would have likely been momentary. After all, the native population was certainly not eradicated as a result of military pressure, and while disease greatly reduced their numbers, it could not persist as immuno-defences evolved. Rather, the introduction and imposition of an alternate language—and, hence, sense of truth and reality—allows the colonizer "to dehistoricize and desocialize the conquered world, to present it as a metaphysical 'fact of life' . . ." (JanMohamed 22). In a similar vein, D.K. Fieldhouse

(1965:103) notes that "the basis of imperial authority . . . was the mental attitude of the colonist. His [sic] acceptance of subordination—whether through a positive sense of common interest with the parent state, or through inability to conceive of any alternative—made empire durable" (qtd. in Said, *Culture and Imperialism* 11). Accepting subordination, however, does not imply the simple subjugation of an 'inferior' culture by one more 'civilized.' Rather, passive acceptance of subordination results from the imposition of the language—and hence the 'truths' and the 'reality'—of the colonizers, a process legitimated as a result of the construction of hierarchies and the implementation of colonial law and pedagogy that indoctrinate the colonized into the 'new' order. It is not insignificant that one of the first actions taken by colonizers in Canada was the legal prohibition of Native dialects in favour of the language spoken by those in and with power. Because humans are, as Sapir indicates, "very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society" (qtd. in Salzmann 153), the enforced subversion of this language by another eliminates the former as a guide for social reality. Traditional loci of meaning are thus disrupted and replaced by foreign conceptions of the real to which the colonized must become accustomed.

Such a process thus acted as a principal colonial tool. Yet, while the era of territorial, imperial expansion has subsided, such discursive weapons persist, perpetuated in the neo-colonial arena through such avenues as law, media, and pedagogy. In particular, the continued application and use of the English language in all three mediums plays a primary role in the tacit, yet ubiquitous maintenance of imperial ideologies concerning the Other. And nowhere is this more apparent than in contemporary pedagogy, especially education at the secondary level. Here, all aspects of the application of language in the imperial enterprise come into play, including the enforced implementation of 'truth' and 'reality' as they are constructed and defined by settler society. Here, too, conceptual hierarchies are legitimated, preserved by a culture that often prescribes validity to the written word. Barthes' notion of encratic and acratic

languages also come into being, as does Soderlind's division of language into four classifications. In this manner, education for assimilation is transmitted, projected in the classroom, and instituted as the 'truth.' Consequently, 'reality,' as it pertains to colonialism, language, history, and relations with the Other, is often confused with that which is learned in this situation, a process that is conducted apparently 'naturally' or encratically. Remembering Gramsci's definition of 'domination by consent,' students are indoctrinated into the status quo via education. Consent "is achieved through what is taught to the colonised, how it is taught, and the subsequent emplacement of the educated subject as a part of the continuing imperial apparatus . . . (425). What is taught is concurrently the 'truths' and 'reality' of settler society in conjunction with imperial binarisms of difference. Consequently, colonizers and the colonized alike are instructed in the supposed inferiority of the subaltern. Noting the agenda of education in this neo-colonial enterprise, Ashcroft writes that

> education becomes a technology of colonialist subjectification in two . . .
> important and intrinsically interwoven ways. It establishes the locally
> English or British as normative through critical claims to 'universality' of
> the values embodied in English literary texts, and it represents the
> colonised to themselves as inherently inferior beings—'wild,' 'barbarous,'
> 'uncivilised.' (426)

In his foreword to Paulo Freire's now famous thesis, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Richard Schaull notes that there

> is no such thing as a neutral educational process. Education either
> functions as an instrument which is used to facilitate the integration of the
> younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about
> conformity to it, or it becomes 'the practice of freedom,' the means by
> which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and
> discover how to participate in the transformation of their world. (15)

This lack of neutrality more often than not weighs heavily in favour of the former; pedagogy thus facilitates the assimilation of students into the general mainstream of

society. In this respect, education thus becomes a neo-colonial assault on another form of territory: on the minds of its students as they are indoctrinated into the status quo. As Richard Schaull goes on to summarize, Freire's examination of the oppressed

> led him to the discovery of what he describes as the 'culture of silence' of the dispossessed. He came to realize that their ignorance and lethargy were the direct product of the whole situation of economic, social, and political domination—and of the paternalism—of which they were victims. Rather than being encouraged and equipped to know and respond to the concrete realities of their world, they were kept 'submerged' in a situation in which such critical awareness and response were practically impossible. And it became clear to him that the whole educational system was one of the major instruments for the maintenance of this culture of silence. (10-11)

All of the linguistic techniques employed during the colonization of cultures—the subversion of truth and reality, the construction of binarisms—have thus been carried forward into the neo-colonial landscape and are manifested in pedagogical applications. Education therefore works to inculcate imperial conceptions of 'truth' and 'reality' as well as to legitimate historical, conceptual hierarchies of difference. As Freire describes, the result is a 'culture of silence,' one that influences not just the dispossessed, but all students. The implementation of such techniques comes about as a result of two key factors. First: because settler society valorizes the written word as the ultimate source of verisimilitude, textbooks are regarded by many to be the loci of meaning despite their often prejudicial nature and the politics involved in their dissemination. Second: there exists a pronounced imbalance of power between student and teacher that privileges the latter as author(ity) and therefore the source of truth and reality.

Describing the invention of books as "signs taken for wonders,"[10] Homi K. Bhabha notes the double edged nature of language: the erroneous assumption of words as

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[10] Bhabha writes that "the discovery of the book installs the sign of appropriate representation: the word of God, truth, art and creates the conditions for a beginning, a practice of history and narrative. But the institution of the Word in the wilds is also an

'wonders,' their ability to (re)present a narrative, and their tendency to displace and to distort those they discuss. While each illustration asserts a specific conception of 'truth' and 'reality,' each is merely a sign, a metaphor or metonymy, yet confusingly regarded to be the denotation of both. Naming is, after all, an abstract act. While all books contribute to this common fallacy, textbooks in particular are of special concern because it is through them that much of the other is represented and understood. And because 'truth' is generally believed to be held within their pages, their interpretation of the real is regarded to be valid. In this manner, subaltern perceptions of each are generally silenced and, if discussed, are often done so in what appears to be peripheral, and even patronizing, terminology. Titles such as *The History of Peripheral Areas* or *First Nations Literature*, while important classes in themselves, can suggest that such topics are secondary to the overall educational environment. In those classes that follow a traditional curriculum, however, a hegemonic attitude is often expressed (remembering the discussion of Gramsci's ideas on hegemony) and what is emphasized is the teaching of English and English literature. Such a perspective in effect valorizes the textbook, the contents of which are legitimated not only as decisive marks of superiority but also as the derivative of truth as defined by humanist ideals. As the same time, orality is presented as not being conducive to either the learning environment or verisimilitude. It is vital to remember, however, that in inscribing 'truth' to only the written word, as is so often the case, the politics of the textbook are overlooked. Michael Apple and Linda Christian-Smith, for instance, equate the idea of neutral knowledge with naïvete, noting that both curriculum and textbooks signify particular constructions of reality (34). Textbooks, in particular, embody a strictly subjective vision of 'legitimate' knowledge, "one that in the process of enfranchising one groups' cultural capital disenfranchises another's" (34). Equating

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Enstellung, a process of displacement, distortion, dislocation, repetition--the dazzling light of literature sheds only areas of darkness" (32).

textuality with validity thus ignores the presentation, and hence unquestioned reception, of the known world *as it is defined by settler society*. It is, after all, settler society that not only produces the majority of textbooks currently employed in the classroom, but also is largely responsible for curriculum material in public schools. And in order to maintain hegemony and 'domination by consent,' the processes of imperialism—as well as the current neo-colonial environment—are cast as 'natural.' As constructed by settler society, reality is presented to the average student who generally accepts such interpretations as the truth. Assimilation into the general mainstream of the dominant majority is thereby in part procured.

At the same time, these textbooks often advance the conceptual hierarchies of imperialism (civilized/savage, and so forth), a point emphasized by Teun A. van Dijk whose study of texts used in high schools found that

> stereotypes and occasionally even blatant prejudices characterize most
> passages on the Others, as is also the case for textbook discourse on the
> Third World. The Others are poor, stupid, backward, superstitious,
> aggressive, totalitarian, and the like. At the same time, their own group
> [i.e. those who write the texts] is associated with positive properties,
> namely modernity, democracy, hospitality, tolerance, and unselfishly helpful
> to Them. (287)

Such binary representations are unfortunately often conceived of as accounts of objective truth. In this neo-colonial *Zeitgeist*, the historical, hegemonic dialect of difference that affronts Native conceptions of the known world and defines Native culture in terms of opposition is employed, continuing a precedent established following first non-Native settlement. Historically characterized by an Us/Them dichotomy, then, the Other is further represented in the contemporary educational arena by similar connotations, connotations legitimated and given validity through the textbook and the curricula. As is discussed in the following chapters, though steps have been undertaken to eliminate blatantly prejudicial literature from the curriculum, there still exists works that advance

racial stereotypes. More pronounced, however, is the lack of literature actually written by Native authors or material representative of Native concerns as they have been defined earlier. As a result, students from all ethnic backgrounds, if not taught the supposedly 'inferior' nature of the colonial Other, are not permitted insight into and hence understanding of indigenous cultures. For those of settler society, on the one hand, pronounced stereotypes and generalizations are reinforced. On the other, the oppressed find themselves victims of self-depreciation, a characteristic "which derives from their internalization of the opinion of the oppressors hold of them. So often do they hear [and read] that they are good for nothing, know nothing, and are incapable of learning anything—that they are sick, lazy, and unproductive—that in the end they become convinced of their own unfitness" (Freire 49). For all involved, the net result is acculturation into an ideology which governs the collective mind set of settler society, namely the garrison mentality of Us/Them.

The power of the written word as constructed in textuality is further strengthened in the relationship between student and educator, a power structure that the privileges the latter as both author and authority of 'truth.' In this regard, not only does the Occidental valorization of the text often result in a fallible representation of 'truth,' but the role and elevated position of the teacher further legitimates this misconception. Paulo Freire describes the current pedagogical system using a banking ideology within which the students are the depositories and the professor the depositor. In this relationship, "the teacher presents himself [sic] to his students as their necessary opposite; by considering their ignorance absolute, he justifies his own existence" (59). The result, then, is a hierarchical structure which bears much resemblance to the binarisms constructed by imperialism. Like the colonizer, the teacher regards him/herself as superior to his/her students and as the vehicle by which they can 'improve,' can join the ranks of the civilized (i.e. acculturate). In light of this role as simple depositor, the teacher is also largely responsible for the development of a student's consciousness—and therefore passive

acceptance—of settler society's conceptions of 'truth' and 'reality.' It is the teacher, after all, who implements curriculum, interprets texts, and acts as guide for his/her students. It is he/she who therefore helps in the development of a student's growing recognition of the known and the real. As Freire indicates:

> it follows logically from the banking notion of consciousness that the educator's role is to regulate the way the world 'enters into' the students [as well as what world is entered]. His [sic] task is to organize a process which already occurs spontaneously, to 'fill' the students by making deposits of information which he considers to constitute true knowledge. And since men 'receive' the world as passive entities, education should make them more passive still, and adapt them to the world. The educated man is the adapted man, because he is better 'fit' for the world. Translated into practice, the concept is well suited to the purpose of the oppressors, whose tranquillity rests on how well men fit the world the oppressors have created, and how little they question it. (62-63)

And although some teachers may try to incorporate 'alternative' views and voices into their curriculum it is very difficult for them to divorce themselves completely from this 'banking' ideology. They, too, after all, are educated within such a system and are taught similar techniques. In this manner, students are assimilated into a mechanism that encourages passive acceptance and 'adaptation' to the 'real' world. Consequently, those views educators present in the pedagogical setting continue to be measured by one's ability to maintain the status quo by accepting and reiterating the deposits of instruction determined by the teacher to be 'true' knowledge. Such an (im)balance of power is particularly critical in the English and English literature classrooms because of their emphasis on language. While other classes stress linguistic and composition skills, no other discipline requires students to have a complete understanding of a language in order for high levels of success (other than second language classes). Although the majority of classes demand a particular reading and writing competency, none are simultaneously the subject *and* medium of instruction.[11] Within such classes, a student's level of success is

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[11] For a definition of both, please refer to Chapter One.

measured by his/her demonstration of literacy, especially written communication. Moreover, this means that the ideology of settler society concerning the other as it is constructed in language, particularly notions centring on such conceptual hierarchies as Us/Them, is advanced in the classroom environment. In this way, students are instructed in the validity of such propositions, the implications of which initiate acculturation into, at the very least, the ideologies that generally govern settler society and people's thinking.

This is not is to deny, however, the existence of either teachers and/or curriculum that subvert conventional educational patterns and methods. Indeed, there are institutions that promote alternative pedagogical techniques and teachers who attempt to practice alternative teaching methods. Unfortunately, both are rare and are usually found in schools not administered by governmental policy. For those educators within this latter environment, education largely remains bound by strict curriculum rules that govern what is taught and how it is presented. Provincial publications such as the *Integrated Resource Package for Language Arts 11 and 12 (IRP)*, for instance, stipulate recommended resource materials and methods for teaching and evaluation. Like its curriculum predecessors, the *IRP* follows conventional guidelines regarding pedagogy, encouraging assimilation tactics such as a limited reading list. In addition, the teachers of tomorrow are taught a system that is entirely self-perpetuating; that which they learn is, in turn, passed on to their pupils.

There are notable exceptions, just as there are exceptions to a curriculum governed by a language and literature that advances assimilation through education. In the hands of many, language is a subversive tool. Many contend that genuine subversion can occur and write in various styles to alter the "rules of recognition" and estrange colonizers from *their* language. Alternatively, there is the question of whether or not such literature can exist at all in recognition that the subaltern author cannot divorce him/herself from the conditions of his/her existence, namely the (neo)colonial situation. A number of factors also contribute to the general lack of success of subversive language and literature within the

conventional secondary school environment. First: rather than learning to recognize the multiplicity of cultural experiences of non-Western literature, teachers and students alike are instead taught the concept of 'universality,' the examination of a piece of literature for its universal, rather than culturally specific, meanings and applications. The result, as Arun P. Mukherjee indicates, is that even the most provocative piece of literary work "when seen from such a perspective, is emptied of its subversive content" (451). Commenting on his students' responses to Margaret Laurence's short story, "The Perfume Sea," Mukherjee goes on to describe the effects of such a viewpoint:

> I was astounded by my student's ability is to close themselves off to the disturbing implications of my interpretation and devote their attention to expatiating upon 'the anxiety and hope of humanity,' and other such generalizations that were ideological. They enabled my students to efface the differences between British bureaucrats and British traders, between colonizing whites and colonized blacks, and between rich blacks and poor blacks. They enabled them to believe that all human beings faced dilemmas similar to the ones faced by the two main characters in the story. (449)

Culturally specific meanings, attitudes, and ideologies as presented in literature are thus reduced to discussions of traits and qualities more universal in nature. As a result, students are not taught the particular aspects of a culture as they are exhibited in a literary work, often their only introduction to cultural difference. In this regard, the ripples in the pedagogical pond are kept to a minimum, easily dispelled along the banks of senior Language Arts.

In addition, because teachers within public schools are governed by what can be rather strict curriculum policies, the literature read is far from subversive. Rather, texts are heavily screened for content and those that present 'controversial' subjects—however defined—are accompanied with an appendix to warn teachers.[12] The *IRP for Language*

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[12] For instance, the film *4 Sight* is annotated with the following cautionary note" "Safety issue in segment #2 involves driving and dialing a cellular phone. Contentious issues of self-government and aboriginal fishing rights presented with First Nations viewpoint only" (B-10)

Arts 11 and 12 contains a clause in its introduction, stating that its curriculum described within is only a suggestion, but teachers who choose to bend its recommendations require permission from local authorities and do so at their own discretion.[13] Although this is examined in much greater detail in Chapters Four and Five, it is important to note here this process is not without significant flaws.

Finally, as discussed in Chapter Two, it is firmly believed by educators and those responsible for curriculum that education in English as well as the teaching of English and English Literature will best serve the student's interests in the 'real' world. Despite its best intentions, however, this perception in fact encourages assimilation in a number of ways. Consequently, although teachers may have an interest in teaching subversive literature, to do so becomes simultaneously a political and a moral issue. John Docker, for instance, writes that while many literature teachers have a strong interest in post-colonial texts and devote much time to them, "the actual teaching remains anglocentric, dominated by the assumption that English literature is central and necessary to a student's critical education" (445). For this reason, that which students read is largely the literature of Empire, 'canonical' texts accorded hierarchical merit based on such qualifiers as profundity, depth of meaning, and universality. Although the teaching of such texts introduces the student to the core of literature, "the reciting of poetry, dramatic set-pieces or prose passages from the works of English writers [is] not just a practice of literary teaching throughout the empire—it is also an effective mode of moral, spiritual, and political inculcation" (Ashcroft 426). Reluctant to jeopardize their students' interests as far as they pertain to success in the 'real' world, many educators only teach canonical texts. As a result, only English literature is assumed to be vital to a student's "critical education" and to success in future endeavours. Consequently, with the best interests of

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[13] According to the IRP, "teachers who wish to use non-provincially recommended resources to met specific local needs must have these resources evaluated through a local district approval process" (11).

the student firmly in mind, literary works deemed to be subversive in nature are generally avoided.

The relationship of language and neo-colonialism in the pedagogical environment, while not the focus of much scholarly attention, is difficult to ignore. Conventional education continues the traditions set by early imperialism in the subversion of Native conceptions of truth and reality for those of settler society. Students are seductively ingratiated into this ideology via a system that valorizes the textbook and advances conceptual, imperial hierarchies of difference. This assimilation is further procured by a power imbalance that privileges the educator as both the author and authority of truth. Consequently, representations read and heard in high school classrooms are largely regarded to be definitional, specifically those that represent the Other. And while subversive pedagogical mechanisms and literature exists, they are rarely incorporated into the classroom for a variety of reasons. Rather, a fundamental series of impediments operate which can inhibit a teacher's motivation and ability to communicate post-colonial concerns effectively represented in language and literature. The following chapter examines the methodology upon which this conclusion is based and illustrates the means in which this data was collected.

Chapter Four

Methodology and Research Design

Methodology

The principal objective of this research is to illustrate the role of and mechanisms through which English language arts and literature work to assimilate all students involved. Interest in this field began with the role of the English language as a key aspect of the imperial enterprise. In applying this interest to pedagogy, I recognized that such patterns persist today. I also realized that much of the prejudice and stereotypes against Native peoples and cultures is directly influenced by the substantial lack of meaningful information given to students.

The actual writing of the work essentially can be divided into two parts: theoretical examination and pragmatic application or, more simply, theory and practice. Beginning in September 1997, the majority of my time was spent researching and writing the theoretical components of the document. Special significance was given to the writings of post-colonial theorists on the subjects of language and literature and the relationship of both to colonialism. Much of what these authors expressed concurred with the aim of my thesis, though little work had been performed by the former in applying these theoretical constructs to "the real world." During this time, I decided to limit the geographical scope of the research to the local region. Because the *IRPs* are provincial documents, examination at this microcosmic level is a reflection of future curriculum on a broader scale. Time and financial restraints also restricted this researcher to the Prince George area.

In light of this, a number of questionnaires were developed. I had hoped qualitative research combining a case study with triangulation would successfully complement the theoretical framework expressed. Consequently, I spent much of November and December drafting these questions to be asked of grade 11 and 12 students of high schools in the Prince George region of School District #57. I also developed a questionnaire for the Ministry of Education, Skills and

Training that was aimed at discovering information on the newest and future curriculum guides, the *Integrated Resource Packages*. Despite several repeated efforts and personal contact with secondary school principals in the city, the questionnaire for students was met with a generally unfavorable response. Although one of the five principals gave a reason as to his decision to deny my request, three other simply stated their objection. One other principal, though giving permission for the research to be conducted, named a teacher as a liaison who unfortunately never returned repeated messages by this researcher. Secondary contact with a First Nations instructor at Prince George Secondary School (PGSS), while providing valuable insight into the nature of First Nations Studies programmes in this district, also proved futile. On my behalf, she too spoke to the principal of PGSS, but to no avail.

Facing such problems, I then decided that the questions designed for the pupils, though desirable, were not necessary to the actual body of the work. Instead, in recognition of the English component of this thesis, I realized that an emphasis on the texts and curriculum would in fact make the completed work much stronger. A realization of the inherent problems with qualitative research such as bias further solidified this decision. The questions oriented towards the Ministry of Education, however, were sent to the government offices in Victoria and returned approximately two months later.

Having moved away from an examination of student responses to the two disciplines, I then focused my analysis on the actual curriculum itself, codified in the *Integrated Resource Package for Language Arts 11 and 12* and its cousin, the *IRP for English Literature 12*. Both represent several years of research and are part of a larger, cross-curriculum campaign aimed at reformation of the entire K-12 educational system. Though much of the research concentrates on the actual content of the resources suggested, the general tone of the *IRP* in its Rationale section is also noted, particularly its objectives in introducing students to other cultures. A background to the *IRPs* was supplied by the Director of School Services for District #57 during consecutive hours of personal communication. The Director, in turn, steered me to the District Resource Centre, a library housing all the resources (texts, videos, and multimedia) currently available to

local educators, as well as those recommended by the curriculum packages. Texts noted as being for an audience level below grades 11 and 12 were not examined, keeping in mind the focus of the study. Point form notes were kept and later developed to form an annotated bibliography (Figure 1). My examination of these resources revealed the numerous impediments inherent to the curriculum, as well as those placed on teachers that inhibit either a discussion of these works in a post-colonial context or the teaching of post-colonial resources.

Research Design

This research focused on the curriculum of English Language Arts 11 and 12 and English Literature 12 and the literature recommended by their respective *Integrated Resource Packages*. These curriculum guides define the parameters for the implementation of curricula in all programmes from Kindergarten to Grade 12. They also list a number of recommended resources, materials reviewed and evaluated by the Ministry and perceived to be adequately accomplishing provincial goals and standards. As the research of these guides and recommended resources evolved, a number of fundamental impediments to the teaching of post-colonial theories and issues as they are represented in literature surfaced (see Chapter Five). A teacher's ability to integrate these concerns into the English classroom environment is severely hampered by these often formidable barriers. In combination with the colonizing function of language and an exclusion of 'meaningful' Native content, these impediments provoke acculturation into the humanist ideals of settler society. The contemporary role of education in this context echoes a disturbing trend, one with deep historical roots. As one of the principle means for communicating the ideals, values, and beliefs of the dominant majority, education, but English Language Arts and Literature in particular, perpetuates both explicit and implicit efforts at acculturation. Examination of the content of these classes is therefore necessary to illustrate how language and literature work to procure assimilation.

Study Parameters

In order to limit the sampling size and breadth of the research conducted, a number of parameters had to be imposed. It is believed, however, that these parameters do not limit the impact of the work or the results produced. Rather, though the sample was restricted, it is reflective of provincial standards and practices as the *IRPs* define both for all provincial school districts. These fundamental parameters are as follows:

1. Although the study emphasizes the assimilationist role of all pedagogy, it would only focus on two classes, English Language Arts 11 and 12 and English Literature 12, for reasons explained elsewhere.

2. Only the curriculum for Grades 11 and 12 would be examined.

3. Content analysis would focus only on those resources recommended by the curriculum packages. These are the materials believed to best communicate curriculum objectives. The process of integrating 'alternate' resources would also be studied, though the actual works would not be reviewed.

4. The study would also advocate the use of interviews and a questionnaire to give further validity to the arguments and research presented.

Sample Source

The setting of this study was limited solely to Prince George, British Columbia. All of the research was conducted at the School Board Offices for School District #57 and the regional District Resource Centre. Because the *Integrated Resource Packages* examined are intended for a provincial audience, however, the research is also applicable at a much broader, macrocosmic level. The responses received from a representative of the Ministry of Education, Skills and Training also reflect the larger scope of the research in this sense.

Data Collection

Collection of the data available in the District Resource Centre took place over two consecutive weeks commencing April 8, 1997. Eleven boxes of materials were reviewed and evaluated for their "manifest" and "latent" content (Fraenkel and Wallen 411). At this time, point notes on each text or video were made and an annotated bibliography was formed. These notes were later developed into Figure 1.

In order to supplement the information supplied by the *Integrated Resource Packages*, a questionnaire was sent to the Ministry of Education, Skills and Training in Victoria (see Appendix 4.3). The responses were recorded and incorporated into the text of the work. An informal interview with the Director of School Service for School District #57 was conducted April 29, 1997 and his statements are used to provide an historical background to the development of the curriculum guides. A subsequent interview took place June 19, 1997 to provide further information in this aspect.

Classification of Study

Following the paradigm defined by Fraenkel and Wallen (1996), the research method applied is classified as qualitative content analysis. This technique "enables researchers to study human behavior in an indirect way, through an analysis of their communications" (405). Here, communication is strictly limited to a pedagogical context and therefore recognizes the curriculum guides as the means for the transmission of "[a] person or group's conscious and unconscious beliefs, attitudes, values, and ideas . . . ." (405). As Fraenkel and Wallen (1996) further indicate, content analysis is an especially proficient methodological approach to apply to education (406), particularly when analyzing trends and inferring attitudes and values. Supplementary methods of research were also incorporated and took the form of casual interviews and a questionnaire to the Ministry of Education, Skills and Training in Victoria, British Columbia. The objective was to

work towards the triangulation of the three major variations of content analysis research, as defined by Fraenkel and Wallen (1996). Briefly, these are described as: analysis in terms of frequency counts; qualitative or nonfrequency analysis; and contingency analysis. It is believed the observations made and the data collected will indicate the successful amalgamation of all three. In analyzing this particular form of educational communication, special care was also given to coding both "manifest" and "latent" content. As defined by Fraenkel and Wallen (1996), the former "refers to the obvious, surface content" of the form of communication in question (411). The latent content of a work, on the other hand, "refers to the meaning underlying what is said or shown" (411). Though the manifest content as it is defined here has improved substantially in recent years, a number of obviously negative references to Native peoples and/or cultures was discovered. More specifically, however, the research focused on the latent content of the curriculum and its recommended resources, particularly their influence in acculturation.

Researcher's Perspectives

Ideally, a central aim of any research project is the maintenance of objectivity. The researcher's role as interpreter of the events measured or, in this case, content studied, however, makes such a goal nearly impossible to obtain. Interpretations reflect the researcher's particular objectives and subjective assumptions. My assumptions directly influence this research:

1. Colonialism is an on-going, rather than static, process. In other words, though historical forms of imperialism such as territorial expansion may have declined, the processes and ideologies governing the enterprise persist.

2. Language defines according to difference. Our understanding of an object, emotion, or thing ("x") is determined by that which it ("x") is not.

3. Language constitutes reality and is responsible for a culture's conception and understanding of its conscious experiences.

4.   Education in general advocates assimilation, continuing a tradition established nearly a century ago. English Language Arts and Literature are especially involved in the communication of this tendency.

5.   Students are introduced to other cultures through literature, which provides a medium for the transmission of contradictory perspectives and understanding.

6.   More meaningful literature and greater Native representation fosters greater understanding of Native peoples, cultures, and issues. In turn, prejudices are eradicated and alterity is encouraged.

7.   Discussion of the educational discourse in question (English) does not lead one to perpetuate its inherent misgivings so long as a critical awareness of these problems is maintained.

Assumptions

With regards to the methodological approach utilized, a number of fundamental assumptions were made by this researcher. First, it is assumed that students on the whole accept, without direct or open question, the curriculum that is presented to them. This assumption is based upon experience as both a student and an instructor. Students at the secondary level tend to be "teacher driven." In other words, the majority tend to require direction and motivation from the educator, rather than being wholly independent thinkers. Furthermore, teachers are generally valorized as figures of 'truth.' Accordingly, while there may be questions about the style of teaching or the teacher him/herself, what is taught is usually accepted to be valid.

Second, it may be assumed that teachers are not made aware of or given access to the post-colonial issues described in this research. And even if teachers are willing to integrate these issues into their respective English classrooms, there are several fundamental impediments that restrict their ability to do so. It is also assumed that it is not the intention of secondary school teachers to choose literature exclusively representing the ideals of settler society. Rather, it is the current system that disables motivation to pursue 'alternate' interests.

Third, one of the assumptions made is that those responsible for curriculum also do not openly intend exclusion. A numerical analysis of the proportion of Native representation in English Language Arts 11 and 12, for instance, indicates this is not the case. An examination of the latent content of the recommended resources, however, indicates a sharp discrepancy between specified objectives and practical application.

Finally, School District #57 (Prince George and area) is assumed to be representative of Districts across the province in terms of the resources used and the manner in which they are housed.

<u>Logic of Approach</u>

The rationale for the methodology used in this research is based upon the notion that education has long been a method for acculturating Native students and current pedagogical practices and philosophies continue this trend. It also recognizes that several alterations must be initiated in order to reverse this process. Though post-colonial theorists have long criticized the application of education in the imperial enterprise, little has been done to amalgamate theory with practice. To do so requires a review and an evaluation of the content used and its relation to theory, as well as to acculturating practices used in language and in literature. Qualitative content analysis best defines the parameters through which research in this context must be undertaken.

The review of the literature recommended by the curriculum guides is an assessment of these assimilating mechanisms. The various impediments that hinder a teacher's motivation and ability to communicate post-colonial concerns developed from this review. The informal interviews with the Director of School Services and the questions asked of the Ministry of Education are intended to supply information not made available by the curriculum guides or to

clarify questionable areas. The Director, for instance, provided the contextual history of the *IRPs* and the developments leading up to their publication. The Ministry, on the other hand, provided information on the future of these resource packages.

Limitations of the Study Design

In any qualitative content analysis project, the reliability and validity of the research are often the most suspect (Fraenkel and Wallen 411). Limiting coding to only the latent content of a communication, for instance, comes at some cost in reliability (411). Personal bias in determining what is 'meaningful' Native representation means other researchers may not arrive at similar conclusions. This limitation was combated in two ways. First, the manifest content (as well as the latent content) of the curriculum for English Language Arts 11 and 12 and English Literature 12 was studied. Second, the focus of this research turned away from simply an evaluation of the resources used for content to an emphasis on the fundamental impediments that arise to prevent educators from teaching post-colonial literature. At the same time, research was conducted on materials that are representative of provincial guidelines and recommendations to give a broad coding context.

With respect to validity, Fraenkel and Wallen (1996) recommend checking manifest against latent content (412). In the context of this research, however, such a proposal is difficult in that the manifest content of the materials suggests satisfactory Native representation. An examination of the latter, on the other hand, gives a sharply contrasting perspective, as these materials are severely restricted by a number of latent barriers. This study examines both "latent" and "manifest" content in combination with the coding of latent messages.

Data Analysis

The data recovered from this research was analyzed according to parameters defined by Verna J. Kirkness (see Figure 1). In particular, texts were reviewed and evaluated for Native representation in the context of issues, peoples, or cultures presented. Measurement of the manifest content of these resources involved simply 'counting' the number of times this representation occurred; the frequency of incidents in this context is documented in Chapters Five and Six. Analysis of the "latent" content, though much more difficult to obtain and record, is also noted in both chapters and takes the form of the substantial impediments that hinder the successful teaching of these materials. The responses generated from the interviews with the Director of School Services for School District #57 and those from the questionnaire are quoted verbatim whenever possible in order to avoid editorial bias.

Chapter Five

The Current Status of Assimilation:
The Integrated Resource Package for Language Arts 11 and 12

> One of the effects of assimilation, indoctrination, . . . is that you believe absolutely in the hegemony of the King's English and in the form in which it is meant to be expressed. Or else your writing is not literature; it is folklore, and folklore can never be art . . . .The Anglican ideal—Milton, Wordsworth, Keats—was held before us with an assurance that we were unable, and would never be enabled, to compose a work of similar correctness. (Cliff 85-6)

As was illustrated in Chapter Three, language is fundamental to the creation and development of meaning, of perceptions of 'truth' and 'reality.' At the same time, because it is inherently based in difference, language defines according to conceptual hierarchies of contrast. Objects, emotions, things are defined by that which they are not, a pattern of thinking with particularly destructive implications in the development of an Us/Them, Othering ideology. Together, this combination played a key role in the colonization of the Native population of Canada. While conventional forms of imperialism such as territorial expansion may no longer exist, the involvement of language in this neo-colonial venture persists. As has been discussed in previous chapters, for instance, language use as it is constructed and developed in the secondary school English curriculum continues to advance these patterns of thinking and understanding. Yet, the average English class (or Language Arts as it will soon be titled) does not solely educate students in the nature of language use and construction; a great deal of time is also dedicated to the study of literature. As is the case with language, literature also serves a figurative role in the

presentation and legitimization of particular conceptions of reality. The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the "manifest" and "latent" content of the literature recommended by the province and illustrate its influence in the acculturation of students. In so doing, the provincial handbook for future curriculum, the *Integrated Resource Package for Language Arts 11 and 12*, is also examined as the source of this literature in the classroom.

The principle source on which the future curriculum for senior English in secondary schools across British Columbia will be based is a provincial government publication entitled the *Integrated Resource Package (IRP) for Language Arts 11 and 12*. Intended to be an instruction manual for educators, the *IRP* represents the new curriculum for English which was developed after a cross-provincial review (late 1980s) of the Kindergarten to Grade 12 programs. Titled the Sullivan Commission, this review concluded that substantial changes needed to be made to the entire curriculum "to gear up for the year 2000" (personal communication, Norm Monroe, June 19, 1997). As a result, substantial revisions to pedagogy were engendered in an initiative known as the Year 2000 Program. Though this plan in principle was eventually dropped, a number of its ideas persisted and were eventually modified to form the core of the *IRP*s (pers. communication, Norm Monroe, June 19, 1997). Appendix 5.1 illustrates the future of secondary school pedagogy in British Columbia as defined by this research. Each ring represents the time-line in which various re-developed courses will be implemented. Although every course will eventually be governed by an *IRP*, the curriculum does not drastically differ from the original. Of the changes, the most significant is the end of the dependence on core textbooks and the introduction of a multiplicity of resources which

the Ministry has reviewed, evaluated, and supplied, from which educators are free to

choose. While all schools have to "come on side" in the next two years (pers.

communication, Norm Monroe, April 29, 1997[1]), successful implementation of the *IRP*

depends on funding. Without adequate financial resources, schools may be forced to

continue to use traditional materials (Monroe). While the future of these programs is

uncertain, it is highly unlikely that they will undergo further revision.[2] The *IRP* itself

details a variety of considerations for educators of Language Arts, including suggested

instructional and assessment strategies, the actual curriculum, prescribed learning

outcomes, and a recommended resource materials list. It opens with a rationale explaining

the reasons for the teaching of English language arts in contemporary pedagogy. This

rationale, also a justification for the existence of the *IRP*, is the key section of the entire

guide because it is here that the study of English language and literature is defended.

Above all, it stresses, language arts is governed by the principles of learning, namely

"learning requires the active participation of the student; people learn in a variety of ways

and at different rates; and learning is both an individual and a group process" (1). The

main body of the *IRP* is subdivided into four columns, each describing these four

considerations as they apply to the particular lesson or objective. As their title suggests,

learning outcomes are fundamental expectations of what students in a particular grade

should know and be able to accomplish and therefore "set out the knowledge, enduring

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[1] All remaining references to Norm Monroe in this chapter are based on the interview conducted on this date.

[2] While Chapter 4 discusses this in much greater detail, the *IRPs* represent years of research and review. For this reason, unless dramatic alterations are deemed necessary, these guides and the courses they govern will endure for some time. The Ministry of

ideas, issues concepts, skills, and attitudes for each subject" (III). While these are meant

to serve as a benchmark for performance standards, it is expected that teachers will not

only incorporate their own experience and professional judgment when determining their

respective learning outcomes, but also that student performance will vary from class to

class (III). These learning outcomes determine the remaining considerations in that all

instructional, assessment, and learning resources are oriented around achieving the

prescribed knowledge goals. Consequently, instructional strategies emphasize the use of

techniques, methods, and activities to deliver the prescribed curriculum and quantify these

learning outcomes. Teachers can again adapt the recommendations as long as students

achieve the goals of the curriculum guide. The suggested assessment strategies are

recommended to gather information concerning student performance. Once more, as was

stressed in the description of the instructional strategies, the assessment tools "are

suggestions only" (IV). Of particular interest are the provincially recommended learning

resources or texts suggested by the province that are felt to meet the needs of teachers,

students, and the curriculum guide. Emphasizing that these resources are stringently

reviewed and evaluated by British Columbian teachers and the Ministry of Education, the

IRP goes on to note that teachers are nonetheless encouraged to "select those resources

that they find most relevant and useful for their students, and to supplement these with

locally approved materials and resources to meet specific local needs" (IV). The final

section of the *IRP* (nearly one-third of the entire guide) is dedicated to an introduction to

these resources and the description of each text is annotated with appropriate grade levels,

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Education, Skills, and Training also indicates that they expect the new curriculum to last a
minimum of six years.

price, and, if deemed necessary, a cautionary note to educators on content. These texts range from Shakespearean tragedies to short stories and other prose.

Although the focus here is on the literary resources recommended by the *IRP* and their involvement in acculturation, the guide itself contains several hints at the assimilationist role of both language and literature in the context of preparing the student for life beyond school. In emphasizing the 'real-world' concerns and needs of the student, then, the rationale concurrently advocates the significance of English language arts in engendering assimilation. This is not to suggest that either the curriculum guide or the educators who use it do not have students' best interests at heart. After all, it is the objective of both to accommodate students' needs as well as prepare them for the future. Yet, this future into which students are to be incorporated is that created and governed by the ideals and hegemony of settler society. As both the author of curriculum and the recipient of its products, the *IRP* reflects the interests of the dominant society that wishes to ensure that this hegemony remains intact. For this reason, regardless of best intentions, challenges to the status quo represented in language and literature are not part of the curriculum. This is evident in both the recommended resources as well as throughout the remaining sections of the Rationale. For instance, the *IRP* argues that "language experiences should encourage students to understand and respect cultural, racial, and linguistic diversity; language activities should also help students link classroom learning with the languages and cultures in their homes" (2). These tasks unfortunately fail to notice the discrepancy between theory and practice. Instruction in, and about, the English language bears little relation to the creation of respect for cultural diversity, especially in light of the arguments presented in Chapter Three. How can classroom learning in English

link students to "the culture in their homes" (2) when the literature read and the language studied has no relation to this environment and generally promotes assimilation through a variety of mechanisms? Of the many texts read in Language Arts 11 and 12, only a relatively small proportion actually contain meaningful references to Native cultures or are written by Native authors, as will be discussed. At the same time, there also exists a number of significant impediments within the current system that substantially hinder the successful implementation of literature even remotely communicating post-colonial issues. These, too, will be discussed in greater detail further in this chapter. For these reasons, it appears highly unlikely that such 'language and literature activities' can successfully tie a native student's home environment, for instance, to his/her school experience, and vice versa. Finally, it is the assertion of the *IRP* that language should work in conjunction with the literature taught in Language Arts to teach understanding of and respect for other cultures. In so doing, both should connect students to "the past, present, and future" as well as to "the new" and "the familiar" (3). It is difficult to ascertain how students can learn, understand, and gain respect for other cultures when the literature read in class is not only limited by the material conditions of its production, but also often exhorts a restricted, though very specific, discourse. Limited Native textual representation and a reliance on resources burdened by a number of complementary impediments cannot adequately foster an understanding of Native peoples and cultures. Instead, the status quo as it is created and defined by settler society is reaffirmed and preserved. Divergent opinions and perspectives are not presented, thereby sustaining the historical role of literature as a mechanism for acculturation.

Post-colonial theorists have long criticized the application and function of the

literature of Empire not only in the imperial enterprise but also in a neo-colonial context.

As Bill Ashcroft notes in *The Empire Writes Back*, "the study of English and the growth

of Empire proceeded from a single ideological climate and the development of the one is

intrinsically bound up with the development of the other . . ." (3). Literature offered a

means through which the ideology of Empire could be transmitted to colonial subjects. It

was here that students learned of the imperial Other as he/she was defined by such authors

as Rudyard Kipling and others. Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, for instance, speaks of this

experience in *Decolonizing the Mind*:

> In primary school I now read Dickens and Stevenson alongside Rider
> Haggard. Jim Hawkins, Oliver Twist, Tom Brown - not Hare, Leopard,
> and Lion - were now my daily companions in the world of imagination. In
> secondary school, Scott and G.B. Shaw vied with more Rider Haggard,
> John Buchan, Alan Paton, Captain W.E. Johns . . . . Thus language and
> literature were taking us further and further from ourselves to other selves,
> from our world to other worlds. (12)

At the same time, students from the colonized world learned of themselves as they were

portrayed in such literature and such conceptual hierarchies as Us/Them were created,

represented, and came to be accepted. Because literature is defined specifically by the

language of its construction, this dialect is pivotal to the creation and maintenance of

meaning and understanding. As was discussed in previous chapters, language was/is

crucial to the colonial process in its creation of 'truth' and 'reality' as well as its

construction of identity based on difference. As JanMohamed writes,

> colonialist literature is an exploration and a representation of a world at the
> boundaries of 'civilization', a world that has not (yet) been domesticated by
> European signification or codified in detail by its ideology. The world is
> therefore perceived as uncontrollable, chaotic, unattainable, and ultimately

> evil. Motivated by his desire to conquer and dominate, the imperialist
> configures the colonial realm as a confrontation based on differences in
> race, language, social customs, cultural values, and modes of production.
> (18)

In this manner, the ideology of Empire, a representation of Others to Europe and Europe

to itself, was in large part transmitted. Yet, what was projected were not 'facts' or

'truths' concerning colonial states and peoples, but rather European fears and desires

masquerading as 'objective' reality (Ashcroft 425). What students read, then, were

anglocentric interpretations of other cultures and peoples designed at simultaneously

defining Them as well as Us. Remembering that language defines according to difference,

Europeans were given portraits of Others that not only defined them according to a

combination of myths, legends, and stereotypes but also defined Europeans as their very

antithesis. Such conceptions were generally regarded to be valid representations by both

the colonized and the colonizer. As a result, two equally violent perspectives dominated

imperial thought: the Other must be 'civilized' through any and every means necessary (of

which education was predominant) or he/she must be destroyed to make way for Progress.

In either case, the Other was vilified and the imperial process justified; one need only read

Kipling's "White Man's Burden" to witness the prevailing colonial attitude of the period.

At the same time, because colonizers believed a European education would best profit

Native students (though the motive of assimilation undoubtedly lay at the heart of such a

decision), these pupils were taught within an imperial system. Consequently, they read

literature that presented imperial conceptions of colonial reality and represented native

cultures (i.e. *their cultures*) in a significantly negative light. Such literature—which

captured the non-European subject within European frameworks—defined the latter's

alterity as 'savage,' 'pagan,' and overtly 'wrong' and re-projected these relations back to the colonized. Because this was carried out through formal education and validated as authentic pictures of the Other, the colonized often came to regard themselves in terms defined by the imperial power. In this regard, the supposed inferiority of the colonial Other was often represented to and accepted by the colonizer and the colonized. At the same time, the power and the privileges of the imperialist were maintained as the imbalanced status quo was preserved. As Ashcroft concludes, "the reciting of poetry, dramatic set-pieces or prose passages from the works of English writers was not just a practice of literary teaching throughout the empire—it was also an effective mode of moral, spiritual, and political inculcation" (426).

It is through such applications of literature that the historical imperial enterprise was effectively legitimated and representations of the Other were conceived of as 'truth.' Significantly, however, such a process also exists today in a neo-colonial context. Hence, although a number of significant advances have been made concerning literary content,[3] students from all backgrounds are nonetheless taught ideologies several decades old as they are presented in a textual context. In particular, as a result of inadequate Native representation, students are not only taught a binary discourse, one that sustains an Us/Them attitude but are also taught a restricted conception of 'truth' and 'reality,'

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[3] It should be noted that in recent years there has been a dramatic transformation in the literature component of the English curriculum. No longer are texts that promote blatant stereotypes and/or racial prejudices presented. Changes to content rules have tried to incorporate cultural diversity through the inclusion of non-European texts or authors (i.e. non-canonical literature). While positive steps have been enacted in this aspect, many more initiatives have to be undertaken to promote more widespread acceptance and reduce the impact of education for assimilation. Suggestions for the future in this regard

namely that of settler society. Ignorance and acculturation, then, are complementary.

Failure to recognize other divergent perspectives induces consent solely to those ideals

and attitudes presented. And although subversive literature does exist and offers a means

to counter these trends, it is generally not a subject of discussion in the majority of

schools. As was discussed in Chapter Three, a number of reasons generally prohibit not

only the production of such literature, but also its dissemination in the public, pedagogical

environment. Though these are discussed in a broader, material context further in this

chapter, educators specifically exclude disparate works in their class for reasons

emphasizing educational 'value.' First: it is largely assumed that canonical English is

central to the student's critical education and future success. Consequently, while post-

colonial texts and/or those that promote divergent perspectives do exist, they are generally

avoided in the classroom, even if educators have strong interest in teaching them. Second:

it is somewhat naïve to assume that a work written by an "Other," however defined, can

divorce itself from the material conditions of its existence, namely authorship in a settler

society. As a result, texts that offer a direct challenge to the status quo, whether it be in

subjects discussed or literary structure, are rarely offered in the Language Arts classroom,

as an analysis of the recommended resource materials indicates. As it currently stands, the

future provincial curriculum for Language Arts 11 and 12 is also severely burdened by a

number of fundamental impediments that impair successful implementation of post-

colonial themes. As well, it offers relatively little in the way of the incorporation of

literary articulations about and/or by the cultural Other in its rather copious list of

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will be discussed in the final chapter, as will policies initiated by other institutions and
school boards across Canada and the United States.

recommended resource materials. As a result of both, students are therefore neither introduced to nor taught appreciation for alterity and/or cultural differences as they are represented in literature. For the purposes of this study, only materials from this list showcasing Native authors or representation will be examined. At a macro level, this curriculum is poor overall in terms of literary representation of the cultural Other.

As previously mentioned, the section of the *Integrated Resource Package* dealing with recommended resource materials occupies nearly one-third of the entire curriculum manual (82 pages in total). Each text is annotated with a brief description of the work, its appropriate audience level as defined by provincial standards, curriculum organizers (the expected learning goals and outcomes), and the supplier. Included in the list are texts ranging from dictionaries and anthologies of composition to various works of poetry and prose. According to the *IRP*, these resources are evaluated by practicing teachers who critically examine each work for such elements as content, profundity, and relevance to the learning outcomes of the discipline (10). These recommended resources are not limited to texts, however, and also include various multimedia materials (work in software and video). Educators are encouraged to incorporate a variety of these resources in their classroom in order to maximize student potential and learning. Of the more than 90 resources that are provincially acceptable, only a handful are actually meaningful in terms of the Native post-colonial concerns and issues presented. The concise annotations contained within the guide provide a means to determine the content of the respective material and its appropriateness in this context, as does their availability at the local District Resource Centre (DRC). In total, the recommended resource materials list documents a total of twenty-one materials (of more than 90) that introduce students to

Native literature. Of these, twenty are anthologies and only one is edited by Native authors. Proportionally, these numbers suggest an adequate reflection of Native representation in Language Arts 11 and 12: 21 texts of more than 90 available represent approximately 20 percent of the curriculum devoted to Native authors, a figure equivalent to the proportion of Native peoples in this province. However, the textual resources in which Native representation is included are fundamentally flawed, encumbered by a number of impediments that prohibit their successful presentation in the Language Arts classroom, as will be discussed shortly. The sole video dealing with Native concerns is short at only 23 minutes in length. Ironically, there is also a warning in the annotation that the material and issues presented in the video are from a Native viewpoint only. Considering that more than seventy resources do not provide meaningful Native content, this is indeed unfortunately ironic, as the worry is that these materials are not appendixed with citations expressing their limited, usually Eurocentric perspectives.

Despite the concerns of curriculum editors, this video offers perhaps the best introduction to Native issues and philosophies not refracted through an Occidental lens. As the *IRP* notes, *4 Sight* examines the lives of four Native individuals and their opinions on such issues as self-government, aboriginal fisheries, and Native education (B-10). While this video could not be reviewed for content[4], it is likely that it might well be one of the best resources for students and teachers wishing to gain insight into Native concerns. Yet, in describing the video, even the *IRP* cannot escape the Western, humanist ideals in which it is grounded. The annotation of *4 Sight* acknowledges that the film "examines the

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[4] Unless one is a local teacher, textual materials cannot be taken out of the District Resource Centre.

lives of two male and two female *successful* [italics mine] First Nations leaders, a writer/publisher, a writer/filmmaker, an educator, and a Métis leader" (B-10). Such terminology suggests that success can only be defined by one's ability to achieve in a Western context, an important lesson for students as well as those concerned with education for assimilation. The stern warnings in the annotation to the description of the film, which read "contentious issues of self-government and aboriginal fishing rights presented with First Nations viewpoint only" (B-10), also suggest educators might want to avoid showing it in class for fear of repercussion.

Other than this video, the only other resources of particular relevance to Native cultures, peoples, and concerns not refracted through the lens of settler society and listed in the *IRP* are three texts: *Keeper 'n Me*, a short novel, *"Just Talking About Ourselves": Voices of Our Youth*, and *Voices of the First Nations*. The first, *Keeper 'n Me*, is a story about an Ojibway youth (Me) seeking his identity with the help of an elder who is firmly rooted in traditional ways and practices. Together, they come to a solution that balances traditions with contemporary lifestyles. Like that for the video *4 Sight*, however, the general description of the novel falters under the weight of its own language. For instance, the Keeper is described as "an old man" rather than an elder and the novel itself is described in terms of its universal, rather than culturally specific, nature, the implications of which were discussed in Chapter Three: "the story comprises comic, philosophical, and spiritual elements" (B-44). Nonetheless, as the only novel written by a Native author to be included in the curriculum guide, *Keeper 'n Me* is an anomaly in the textual curriculum of Language Arts 11 and 12. So, too, are the other two texts, *"Just Talking About Ourselves"* and *Voices of the First Nations*, though they are anthologies rather than

novels. The former is especially relevant, as it is a collection of poetry and prose written by young native authors from within British Columbia. The regional quality of this anthology furthers understanding in that it provides a local context for students. The first half of this text, created by those who participated in Canada's Drug Strategy Programme, is dedicated to the work of young Native authors. The remaining section concerns itself with lists of other funded projects and resources for educators and counselors wishing to develop a similar programme. On the other hand, *Voices of the First Nations* is entirely devoted to the fiction and non-fiction of Native authors. Many of the non-fiction pieces are especially relevant to Native concerns as they present such issues as land claims and substance abuse from a Native perspective. Like those offered by the video, these viewpoints are not distorted by a non-Native lens. As a result, students can obtain first-hand insight into such issues. Both texts thus provide a mechanism for students to be introduced to Native ideas and perspectives (of, among other things, 'truth' and 'reality') as they are represented in literature.

Though such literature has been incorporated into the curriculum and, proportionally, the numbers suggest adequate Native representation, there exists a number of fundamental impediments to the successful teaching of these resources. Working in conjunction, these hurdles resemble the proverbial Albatross, greatly inhibiting an educator's chances of successfully communicating any post-colonial concerns represented in the literature. Importantly, each of these barriers detracts from the whole, so that any figure (no matter how substantial) signifies an initiative more towards political correctness than adequate representation. In this context, these impediments are identified as the following: Native inclusion in works edited by predominantly white editors; small Native

representation in anthologies, some of which contain over 200 entries; a reliance on the literature of a select elite of canonized Native authors whose writings contribute to Western preconceptions of Native cultures; a system which makes obtaining material a laborious process; and, finally, bureaucratic mechanisms which significantly hinder the actual teaching of these resources. Each of these impediments are described in further detail below. It is important to note here that these impediments constitute the "latent" content of the communication studied. Thus, not only are the recommended resources themselves subjects of analysis, so too is the process involved in their production and dissemination.

Of these hurdles, none is perhaps more influential than the tedious process aspiring teachers must go through should they wish to teach a work not recommended by the *IRP* and the immense responsibility that follows. As is stressed throughout the curriculum guide, the resources recommended are suggestions only. These materials have been reviewed and evaluated according to provincial requirements and "approved through Minister's Order" (11), a process that examines each resource for a number of criteria, but especially content. Teachers are also expected to use their education and practical experience to incorporate alternative resources into their respective English classrooms. As is mentioned, early in the Rationale section of the *IRP*, "[teachers] and school districts are encouraged to select those resources that they find most relevant and useful for their students, and to supplement these with locally approved materials and resources to meet specific local needs" (IV). Recommended materials, therefore, are those sources that have been reviewed to best accomplish the learning and assessment strategies delineated by the curriculum guide. Allowing for the addition of other resources, while also enhancing the

overall educational environment, nonetheless implies a move aimed at protecting the

curriculum from any future repercussions. If complications or challenges arise to its

curriculum recommendations, blame can shifted to educators who followed these

suggestions too closely or were too liberal with their adoption of other materials.

Moreover, despite claims stating otherwise, this adoption process is a long and tedious

one. According to Norm Monroe, Director of School Services for School District #57,

the local approval process is relatively easy, yet he describes a bureaucratic process

severely hampered by red tape.[5] Respective educators are responsible for knowing the

content of the text or video in question. The teacher's full review of the material is then

given to the principal who also examines the work for similar criteria. If he/she perceives

the text or video to be of controversial nature, the school librarians also review and

evaluate the work. The request, reviews, and the resource are then sent to Monroe, who

further inspects the material and, upon accepting the text or video, gives written approval

of its incorporation into the respective English classroom. If, however, a further analysis

is deemed necessary, the librarians of the District Resource Centre are expected to study it

and provide feedback, as is a review committee. This final step is a "built in check" and

rarely occurs (Monroe). If the teacher disagrees with the final decision, he/she can make a

motion for appeal through the District Superintendent, though this too seldom happens

(Monroe). As it currently stands, teachers often bring forth suggestions for other texts,

though this may reflect a pronounced lack of available resources rather than teacher

initiative. Because the *IRP* recommends a large number of resource tools, the need to find

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[5] Please refer to Appendix 5.2 for the documentation required in this local approval
process.

alternate materials may disappear. Significantly, Monroe notes that teachers generally do not question the established selection of novels and seldom suggest an alternative literary work. Instead, textbooks constitute the majority of requests that are required to go through this review process (Monroe). Despite this complex system of reviews and evaluation by all levels within the school hierarchy, the teacher is left ultimately responsible for problems that may arise as a result of the teaching of the work in question. To assume this responsibility is certainly a laudable task, though one that leaves the educator in a rather precarious position. Should contentious issues of content and/or censure arise, he/she is left to assume full responsibility, without the support of the school district. Fear of dismissal in the face of public outcry may be enough to inhibit an educator's motivation to teach a non-recommended resource. For this reason, English teachers likely limit their challenge of the recommended resource materials list to textbooks only. It is extremely rare that contemporary textbooks—the materials that most often go through the review process—present material controversial enough to raise alarm from concerned parents. The content of the texts recommended by the *IRP*, for instance, do not contain any references that may be considered offensive, despite its stern warnings. Novels, on the other hand, pose an entirely new dilemma, as many contain content judged to be simply too risky for the average classroom, particularly those that threaten the status quo. For instance, one need only to think of the recent controversy in Surrey, British Columbia surrounding the teaching of a story portraying same-sex parents. By imposing such restrictions on the teaching of 'alternative' literary works, then, the esteemed state of canonical literature is reaffirmed and Other voices are marginalized. The very real fear of retribution is therefore perhaps one of the most significant impediments to the teaching of

'extra-curricular' materials. Resources of this type—materials not recommended by the curriculum guides—are necessary as those materials advocated by the *IRP* fail to represent Native post-colonial concerns adequately. In turn, these recommended texts are themselves bound by further impediments.

For instance, though there are a proportionally significant number of resources that contain some form of Native representation, no mechanism for either understanding post-colonialism or bringing it to light is provided. At the same time, finding these resources can be an extremely tiresome process, one that already busy teachers may avoid. All of these materials—texts, videos, and computer software—are found in the local District Resource Centre, the library which houses the resources currently used and/or available to local teachers, as well as those suggested by the *IRP* in preparation for its implementation. The resources within this library serve as research and resource material for educators who, upon examination of a particular work, then order the necessary amount for their classroom. Because all the resources have been screened and accepted according to specifications set out in the *IRP*, there is no need for teachers to undertake any further steps.

An examination of these resources took place over two consecutive weeks commencing April 8, 1997, during which time fourteen boxes of resource materials were studied for literary content. In keeping with the scope of this thesis, only resources defined appropriate for a Grade 11 and/or 12 audience were reviewed and evaluated. Each piece of resource material contains a sticker denoting the suitable audience level according to provincial guidelines. This level is not meant to be restrictive and Grade 12 students may often use a text intended for a Grade 8 audience, and vice versa. Such an

occasion is rare, however, as works designated a Grade 12 status are more difficult in terms of content and syntax, and therefore generally specific to this grade. While an annotated and bibliographic review of these materials can be seen in Figure 1, what is important to note here is the actual process local educators must go through to find these resources. If those few materials which fairly and accurately represent Native concerns and/or cultures are to be found, the system must be altered as it currently discourages accessibility. For instance, while the DRC is itself easily accessed, teachers are required to use their own time to find new resources, either by computer or through personal research. Considering the business hours of the library, simply getting in the door can be a difficult task. The resources themselves are stored in boxes and catalogued in no particular order. Generally, each box contains materials for all grade levels and, consequently, a sorting or filing system does not exist. Though the cover sticker denotes the applicable audience level, a number of boxes contain as many as 30 resources. Should a teacher wish to give a potential resource a more thorough examination—though this means first researching it in the *IRP*—he/she must then sift through the many irrelevant materials. And though the *IRP* provides some annotation on each text, it is often simply too concise and even inaccurate to give insight as to the nature of the content. This means an educator must then, having first found the material, analyze its contents. Again, such a task become the entire responsibility of the teacher in question as no further substantial annotation of each resource is supplied by the DRC. Materials are not listed by theme or genre which would greatly reduce the amount of time and labour currently required in this research process. Finally, should a teacher be willing to undertake these many requirements, only extremely limited assistance is provided by teacher's guides or

manuals to aid in the successful implementation of post-colonial theory and/or concerns. Though a number of guides exist, only three offer suggestions as to how particular post-colonial references of a short story, essay, or poem may be elucidated to students. And while the remaining teacher's resources give reference to Native content, they often do so in a disparaging manner. The guide to *Amazing! Canadian Newspaper Stories*, for instance, provides mechanisms for stimulating classroom discussion on a story concerning the history of the Inuit peoples. However, it notes that teachers should illustrate how life for the Inuit culture was not altered by colonization and how the Inuit people have come to be entirely dependent upon the federal government. Assuming teachers have no background in such issues, without manuals to help bring them to light, it is highly unlikely that alterity, representation, or identity in a Native context will be discussed.

For instance, *Discovering Literature: Fiction, Poetry, and Drama* features a poem by Tlingit poet Nora Dauenhauer (454) in which the Tlingit word for apple (x'aax') is used to create a picture of the word. The stem of this poem/drawing is structured by the Tlingit name for the object drawn. This work, though certainly open to many interpretations, can be seen as an example of subversive literature, a piece of writing that subverts Western conceptions of a well-known object. Our understanding of the known and the real (the 'truth), though sustained by the image created, is disrupted by the use of an unfamiliar term. Thus, though Dauenhauer's poem may be interpreted as such, the themes and issues presented may not be understood without the necessary background or means of interpretation. The teacher's manual, for example, notes that this concrete poem has appeared "in various forms, in several other languages" (Rico and Guth 37). It then suggests to educators that students should work individually or in groups to develop a

similar concrete poem (37). No mention is given to the possible interpretation described above. In this way, literary works that pose significant post-colonial concerns are 'glossed over' or misread by educators unfamiliar with the subjects represented.

As is evident, then, though literature that may be interpreted as subversive is included in the curriculum of Language Arts 11 and 12, its successful implementation and understanding is questionable without supplementary reference materials. Even if teachers are given the means to interpret post-colonial issues or have the necessary history to do so, the amount of literature which demands this interpretation is relatively small. This also assumes that teachers are willing to tackle weighty post-colonial issues rather than simply give their textual representation a superficial reading. Even if an educator is motivated to assume such a challenge, the curriculum relies heavily on a select elite of Native authors, writers who, though not of settler society, nonetheless often espouse its philosophies and attitudes. And although these authors may write material wholly divergent to settler hegemony, this writing is not reflected in secondary school reading lists. Rather, a limited few of Native writers are represented and the perspectives delineated in their particular literary work generally contribute to the ideals and preconceptions currently held by the dominant majority, as will be discussed in more depth shortly.

In *The Empire Writes Back*, Bill Ashcroft lays blame for this not on the authors of such resources, but on "the second stage of production within the evolving discourse of the post colonial" (5). Unlike the first stage of this process which is defined by literature produced by writers who primarily identify with the colonizing power, the second stage is marked by a greater potential for subversion. These works too, however, are produced under 'license' from the imperial centre. And though Ashcroft cites works produced in

the nineteenth century as examples of this secondary stage (5), his definition is nonetheless currently applicable, a reflection, perhaps, of the relative youth of Canada's textual history in relation to the examples given. Analysis of much of the writing included in the Language Arts curriculum also reveals this historical time-lag and relevancy of Ashcroft's argument in this contemporary context. Thus, although these recommended works deal with such material as the construction of binary oppositions as a result of imperialism (Whitecloud's, "Blue Winds Dancing"), cultural differences and Othering (Pelletier's, "For Every North American Indian . . ." and Geddes', "Growing Up Native"), or questions of representation and identity (Silko's, "Landscape, History, and Pueblo Imagination"), they are prevented, as Ashcroft notes, "from fully exploring their anti-imperial nature" (6). He goes on to write that this possibility is restrained by both "the available discourse and the material conditions of production for literature" in Canada (6). The institution of 'Literature'

> in the colony is under the direct control of the imperial ruling class who alone license the acceptable form and permit the publication and distribution of the resulting work. So, texts of this kind come into being within the constraints of a discourse and the institutional practice of a patronage system which limits and undercuts their assertion of a different perspective. (6)

In this manner, only material acceptable to the maintenance of hegemony is disseminated, a fact evidenced in the literature included in the many anthologies of Language Arts 11 and 12. The vast majority of this writing is not only limited to a select handful of elite authors, but its content is also often one that reaffirms traditional stereotypes of Native cultures and/or peoples. For instance, of the twenty-one resources that include some form of Native representation, N. Scott Momaday is featured four times and twice in the same

book. His short story, "The Way to Rainy Mountain," is found in two different anthologies. Other Native authors prominently featured include Chief Dan George (twice), Jeannette Armstrong (twice), Leslie Marmon Silko (once), and William Least-Heat Moon (once). Concurrently, the material presented generally supports Western preconceptions of the Native population. For instance, one of the most common stereotypes repeatedly asserted is that of Natives as saviors of the wilderness. This notion of Native peoples as strictly earthly and pastoral is communicated in a number of the anthologies. This attitude, for instance, is evident in *Timeless Voices*, a collection of poetry that supposedly venerates old age. Despite the proclaimed thematic nature of the work, the writings of the Native authors represented perpetuate this commonly held belief. This perception is also witnessed in *Family Issues*, *Matters of Gender*, *Inquiry: A Cross-Curricular Reader, Discovering Literature*, and *Breaking Free: A Cross-Cultural Anthology*. In each, a selection of those Native pieces included depicts Native peoples and cultures as entirely attune to nature and as the last and only defenders against its destruction. Undoubtedly, the authors named above have written material other than that which reaffirms Western notions of Native cultures. But, both the available discourse and the conditions of literary production have directly influenced which of the writings is incorporated into a secondary school Language Arts anthology. Rather than choosing resources that assert a different or even challenging perspective, then, what is selected are materials that reaffirm settler society notions of Native cultures and peoples.

Though this and other stereotypes are not made openly explicit, there are occasions in some of the literature recommended by the *IRP* in which racial prejudices are clearly prevalent. While dramatic improvements to the curriculum in this aspect have been

orchestrated, there nonetheless exists a number of instances in which Native cultures

and/or peoples are described in disparaging terms. Written by non-Native authors, these

works also contribute to the reification of the Native population, albeit far more overtly.

Two anthologies in particular describe their Native subjects in stereotypical fashion. For

instance, in Ken and Cecile Weber's *The Spirit of Vocabulary Canada*, an essay titled

"The first sit-in in Canada" describes the 1882 protest launched by Pi-A-Pot against the

federal government's activities in Saskatchewan. Not only does its derogatory and

patronizing title suggest such activity is indicative of Native cultures, but much of the tone

of this piece also implies the 'savage' nature of the activity and of the peoples involved.

The authors note, for example, that upon their arrival at the scene, the North West

Mounted Police (NWMP) found that

> Pi-A-Pot's men had gathered around the teepee in a **menacing** [menacing
> is highlighted as a vocabulary word for definition, synonym use, and the
> like] circle. The railway workers had run for safety. The track boss sent a
> message for more help. (57)

The essay then goes on to discuss how the strong-willed Corporal Wilde of the NWMP

stood his ground against this "menace," giving the Natives 15 minutes to move. It also

concludes that although Pi-A-Pot "could have finished Corporal Wilde and brought war to

the Canadian West," he inevitably "backed down." Also included in the exercises that

follow is an historic photograph of Pi-A-Pot from a "Series of Indian Portraits" titled

"Birth of the West." What is portrayed is the stereotypical image of the 'proud' Indian

discussed by Daniel Francis and others. The very existence and inclusion of the

photograph in this context also implies that the "Birth of the West" came about only as a

result of European colonization. The other anthology/workbook of the same authors, *The*

Style of Vocabulary Canada, also portrays an historical Native leader in a similar manner, though this representation is not nearly as wholly prejudicial. Here, in the story of Tecumseh and his participation in the War of 1812, the chief of the Shawnee nation is describes as being "wily," a term often used to define the perceived prowess of Native peoples in war. Though such terms may appear to be of trivial concern, their communication in the classroom contributes to the maintenance of settler society hegemony. Like those resources described earlier, both of these anthologies are produced according to complementary qualifiers that restrain the possibility of divergence. The very language used in these selections, moreover, prevents even the most remote efforts at acknowledging a different perspective to develop. Instead, traditional attitudes are transmitted in a modern context through a popular educational medium, the anthology.

Ashcroft's notion of the "second stage of production" as it applies to contemporary curriculum is also realized in the very structure of the anthologies used in Language Arts 11 and 12. Of the more than 40 which constitute the majority of resources used in the course, all but two are edited by members of settler society. This number alone perhaps explains the logic behind, first, the selection of those Native authors represented and, second, the content of these resources. Unless determined to produce an anthology aimed specifically at subversion, it seems highly unlikely that editors would go out of their way to include literature that contradicts Western ideals. After all, inherent to the material conditions of literary production is a desire to sell books. For this reason alone, editors likely choose works of Native authors considered to be generically safe in terms of the content presented. Consequently, whether or not affirmation of the status quo is intended, it is nonetheless procured. Such an attitude is also reflected in the actual

number of Natives represented. Though on the whole statistical analysis suggests adequate and even proportional representation of Native writers and their works, closer examination reveals a much different picture. In the many anthologies that constitute Language Arts 11 and 12, Native representation is disproportionally low, and, in some instances, non-existent. For instance, *Discovering Literature: Fiction, Poetry, and Drama* contains over 250 different entries, though only four feature Native authors. Moreover, these authors fit the description discussed above in that not only are they representative of a First Nations literary canon (one created by settler society), but their works also reaffirm Western preconceptions of Native cultures. Though this number reflects the largest relative discrepancy between Native and non-Native representation in an anthology, it is by no means unique. Other recommended resources such as *Themes For All Times, Horizons: Exploring Poetry, Prose, and Non-Fiction*, and *75 Readings: An Anthology*, while large in size and in scope, contain little to no Native representation. Even works that imply acknowledgment of writings across cultures in their title, such as *Encountering Cultures: Reading and Writing in a Changed World* or *Breaking Free: A Cross-Cultural Anthology*, contain little Native representation in this sense.

With so many impediments restricting the application of post-colonialism into the Language Arts classroom, it is not surprising that students are not taught its core elements. Yet, teachers should not be expected to work through these barriers if education in such matters is desired. In most cases, these hurdles are often too large to be overcome and may even result in loss of employment. Consequently, educators are not to blame for the effects of these impediments; instead, these barriers can be addressed by re-examining and even altering the curriculum. Aspiring teachers are thus trapped between a

proverbial "rock and a hard place." The literature recommended by the *IRP* and currently housed in the DRC is fundamentally hindered by the problems described. Yet, should they wish to teach a text not found in either location, educators must assume full responsibility if controversy arises. Given these problems, teachers are more likely to adhere to curriculum recommendations rather than pursue their own academic agenda, no matter how progressive it may be. Through such means, intentional or otherwise, the system designed for acculturation is advanced. This maintenance of hegemony as it is constructed in and disseminated through pedagogy is further examined in Chapter Six which analyzes the discipline of English Literature 12 for similar concerns.

Chapter Six

English Literature and Assimilation:
An Analysis of the Discipline of the English Literature 12 Curriculum

The Stranglehold of English Lit.

Felix Mnthali

Those questions, sister,
those questions
stand
stab
jab
and gore
too close to the centre

For if we had asked
why Jane Austen's people
carouse all day
and do no work

would Europe in Africa
have stood
the test of time?
Would she?

Your elegance of deceit,
Jane Austen,
lulled the sons and daughters
of the dispossessed
into a calf-love
with irony and satire
around imaginary people.

While history went on mocking
the victims of branding irons
and sugar-plantations
that made Jane Austen's people
wealthy beyond compare!

Eng. Lit., my sister,
was more than a cruel joke--
it was the heart
of alien conquest.

Like that for Language Arts 11 and 12, the future of curriculum for English

Literature 12 is also governed by an *Integrated Resource Package*. Here, too, prescribed

learning outcomes, instructional and assessment strategies, and recommended resource

materials are stipulated, guided by the principles of learning as defined by the provincial

Ministry[1]. The structure of this *IRP* mirrors that for Language Arts 11 and 12, opening

with a rationale for the teaching of English Literature followed with the actual curriculum

for what is termed "Core Studies" and the recommended resource materials list. This

resemblance, however, also extends far beyond simple aesthetics. In particular, the

curriculum for English Literature 12 as defined by the *IRP* also reflects a pronounced lack

of adequate Native representation. In this case, however, the impediments discussed

earlier do not influence this exclusion or a teacher's direct involvement in incorporating

more meaningful literature in the classroom. Rather, English Literature 12 is, as the very

title of the course implies, primarily concerned with the discussion of canonical literary

works. This in itself can be viewed as an impediment to the very objectives expressed in

the curriculum guide as well as to the communication of Native issues and concerns. As

was the case with the *IRP for Language Arts 11 and 12*, the role of literature as a

foundation for an understanding of other cultures is repeatedly stressed. Yet, the materials

recommended and those currently in use contain no such representation. In fact, there is

no indication that any of the literary works recommended by the *IRP* reflect Native

peoples, cultures, and/or concerns.

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[1] See Chapter Three for these Learning Principles as delineated by the *IRP for Language Arts 11 and 12*.

Much of the argument on behalf of the teaching of English Literature in the secondary school environment focuses on the question of literary excellence and the notion than only literature that "has stood the test of time" can express the "universal" values of Western liberal humanism. For this reason, the discipline has traditionally limited its breadth to only those works by authors well established in the canon, a structured hierarchy of literary "giants" so determined by decades of critical recognition and value judgments. Entirely unofficial in creation and design, this canon determined that a particular group of authors should be elevated above others in their respective period for such qualifiers as profundity, universality, and imagination. Authors are consequently often identified in relation to their position in this rating scale. William Shakespeare, for instance, is often credited with being at the zenith of this pyramid, with other well established writers following in sequential order. Significantly, this canon is structurally eurocentric in that traditional conceptions of the hierarchy only feature authors of British descent. Though it has come to recognize the talents of "peripheral" writers, it nonetheless continues to support this historical framework. Since the canon represents perceptions of literary greatness, its readers have, in turn, come to be associated with this status. The study of such works, it was believed, elevated the reader and distinguished him/her from others. Such a trend still exists today as an individual's degree of 'Culture' is often connected to his/her depth of knowledge of canonical writers. One's ability to cite passages from Shakespeare, for example, is often recognized to be a mark of social distinction and even superiority. This divisive attitude is also reflected in the curriculum for English Literature 12 and is first communicated in the rationale section of the *IRP*.

Like that for its cousin, the *IRP for English Literature 12* also begins with a rationale explaining the reasons for and objectives of the teaching of the discipline. Here, the logistics behind the course are explained. The general tone of this rationale, however, makes a sharp distinction between the reading of 'normal' or 'regular' works—those of Language Arts—and the literature read in English Literature 12. For instance, the *IRP* of the latter notes that

> Research has shown that reading widely is an important factor in academic success. By reading works that are sophisticated in thought and style, English Literature 12 students strengthen the skills needed to acquire information accurately and make informed judgments. Such skills are vital for the educated citizen and lifelong learner. The study of great works of English literature increases students' interpersonal skills, aesthetic appreciation, and critical judgment. In addition, it promotes the development of strong communication skills, intellectual discipline, and the open-mindedness required for the world of work and further learning. (1)

In comparison, the curriculum guide for Language Arts strictly focuses on the role and function of language arts studies in providing entrance into the workplace (1-3). In this manner, the reading of "great works of English literature" (1) continues to be recognized as a decisive indicator of educational and social superiority. It is implied, then, that while Language Arts simply prepares one for the mundane workplace, the study of canonical literature inevitably produces success, however defined. Though assimilation is still facilitated, English Literature 12, we are told, fosters elevated status within the hegemony. All students are acculturated, but those who study English literature, the *IRP* implies, are destined for distinguished achievement—financial, social, political, and moral—within the status quo.

The opening statement of the Rationale, however, is indicative of efforts within this curriculum to accommodate a changed world and the literature which represents it: "the [aim] of English Literature 12 is to enhance students' literacy through the study of a

body of works representative of the literary heritage of English-speaking peoples" (1).
Statements such as this suggest that all literature must be recognized and canonical
literature no longer holds its once esteemed stature. Those responsible for the curriculum
guide even make a point of this transformation, noting that while English Literature once
meant the strict study of "major figures of British literature," the English literature defined
by the *IRP* "has been expanded to include later 20th-century literature and works of
English-speaking writers from Canada, other Commonwealth countries, and the United
States. Students will have opportunities to examine the ways in which our definition of
literature has expanded over time and the extent to which literature both reflects and
shapes *culture* [italics mine]" (2). Failure to recognize alterity—only one 'culture' is
given credence in the above statement—ignores the multiplicity of cultures and peoples
whose lives and literatures have been directly influenced by imperialism and the English
language. At the same time, this definition also hints at the social stratification defined
earlier to be a product of the study of canonical literature. In this case, the association of
English Literature with perceptions of "Culture" is again emphasized.

A similar attitude is also evidenced in the resources examined by students in what
is termed "Core Studies." All students of English Literature 12 are required to take the
Core Studies module which occupies twenty-five percent of total course time (*IRP* 2).
The remaining seventy-five percent involves the study of "optional modules," selections
from poetry, prose, drama, and independent studies (intended to be a combination of all
three). Significantly, all but three of those authors examined in the "core studies"
component originate from Britain and all are from former Commonwealth nations (refer to
Appendix 6.1 for a complete listing). A cursory examination of these materials illustrates
the general exclusion of works representative of the ascribed Other[2], whether it be texts

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[2] I refer to the Other here rather than a specific group defined as such (including First
Nations cultures and/or peoples) in order to indicate the general failure of English
Literature 12 to incorporate the voice of any cultural group other than that of the British,
distinctly male writer. It is perhaps rather foolish to expect First Nations representation in

from authors of 'peripheral' areas or works by women. Perhaps more importantly, in identifying these works as the central or most important part ('core') of literature, the curriculum simultaneously constructs a touchstone against which all other resources are inherently judged. Associating this literature with the "centre," then, specifies all literary works other than those defined by this parameter as "peripheral" or secondary nature. Much like the centre/periphery dichotomy established during imperialism, then, the literature of the former is taken to be "central," "sophisticated," and, therefore, inherently "superior." The selection of these works for what is termed "Core Studies" thus mirrors and maintains the binary oppositions constructed by colonialism. In this light, the formation of the canon as it has been traditionally defined and as it is represented in "Core Studies" is intimately connected to imperial conceptions of difference and the Other, even though the literature represented may not directly express such perspectives. Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*, William Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, or John Keats' "Ode To A Nightingale," for instance, do not overtly communicate negative attitudes about the colonial Other. Nonetheless, their very definition as "core study" resources re-establishes the literature of the "centre" and, in turn, the Empire as the loci of meaning.

As was briefly discussed earlier, the majority of English Literature 12 is composed of what the *IRP* defines as "optional modules," components that allow students greater academic freedom in terms of curriculum, texts, and field of study. While all students are required to complete the "core studies" aspect of the course, the remaining 75 percent of English Literature 12 involves the in-depth study of three of four possible modules: drama, prose, poetry, and/or independent study. According to the *IRP*, these optional modules give students the opportunity to "explore issues, themes, periods, and genres relevant to the study of literature written in English from the medieval to the modern periods" (5).

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a class titled *English Literature*, yet one would expect representation from the broad spectrum of peoples and cultures that constituted the Commonwealth. References to the Other will be denoted in this manner throughout this chapter.

While it is also suggested that themes of gender, class, and ethnicity are best discussed during the implementation of these optional modules, the literature recommended by the *IRP* in this context again disregards such concerns. Rather, it too displays a pronounced reliance on the literary canon, emphasizing those works determined to be "central," not only to literature but also to a student's education. Consequently, works by such literary "greats" as Shakespeare, Eliot, Thomas, and others dominate the recommended resources of the optional modules. In a number of places throughout the introduction to the "optional modules," the *IRP* suggests educators should choose works written in English from Canadian, American, and Commonwealth sources (5). As was the case for Language Arts 11 and 12, however, significant impediments are erected against the selection of these resources, the most substantial of which is the lack of access to materials in the District Resource Centre (DRC). In fact, no boxes of resources could be found in the District library. Though other school districts may make other resources more readily available to teachers, the lack of any materials here is indicative of the colonial nature of the course as well as funding limitations that prevent the purchase of newer selections each year. The implication is that resources other than those of a canonical nature are of secondary importance. At the same time, the onus to examine such works critically for those themes mentioned above is also placed on the student, especially if he/she chooses to attempt what is termed "Independent Study" (5). Hence, though students are given assistance by their respective educator, they are expected to work alone in elucidating other issues and/or concerns not overtly represented in the canonical literature read. And if alterity, ethnicity, or cultural differences are portrayed in these materials, the Other is usually spoken about rather than given voice, a common tradition in literature written by the colonial power. Representation is therefore limited to discussions *about* the cultural Other rather than *by* this marginalized group.

Like that for the *IRP* discussed in the preceding chapter, these recommended resource materials are annotated with a brief introduction to the work, an appropriate

audience and grade level, the year the resource was recommended, and the price. The distinguishing feature of the latter, however, is a subsidiary note to each resource documenting the respective curriculum organizer. In other words, the annotation of each text, video, or item of computer software includes a section detailing the appointed module: core studies, drama, prose, poetry, or independent study. As was the case for those resources reviewed and evaluated for Language Arts 11 and 12, these materials have also been screened by teachers according to provincial standards and are recommendations only. Educators are encouraged throughout to incorporate alternative resources as they see necessary. This process was discussed in Chapter Five, but a similar impediment applies; teachers rarely bring forth novels and instead limit their challenge of the recommended resources to textbooks (pers. communication with Norm Monroe, June 19, 1997[3]). Moreover, these recommended materials are intended only for the optional modules since there can be no alteration to the texts used in Core Studies. Analysis of these resources is severely restricted by the fact that, as was mentioned, the DRC currently does not have materials for English Literature 12 in its library. Teachers interested in obtaining textual resources then, must depend upon the annotations of each work supplied by the curriculum guide. Though this gives a limited perspective, the *IRP*s in both cases make a point of indicating resources that tend to transgress the traditional parameters of canonical literature. Resources that include a broad range of writers from various geographical and social backgrounds, for instance, are specifically stated as doing so. In this light, of the more than 60 materials recommended by the *IRP*, only eleven *may* contain some form of representation relevant to the cultural Other, however defined. Even this figure, however, is questionable as it is largely determined by the mention of "Commonwealth" authors or literatures in the annotation[4]. For instance, *Adventures in English Literature, Athena Edition* is included in this number because the *IRP* notes that

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[3] All other references to Monroe refer to this interview.

[4] See Appendix 6.2 for a complete annotated listing of these works.

"[some] 20th-century Commonwealth writers are featured" (D-3). Other works are counted in this list for similar reasons. Only one text, *Rethinking the Future*, is noted to include Native representation in its collection of essays. No mention is given by the curriculum guide, however, as to how the Commonwealth is defined or exactly what topics are "often associated with the 20th century" (D-17). If these qualifiers are removed, the total number of resources that potentially incorporate themes, issues, and even portrayals of cultural groups beyond the imperial "centre" falls to zero. At the same time, the *IRP* does not define how those authors or resources of this eleven were selected. It is only in recent years that post-colonial literature has challenged the canon and issues of representation in the works defined by this hierarchy. Resources said to be representative of Commonwealth writers and literatures, therefore, likely do not reflect this challenge but instead reaffirm the status of the canon and the position of those on this ladder. It is highly unlikely, then, that resources meant for a secondary school audience contain such enunciation for this and other reasons previously discussed. As was mentioned in Chapters Three and Five, teachers generally teach standard, canonical English to help students achieve social mobility and success in future endeavors, believing only it can offer these advantages. This attitude is especially true for English Literature 12.

Like those for Language Arts 11 and 12, these resources are recommendations only and teachers are in no way directly restricted to their use. It is stressed a number of times that educators should incorporate other materials as they judge necessary. The *IRP* even emphasizes that the selection of resources should not be static, but rather "an ongoing process to ensure a constant flow of new materials into the classroom" (B-5). These texts, videos, and computer software, however, must also be reviewed and evaluated through the laborious process described earlier. Consequently, although it is specified by the *IRP* that teachers are not restricted to just using the recommended resources, they are hindered in some way by this approval process that makes alterations to the curriculum unlikely. The fear of attack by a vocal minority of parents also figures in

the decision to adhere exclusively to curriculum suggestions. The widely-held conception of the canonical nature of the resources used in English Literature 12 must also play a figurative role in the selection, or lack thereof, of non-recommended works. As the tone of the rationale implies, English Literature 12 is the study of works that represent the foundation of literature written in English. It is the examination of works believed to be seminal to the history of literature and literary developments. For this reason, a majority of educators may be quite reluctant to challenge the canon for fear of jeopardizing a student's education. Restricting materials to only those of the canon is also perceived to be benefiting the student who, as the *IRP* repeatedly asserts in various tones, receives enhanced "interpersonal skills, aesthetic appreciation, and critical judgment" (1) as a result. The rare exception in which non-canonical literature still within the parameters of "English Literature" may be read is if a student chooses to pursue a particular theme as an Independent Study. The onus is thus placed on the aspiring student; if, however, the literature in question is not recommended by the *IRP* and requires extensive local school board review, evaluation, and approval, the student's request may likely be denied. Although under the supervision of a teacher who would assume these responsibilities, this process is so laborious that it encourages a cautious or conservative curriculum. And while the *IRP* suggests that the Independent Study provides opportunities to explore "multicultural issues" (5), it makes no recommendations for supporting literature. As well, the exercises presented as examples of possible study involve canonical works (6).

In stressing the application of such literary works, the *IRP* also notes the cross-curriculum potential of English Literature 12 (as well as Language Arts) with other disciplines, including First Nations Studies. It is recommended that teachers of English Literature 12, for instance, amalgamate the resources and curriculum of other classes with this one and vice versa. According to both *IRPs*, the cross-curricular reviews are "intended to guide the users of [the] document as they engage in school and classroom organization and instructional planning and practice" (C-3). Of particular interest to this

discussion, it is noted in both curriculum Packages that there exists an inherent value to integrating First Nations studies into the respective English programs. First aptly recognizing the "richness and diversity of Aboriginal cultures and languages" (C-7), each *IRP* then goes on to discuss expectations for students studying both, as well as possible mechanisms for coupling First Nations studies with English Literature and Language Arts. It is suggested that "portrayals and images of First Nations peoples in various works of literature" be analyzed (C-8), yet, for instance, the *IRP* for English Literature 12 recommends only one resource that mentions Native representation. And as was previously discussed, there exists a number of fundamental impediments to the teaching of post-colonial issues in both classes. As for English Literature 12, the curriculum relies heavily on canonical literary works, none of which are known for their inclusion of Native representation, whatever form this may take. Even those that offer some form of Native representation often do so in an overtly stereotypical or prejudicial manner. In acknowledging the importance of literature as a primary means of learning about other cultures, the intentions of each *IRP* in terms of cross-curriculum integration are significant. Literature often introduces students to the cultures, peoples, and issues of the "Other," in this case, people of Native ancestry. The general exclusion of resources that actually present such concerns in an informed, unbiased manner, however, contradicts even the best of these intentions. Although designed "to meet the needs of all learners" (C-3), the cross-curricular recommendations of both *IRPs* displays a contradictory objective, implying the need for integration with First Nations Studies on the one hand, but on the other offering nothing in terms of recommended resources to implement the suggestion.

Despite these fundamental problems, it does not appear as if the *Integrated Resource Package for English Literature 12* will undergo any substantial changes for a number of reasons. As part of a body of works representing a provincial, cross-curriculum review of primary and secondary education, it seems highly unlikely that steps would be initiated to change a system years in the making. In response to this question,

the Ministry of Education, Skills and Training stresses that future alterations to the *IRP*s are not under consideration. It also notes that the content of the curriculum guides "was informed by provincial and national assessments of literacy and communication, and the Western Canada Protocol Framework" (pers. communication, Valerie Collins, May 20, 1997[5]). Consequently, the Ministry anticipates "a six-year cycle of curriculum revisions" (Collins). Echoing this argument, Norm Monroe, Director of School Services, asserts that those responsible for the *IRP* as well as provincial teachers stand firmly behind its standards and recommendations, believing it to be the solution to the necessity of "gearing up for the year 2000" (Monroe)[6]. A recognition of governmental process also dictates that the curriculum defined by the IRPs is here to stay for some time, barring any unforeseen and/or substantial problems. It is, after all, representative of years of effort and program review and for this reason alone appears unlikely to be modified. Other questions asked of the Ministry were not met with such a definitive tone (refer to Appendix 6.2), though it is especially valuable to note its response to queries on the assimilationist role of English Language Arts and Literature. According to Valerie Collins, English Language Arts Coordinator at the Ministry of Education, Skills and Training, English should successfully guide all students into the workplace or other future endeavors. When asked to define success, Collins quotes directly from *The Mission Statement for British Columbia Schools*: "the purpose of the BC school system is to enable all learners to develop their individual potential and to acquire the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed to contribute to a healthy, democratic, and pluralistic society and a prosperous and sustainable economy" (3). While indicating a marked concern for student achievement and future well-being, such a response nonetheless reaffirms the points highlighted in this thesis, namely that English fosters acculturation in all students involved. In light of this recognition, Chapter Seven proposes some of the central

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[5] Subsequent references to this name refer to this personal communication on this date.
[6] From an interview with Norm Monroe, April 29, 1997.

changes that need to be implemented should this assimilation process be eradicated. These suggestions are derived from personal recommendations based on the research conducted as well as from programs initiated by other institutions.

Chapter Seven

**Dismantling the Assimilation Process
And
Ending Pedagogical Acculturation**

Introduction

   Despite the many fundamental problems inherent to pedagogy in general and English language arts and literature classes in particular, there are many avenues for reformation. As Agnes Grant writes, for instance, "to understand and appreciate the art, the reader must understand the tradition from which it comes. This is particularly true of literature temporally and culturally different from the Western literature in our education systems. Ignorance of Native culture has too long been used as an excuse for excluding Native literature from curricula" (63). This chapter examines some of the fundamental changes that need to be implemented in order to alleviate the influence of what previously has been termed education for assimilation. These solutions must be realized at two equally significant levels: the macro level at which funding is determined and curriculum is written and at the micro level, at which implementation of these resources occurs. Of these, perhaps the most significant involves an end to the various impediments which currently stifle an educator's ability to teach Native concerns effectively as they are represented in language and literature. Other changes include an increased recognition of cultural diversity and the varying, multicultural needs of Native pupils, a greater awareness of post-colonialism and its implication in and for pedagogy, and alterations to the future English language arts and literature curriculum to eradicate the assimilationist nature of the discipline. These changes will be discussed in further detail below, as will further suggestions based on programs initiated by other institutions. For instance, many of the initiatives of the Nisga'a offer a paradigm which public schools across the province can modify to fit their respective curriculum objectives. While a number of these initiatives

require an extensive overhaul of the current program, the majority are pragmatic and are necessary in order to rectify the contemporary pattern of education for acculturation.

Summary

As has been discussed, there are a number of inherent flaws in the current secondary English Language Arts 11 and 12 and English Literature 12 programs, each of which work towards acculturating the students participating. In marrying post-colonial theories of language and literature with qualitative content analysis, this thesis demonstrates the current nature of education for assimilation. It also recognizes the limitations of such an approach, especially those concerned with validity and reliability. These barriers were overcome through a series of precautionary measures discussed in Chapter Four. This work reviews and evaluates contemporary patterns in English Language Arts and Literature rather than stressing any definitive results.

Importantly, the mechanisms of acculturation are neither new nor unique to a particular discipline. Rather, the trend of education designed for acculturation has long historical roots in Canada dating back to initial efforts by missionaries to 'civilize' what they perceived to be the 'pagan' cultures of the Native population. Current attitudes regarding pedagogy in this context do not reflect such overt attempts at assimilation as the missionary and/or residential school, nor do they mirror the blatantly racist objectives expressed by many of the politicians and bureaucrats of the period. Today's policies regarding education, however, nonetheless perpetuate similar philosophies. Contemporary applications of pedagogy thus involve more tacit, ubiquitous means of acculturation and the goal of the dominant majority responsible for the curriculum and its application continues to adhere to Western principles and ideals. The study of English Language Arts and Literature is especially significant in this function for a number of reasons. First: because of its reliance on the English language as both a subject and a medium of instruction, Language Arts promotes historical binarisms of Us/Them and imposes foreign conceptions of 'truth.' Both are maintained in the classroom as a result of the privileged

position of the textbook and the educator. In this manner, 'truth' and 'reality' as they are defined and legitimated by settler society are disseminated in the classroom environment. Second: the current system reaffirms Western hegemony by imposing on educators of language arts and literature a number of formidable barriers that restrict their access to meaningful material of Native representation. Because Language Arts is often a student's only introduction to and means of understanding Native cultures and concerns, it is vital that the curriculum contain resources that reflect both. While there has been a dramatic improvement in the quantity of Native representation in the curriculum, much of these renovations are superficial. Rather, deeper examination of the materials indicates a number of inherent flaws that substantially detract from the statistics used to identify adequate Native representation. This combination of language and literature, while the very essence of senior English studies, fosters the acculturation of all students into the humanist ideals of the predominantly Western majority.

The Research Questions

As was stated much earlier, the purpose of this study was to examine how acculturation practices continue to be utilized in the English Language Arts and Literature classrooms. In so doing, the focus of the research revolved around three primary questions, each of which has been answered in-depth. First, the English language colonizes in two key, yet complementary ways. As the basis for definition and understanding of 'truth' and 'reality,' language is a method of communication as well as a carrier of culture. During the age of imperialism, colonizers emphasized the use of the English language not only for ease of communication but also as another tactic for subjugation. Further use of the "mother tongue" was legitimated through the law, religion, and, most important to this thesis, pedagogy. In asserting one definition of 'truth' and 'reality' over others, colonizers also manipulated the language to create a complex series of conceptual hierarchies. These binary oppositions defined the cultural Other as the antithesis of settler society. Defining Them as always negative, even

subhuman, not only makes colonization easier but also justifies the act. It is, after all, much easier to alter a culture completely if it is first viewed as inferior and therefore requiring 'civilization.'

Second, although the age of territorial expansion has arguably ended, the mechanisms through which language colonizes continue to be implemented. The implications for English Language Arts 11 and 12 are therefore many. Above all, the class relies heavily on the teaching of the English language, as the very title of the course suggests. As a result, it sustains and legitimates these traditional imperial offensives. Western, humanist ideals and beliefs continue to be affirmed, then, as do historical binary oppositions.

The mechanisms for assimilation through education are not limited to language, however, as the literature read in this class and that studied in English Literature 12 also promote acculturation. Refracted by the lens of settler society and hindered by the material conditions of their existence, the resource materials used in Language Arts reiterate exactly those imperialist offensives described above. Literature, then, offers a means through which other cultures can be represented and binarisms may be projected. What students read, therefore, are perspectives of cultures defined by those who not only allow for the book's publication but also govern its dissemination. At the same time, several formidable impediments seriously hinder a teacher's ability to present more 'meaningful' Native concerns and/or post-colonial issues as they are represented in literature. For instance, simply challenging the recommended resource materials forces an educator to assume an immense responsibility, one that may result in the loss of employment.

Recommendations

In light of these problems, there are many avenues for reformation of the curriculum governing Language Arts 11 and 12 and English Literature 12. As was noted, much of the future of curriculum for both studies is now or will be invigilated by

respective *Integrated Resource Packages*. Representative of several years of review of older policies, of assessment and learning strategies, and of literature, these guides are perceived by the Ministry to be the authors of student success for the next century. In this respect, the *IRP*s must be commended. Nonetheless, the new curriculum as defined by these provincial benchmarks continues to foster strict adherence to policies and philosophies of settler society. Accordingly, then, the first area of possible revision should begin at the root of both studies: the curriculum itself. While both advocate the significance of enhancing recognition of and appreciation for other cultures, neither offer meaningful mechanisms for communicating this knowledge, especially English Literature 12. Because the impediments discussed in the previous chapters are so entrenched in the current system, simply eradicating them is not a viable solution. To do so would collapse the infrastructure upon which contemporary (and future) pedagogy operates. After all, guidelines are needed to illustrate to the public the objectives of education. As well, the provincial government needs some fundamental criteria for definition of these goals, learning and assessment standards, curriculum standards, funding, and so forth. Accordingly, this infrastructure must instead be redeveloped to make accessing these necessary resources more hospitable. This means changing the current indexing system of the DRC library to ensure researching for resources is not such a formidable task. A manual for prospective educators, for instance, that classifies each text housed in the DRC according to theme or genre would greatly reduce the amount of time currently required to obtain applicable materials. This would also require a much more efficient cataloguing system than just boxes and their contents in random order on shelves in the library. These necessary revisions would permit a teacher, who, knowing the subjects he/she wishes to discuss in class, to limit his/her search quickly and effectively to a handful of resources. And this improvement need not be limited to just one discipline, but should be effected across the curriculum. English Literature 12, for instance, must address its reliance on canonical texts and the subsequent contradiction this poses in meeting its objectives of

"encompassing a range of voices" (2). A first step would be the housing of various resources in the DRC, a step that has yet to be initiated. At the same time, those fundamental impediments currently influencing English Language Arts also need to be addressed and resolved by the provincial government and local school boards. To summarize, these are: Native inclusion in works edited by predominantly non-Native editors; limited Native representation in anthologies, some of which contain over 200 entries; a reliance on the literature of a restricted elite of canonical Native authors whose writings selected reaffirm Western preconceptions of Native cultures; a system which currently makes finding any material a laborious, time-consuming process (as was discussed above); and, finally, a bureaucratic mechanism which prevents all but the bravest educators from teaching non-recommended resources. The means to satisfy these concerns are vast, but because each revolves around the nature of resource content, so too must the solutions. This suggestion is also expressed by Hope MacLean and Roberta Jamieson in *A Review of Indian Education in North America* who write, "the most important recommendation is for Native cultural content in the educational system" (143). They go on to state:

> the [Native] child should learn new concepts using the environment around him [sic], then he can be taught to generalize his knowledge to different environments. The child should not be expected to begin with things he is unfamiliar with, and then be labeled 'slow' when he fails to understand . . . .There is tremendous need for content which is meaningful to the Indian. The amount of Native content and what is most relevant should be decided by the Indians themselves. (143)

The numbers that currently suggest adequate representation of Native materials are purely superficial in that this figure (21 of more than 90) only reflects a head count of Native authors represented. It does take into account the content of the actual material or the select minority of writers included. Consequently, little of the resources recommended contain, as MacLean and Jamieson indicate, "content which is meaningful to the Indian"

(143). And until "the amount of Native content and what is most relevant . . . [is] decided by the Indians themselves" (143), the Ministry cannot lay claim to adequate Native representation. Accordingly, the content and curriculum of Language Arts 11 and 12 and English Literature 12 must be modified in order to accommodate these inherent problems. Solutions, therefore, include a greater inclusion of Native writings not refracted by the lens of settler society, whether this be non-Native authors or editors, and a much broader depth of representation to include Native authors not just of a specified canonical elite. As was illustrated, all but four of the more than 90 resources recommended for Language Arts 11 and 12 are materials edited or written by members of settler society. The scenario is even worse for English Literature 12 in which only one resource is mentioned to include Native representation. Though these works are also influenced by the material conditions of their production, they are not, as Ashcroft writes, "under the direct control of the imperial ruling class who alone license the acceptable form and permit the publication and distribution of the resulting work" (6). For instance, *"Just Talking About Ourselves"* is published by Theytus Press, an independent organization completely owned and operated by the Okanagan tribal council in Penticton, British Columbia. This text is also especially significant in that it represents a much greater diversity of Native writers. Current trends in the Language Arts 11 and 12 curriculum indicate a reliance on a core group of Native authors. *"Just Talking About Ourselves"* is unique in this sense in that it incorporates a broad spectrum of Native writers from across British Columbia, thus providing a regional context as well as a more holistic approach to pedagogy. In order to successfully accommodate these recommendations, steps must also be initiated to provide teachers with the means and the knowledge to elucidate post-colonial concerns in literature. Suggestions for making the DRC more accessible in this context have already been discussed. Other mechanisms, however, include workshops, Native guest speakers, and, at a macro scale, an overall increase in the number of Native instructors. At the same time, local school boards must also be willing to stand behind the decisions made by

teachers should public outcry arise due to the teaching of resources containing 'questionable' content. Currently, the burden of responsibility for the text in question is placed entirely on the shoulders of the educator. School boards need to assume a greater role as 'support staff' in defense of teachers if the latter are to be encouraged to select resources that may induce serious repercussions[1]. It is believed that such modifications will produce three complementary results: students will gain a greater understanding of Native cultures in a post-colonial context, students will be given the necessary "recognition of and appreciation for" (3) other cultures stated to be one of the principal objectives of both *IRPs*, and, most importantly, English language arts and literature will be made more meaningful to Native pupils. Acceptance of such resources, however, may lead the provincial government to be concerned less with seemingly trivial content concerns and more with the underlying issues of educational assimilation.

Another means for reducing this acculturating influence in the Language Arts classroom involves the increased recognition and future application of both oral literatures and Native languages. Admittingly, the very titles of the subjects studied emphasize the eurocentric nature of the disciplines (*English* language arts and *English* Literature), but if the practice of acculturation through educational means is to be reduced, divergent perspectives on language and different languages themselves must be recognized by the curriculum. As was stressed throughout Chapter Three, language is the means through which 'truth' and 'reality' are communicated and understood. The subversion of Native conceptions of both in favor of primarily English denotations was and continues to be a fundamental aspect of the (neo)imperial enterprise. Alternate means of communication, therefore, especially those vital to Native cultures, while perhaps impossible to incorporate into an English classroom, need to be acknowledged. As MacLean and Jamieson state,

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[1] The severity of these repercussions in large part depends upon the nature of the content. Though teachers are likely not be dismissed because of controversy, they potentially face public outcry, an embarrassing and humiliating experience for educators left entirely alone to assume this responsibility.

"the culture [sic] of the North American Native peoples is one that is mainly preserved through oral tradition. If this method of preservation is destroyed, much of the culture will be lost" (144). Until such programmes as those offered at a handful of institutions—First Nations Studies and/or languages of regional Native cultures—are mandatory, a broader recognition of and appreciation for Native cultures cannot be achieved. At the most fundamental level, such improvements could be fostered through literature that stresses the significance of oral narratives in Native societies. Such a tactic would mean giving less significance to the written word as the seminal source of 'truth' and recognizing the validity of oral narratives. As has been discussed, texts are generally privileged as sources of truth. Teaching students to examine textual discourse in conjunction with the inclusion of an oral/aural component would not only teach the importance of oral narratives in Native cultures, but would also, in turn, facilitate greater success in achieving expressed curriculum objectives. Educators could then extrapolate on this introduction to teach students the importance of story and the means through which it communicates history and culture. Alternative mechanisms include more direct involvement of Native elders in the classroom; pupils could learn first-hand not only the importance of orality, but also a selection of the stories themselves. Again, however, this would pose another direct challenge to one of the fundamental conventions of contemporary pedagogy—namely, the teacher as depositor of knowledge. In valorizing the textbook and the educator as paradigms of validity, the education system simultaneously refutes such alternative means of teaching students that must be accepted if the process involved in education for acculturation are to be eradicated.

At the same time, educators must learn to question the resources presented to them and examine everything that they are teaching for relevance to all students involved. If what is being taught cannot be justified in terms of the child's needs and goals, then teachers must re-evaluate both the materials used and their particular teaching style to

accommodate necessary revisions. Though they speak of pedagogy in general, the authors of *Native Education in the Province of Alberta* illustrate this need:

> . . . one of the major problems that a school must face when attempting to provide education for an Indian child is making the activities of the school meaningful to him [sic]. How meaningful is an education for the Indian child when he is told by a non-Indian teacher that if he completes school, he will be better prepared to take a 'white man's job' in some strange and faraway place? (95)

While the respective *Integrated Resource Packages* have made greater alleviances for educators not only to question their recommendations but also to initiate improvements, much more needs to be done. As was discussed, a very real fear of retribution might inhibit an educator's motivation to teach non-recommended resources, especially those that pose divergent perspectives. If broader improvements are to be engendered, local school boards must be willing to assume greater responsibility not only for the limitations of the current curriculum, but also for materials other than those supplied by the Ministry. If teachers knew they had the support of their respective school board, they would likely be more willing to question the relevance of many of the works used. Education may then come to be more meaningful to all students involved and the world not such a "strange and faraway place" (95). This process is especially significant in the Language Arts and English Literature classroom because it is the English language in cooperation with literature that predominantly communicates Western culture. Revising these classes so that they no longer foster assimilation means bringing more works of meaningful relevance to Native students into the class environment. Works such as *Keeper 'n Me and "Just Talking About Ourselves"* represent the future of such necessary initiatives. Both offer perceptions of 'reality' as defined by Native representatives and, in so doing, provide a more holistic approach to education. In particular, *"Just Talking About Ourselves"* is especially significant in that it is not influenced by a number of these impediments described earlier. This work would also prove especially valuable in the English Literature

12 curriculum, though recognition of it first requires an end to a dependence on strictly canonical literature. Until this occurs, it seems highly unlikely that these and other similar resources will be implemented in Literature classroom. Nonetheless, both represent the direction language arts and literature must take not only to reduce the impact of acculturation in pedagogy but also to make education meaningful and perhaps even reduce the high attrition rate amongst Native students.

At a much broader level, still other recommendations include a mandatory course for teachers as well as students in the history of Native peoples to educate all involved about the historical and cultural backgrounds of Canada's Native population. This would perhaps rectify the problem identified by Agnes Grant, namely that "ignorance of Native culture has too long been used as an excuse for excluding Native literature from curricula" (63). There should also be greater employment of Natives in administrative, resource, and teaching positions (MacLean 144-145). Teachers of Native background are certainly more likely to express their discontent with curriculum standards and introduce modifications to reflect more pronounced Native content. These and other suggestions are described in detail in Appendix 7.1. It is important to note the goal of each to represent divergent opinions and perspectives aimed at inverting the current trend of education for assimilation.

Finally, a number of recommendations may derive from future research in related areas. For instance, much work needs to be done to determine the 'comfort level' of teachers and students alike in relation to the curriculum guides and their implementation in the classroom. For a variety of reasons, this researcher was unable to determine the general degree of satisfaction amongst both groups with current pedagogical standards and practices. As well, further analysis of teacher's struggles with current policies regarding the teaching of non-recommended resources needs to be performed. If indeed it is discovered that educators are intimidated by contemporary practices, further recommendations to alleviate this stress will likely be suggested. Future research should

also emphasize whether or not assimilation is a product of all classes across the curriculum or spatially inclusive. It would also be interesting to determine if acculturation is a strictly local phenomenon or is evident throughout Canada.

Though they are broad in scope, these recommendations are pragmatic and have been implemented in a number of institutions throughout Canada and the United States. Each of these programmes focuses on the needs of the Native student and aims to satisfy several common themes: "the student's discontinuity of experiences when he [sic] enters school because of cultural differences; the student's alienation from his own culture, from the dominant society and from the school itself; the unsuitable school curriculum that is offered to the Indian student and the need for greater awareness and understanding of cultural differences by teachers" (*Native Education in Alberta* 79). While responses to such concerns have been introduced across the curriculum, a few in particular should be singled out as exemplary models for future developments in education, both provincially and nationally. And though these examples are based on schools controlled and operated by various Native groups, there are important lessons to be learned from their study in a public school context. For instance, the authors of *Native Education in the Province of Alberta* cite the Rough Rock Demonstration School in Arizona as a paradigm for future ventures in this country (135). Two central premises govern the operation of the Demonstration School. First: "the school philosophy maintains that the Indian child can and should be able to retain both his [sic] cultural identity and learn the Anglo culture (the 'both-and' philosophy)" (135). Second: though perhaps less relevant to the subject of English, "the boarding school is completely administered, supervised and operated by the Navaho people" (135). A number of other features, including strong parental involvement, an emphasis on culture and cultural development, and the use of Native languages and the teaching of English as a Second Language also make this programme unique (137). Similar educational operations and initiatives have also begun in New Mexico, Arizona (coordinated through Arizona State University), and North Dakota (a

joint venture between the Turtle Mountain Indian Reservation and the University of North Dakota). Each of these attempt to foster increased appreciation for Native cultures in all students through alternative curricula and strong community participation.

A similar venture has also been implemented at the Manitoulin Secondary School in Saskatchewan. Here, a programme was designed to attack three interrelated problems in the education of Native students. The editors of *A Review of Indian Education* in North America indicate these challenges:

> cultural alienation . . . is frequently cited as a major factor in the drop-out rates of Indian students. On the other hand, a lack of knowledge about their culture is also often characteristic of semi-acculturated modern Indian students and can lead to a lack of self-pride and disinterest in education. Secondly, the integration of Indians and non-Indians in the same school is now an established trend. Discrimination on both sides and feelings of inferiority on the part of Indian students can result, partly because of a lack of cultural understanding. Thirdly, the Indian language is quickly being lost, as there are progressively fewer children who speak only this language. (115)

To combat these problems, the Manitoulin school offers a course in Native cultures as well as one in Ojibway language, the dialect of the local Native cultures. These courses are offered to both Native and non-Native students in an effort to dismantle the barriers of racial and cultural misunderstanding as well as to emphasize the significance of languages other than English. At the request of parents as well as students, it was determined that the course would not discuss Native history, but rather focus on answering such questions as "Who are we?" and "Where are we going?" (115). In responding to these questions, non-Native students are taught to appreciate other cultures and to learn to see through the prejudices and stereotypes that often surround Native peoples. All in all, the course is indicated to be a marked success, and though not English in nature, nonetheless serves as a paradigmatic example of a potential avenue for future curriculum direction.

Still another possible model for reformation is evidenced in the Blue Quills Residential School in St. Paul, Alberta. According to the authors *of Native Education in*

the Province of Alberta, Blue Quills is directly operated by the federal government, unlike most other Native schools which tend to come under the authority of the provincial Ministry (144). Serving pupils on a grade four to nine basis, the school focuses on satisfying the needs of its primarily Native student population. Early in its creation, these needs were summarized in the mandate of the Blue Quills Native Education Council, an expression that recognizes the inevitable confrontation with white society while affirming the desire to develop a strong sense of pride and identity in its students:

> Our greatest desire is that our children progress in the white man's education, while continuing to retain their dignity as Indian people. (Bryce, McIntosh, 1971, qtd. in *Native Education in the Province of Alberta*)

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the school's operation is it heavy reliance on the participation of those beyond the walls of the institution. Community participation, it is believed, contributes to a history of support for its programmes that include courses in Native history and culture. The Blue Quills School Council has also been successful in implementing "such arts and crafts courses as bead work and leather work. They have [also] been able to set time aside for Native legends and stories and (with Native advisors) have been able to make their Home Economics classes more relevant to the Indian children" (146).

Conclusion

In British Columbia, though many efforts at increasing Native representation in the classroom are being enacted, their effectiveness has yet to be determined due to their relative youth and small total numbers. The Nisga'a, for instance, recently formed their own school district on traditional territory designed specifically to provide students with an education that combines the learning of traditional ways and Native history in cooperation with modern non-Native standards. The schools, as Michiyo Kiwako Okuma indicates, aim to satisfy a traditional Nisga'a educational philosophy, that learning is a way of life that begins at birth (148). Accordingly, pedagogy has assumed a new form, one

that combines traditional ideas with the modern institution and its parameters. Because they must adhere to provincial standards and requirements, however, the Nisga'a are challenged by "several problems associated with the continued presence of non-Native curriculum in the form of institutionalized teaching structures, methods, content, and so forth" (Okuma ii). Locally, for instance, only one high school has included in its curriculum a programme for First Nations Studies, though other institutions will soon follow suit.[2] If future developments in British Columbia are to be implemented, the Nisga'a experience is a vast resource for information and measurements of success, as are other examples previously described. This thesis may also make substantial contributions in this regard. More specifically, the success of any possible ventures will hinge on the provincial Ministry's ability to satisfy the inherent problems in the current system. While the majority of changes discussed reflect a predominantly Native context and environment, such suggestions are transferable to the English Language Arts and Literature classrooms. There are valuable lessons to be learned from these and other programmes. Yet, without the initiative to implement even some of their most basic pedagogical philosophies, the chances of seeing these revisions in the Language Arts and English Literature classroom are slim. As has been stressed, the Ministry is content with the new direction of curriculum activities and resources. And though teachers may recognize the failings of these disciplines, the barriers erected against their questioning and researching of alternate resources are significant enough to discourage any affirmative action. Thus, although curriculum objectives demand recognition of other cultures and peoples, in practice these do not manifest. Rather, the cultural Other is given obligatory representation and the resources identified to reflect alternate perspectives do not stand up to scrutiny.

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[2] Prince George Senior Secondary is, thus far, the only local institution to include in its curriculum a programme for First Nations Studies. Students are introduced to regional Native cultures, their traditions and philosophies, and their languages. This class remains an elective and contains relatively few students. Other high schools plan to implement a similar course in the near future.

Contemporary pedagogy, especially English Language Arts and Literature, sustain a tradition of assimilation through education, one with deep historical roots. In not providing for students and teachers adequate mechanisms for the representation of perspectives contradictory to the ideals of Western settler society, both can in no way escape from reaffirming these attitudes within the classroom and without. Acculturation will continue to be the lasting imprint of education, especially English language arts and literature, until such fundamental alterations are made. Future initiatives should therefore focus on these limitations of contemporary pedagogy, recognizing that though assimilation is in no way directly intended it is nonetheless an unnecessary by-product of an otherwise efficient system.

Appendices
and
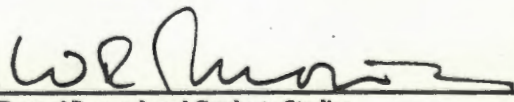Figures

UNBC Research Ethics Committee
Certificate of Ethics Approval

Name of Researcher: Ian Howatt

Title of Research Project:

"Education for Assimilation: Language, Literature, and Acculturation in Senior English"

I certify that this project was given ethics approval by the UNBC Research Ethics Committee

Signed: _____ Date: 26 Jun 67

Dean of Research and Graduate Studies

Appendix 1.1
Glossary of Terms

The following is a list of terms used throughout the thesis.

Aboriginal - see **Native**

Acculturation - the process through which the dominant culture of a nation communicates and encourages absorption into its ideals, philosophies, and *weltanschaaung* (world-view). This term is also used to label the results of this process. Because acculturation is very similar to the activities involved in assimilation, these words are used interchangeably throughout the thesis.

Acratic - one of the two categories of language as defined by Roland Barthes. Acratic language "is separate, severed from the *doxa* (hence, it is *paradoxical*); its schismatic strength derives from the fact that it is *systematic*, it is constructed around thought, not ideology" (108).

Assimilation - see **Acculturation**

Culture - perhaps the best definition of this controversial term is that supplied by James Clifford. He writes, "culture is enduring, traditional, structural (rather than contingent, syncretic, historical). Culture is a process of ordering, not of disruption. It changes and develops like a living organism. It does not normally 'survive' abrupt alterations" (64). This word is not used in this thesis to make divisions between 'high' or 'low' culture. Rather, it is meant to be all encompassing unless indicated otherwise.

Dominant majority - this term is used to refer to those who control the means of material production. Generally, I refer to this group in reference to those who have and control power in settler society.

Encratic - one of the two divisions of language defined by Roland Barthes. Encratic language is the dialect of everyday conversation spoken by the **dominant majority**. In the context of this thesis, it is significant because it is concurrently diffuse and not easily discerned. It is everywhere, but because we do not recognize it, its influence, especially its colonial subtext, is beyond detection.

First Nations - see **Native**

Indian - see **Native**

Native - the term used to describe all peoples of Native ancestry, including those of Innu, Inuit, and Métis descent as well as non-status individuals. Though many other terms are currently in use, including First Nations, Aboriginal, and indigenous, I prefer to use the word Native. Its use in this context, then, recognizes the multiplicity of terms in common use. Generally, the title "First Nations" has been adopted in place of these terms, though its denotation is geographically specific as it is meant for peoples of Native ancestry residing in British Columbia. Patricia Monture-Angus also notes that in recent years this title "has come to be used in an exclusionary way referring only to status Indians" (2). I am also uncomfortable using the word "Indian(s)," a word that has historically been used to describe the various First Nations cultures and peoples in a negative manner. I also have no right to "re-claim [the] word" (2) as Monture-Angus and Jeannette Armstrong have chosen to do.

Neo-colonialism - its use in this context is defined in the Introduction.

Status quo - a term meant to imply the current state of affairs as they are dominated and controlled by those with power in settler society.

Verisimilitude - from the *Oxford Minidictionary*: "the appearance of being true" (589). The word is used to describe many of the results of education in its creation of 'truth' and 'reality.' Truth is subjective and therefore one is only given an appearance of the real and the known.

Zeitgeist - according to Chris Baldick, editor of the *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*, this term is "the German word for 'time-spirit,' more often translated as 'spirit of the age.' It usually refers to the prevailing mood or attitude of a given period" (243).

Appendix 5.1

Illustration of Dates for Curriculum Implementation
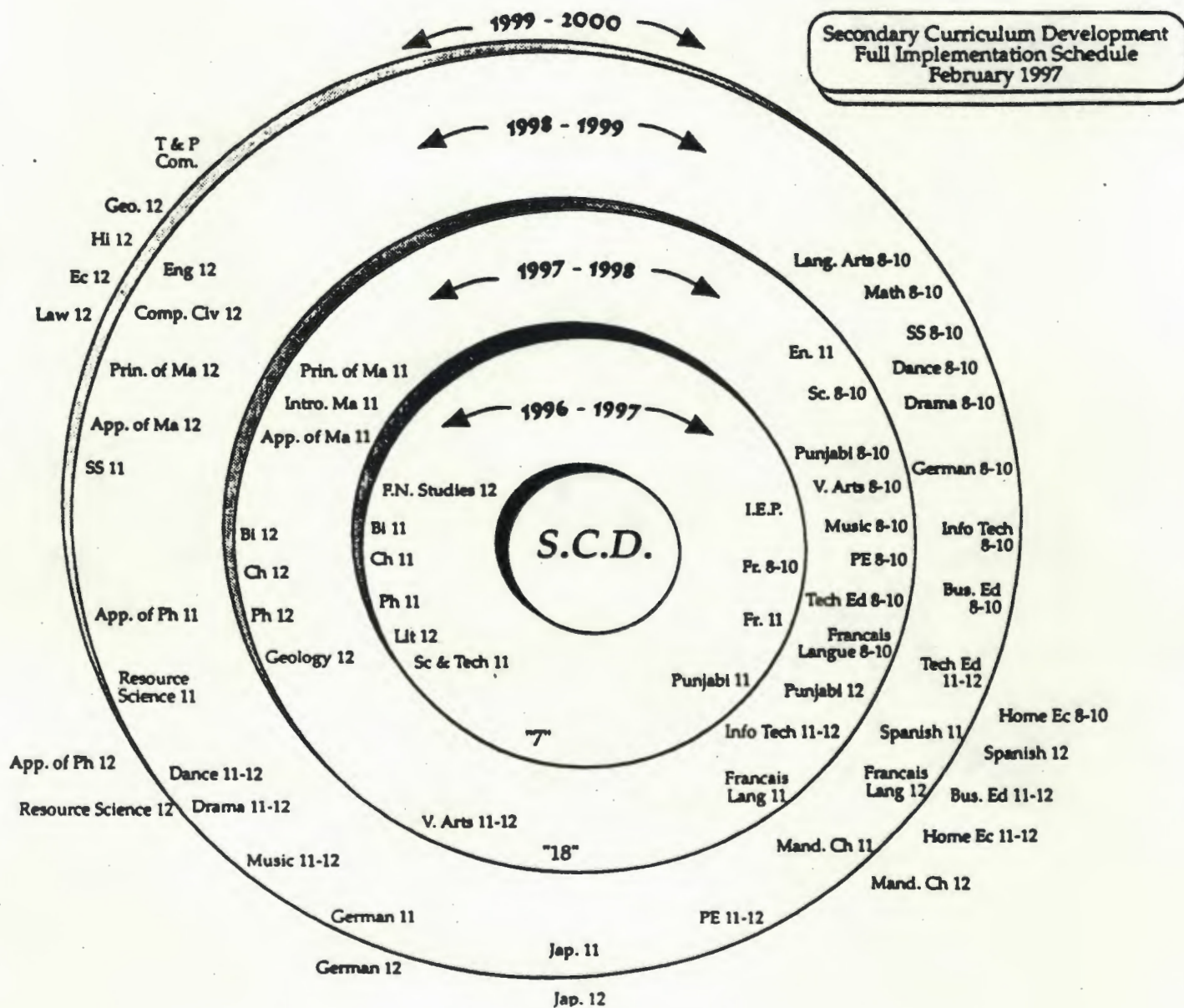
Source: Norm Monroe. Director of School Services, School District #57. Personal interview. April 29, 1997.

Appendix 5.2

Required Documentation for the Teaching
of Non-recommended resources

EDUCATIONAL RESOURCE MATERIALS APPROVAL

School District No. 57 (Prince George)

SCHOOL NAME: _____

Please complete the EDUCATIONAL RESOURCE MATERIALS APPROVAL FORM and return a copy to the Director of School Services, Central Administration Office, School District No. 57, 1894 Ninth Avenue, Prince George, BC, V2M 1L7 for central registry purposes.

TITLE	AUTHOR/EDITOR	PUBLISHER	TYPE (Print, AV, Other)

I hereby attest that the identified resource material has been selected in accordance with criteria established for selecting educational resource materials for use in School District No. 57.

_____   _____
Teacher's signature requesting approval   Date of request for approval

_____   _____
Principal's signature of approval   Date of approval

_____   _____
Director of School Services   Date rec'd for central registry purposes

Appendix 3.2 (con't)

Educational Resource Materials Approval for School District No. 57
Selection Criteria

All library resources must be evaluated in accordance with the following criteria established for selecting educational resource materials for use in School District No. 57.

It is understood, however, that not all criteria will be applicable to all resources reviewed. For example, a novel may not have a teacher guide or durable cover and binding but still be an appropriate learning resource. As well, a resource may be selected because it is illustrative of a particular point of view or historical context.

1. There is no imbalance or bias with regard to the following:

   * Age   * Politics
   * Belief System   * Race
   * Ethnic Portrayals   * Religion
   * Language   * Sex Roles
   * One-sided treatment of a topic or issue   * Socioeconomic Status
   * Philosophy

2. The Book has the following:

   * A durable cover and binding
   * A good table of contents, glossary, index
   * A readability level suitable for special needs
   * A Teacher's guide which aids in developing an effective program
   * A variety of learning activities
   * Charts, graphs, illustrations and maps which are accurate, up-to-date, and easily analyzed
   * Legible print

3. Content is consistent with district, provincial, and school philosophies.

4. Content is supportive of the goals and objectives of the curriculum area.

5. The level of difficulty is appropriate to the target group.

6. The resource material contains student evaluation components.

7. The resource material will enhance learning.

8. The resource material will remain current for a suitable time period.

Appendix 6.1

The following are the required readings from the "Core Studies" component of English Literature 12. These readings are subdivided according to period and represent what the Ministry perceives to be the foundation of canonical literature necessary for all students in the course. Note the country of origin of each author.

Classical/Medieval
* from *Beowulf*, "The Battle with Grendel"
* from *The Canterbury Tales*, "The Prologue" (Knight, Squire, Wife of Bath, Miller, Monk, Friar, Nun, Parson, Oxford Cleric, Summoner, Pardoner)
* "Get Up and Bar the Door" (ballad)

Renaissance/
17th Century
* Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder, "Whoso List to Hunt"
*William Shakespeare, Sonnets 29, 73, 130; *Hamlet*, *The Tempest*, or *King Lear*
* John Donne, "A Valediction: Forbidding Mourning"
* John Milton, "On His Blindness"; from *Paradise Lost*, Book I, lines 1-163

Enlightenment
* Alexander Pope, *The Rape of the Lock*

Pre-Romantic
* Robert Burns, "To a Louse"
* William Blake, "The Tyger"
* Thomas Gray, "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard," lines 1-56

Romantic
* William Wordsworth, "My Heart Leaps Up"; "The World Is Too Much with Us"
* Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, Parts I and II
* George Gordon Lord Byron, "Apostrophe to the Ocean"
* Percy Bysshe Shelley, "Ode to the West Wind"
* John Keats, "Ode to a Nightingale"

Victorian
* Alfred, Lord Tennyson, "Ulysses"
* Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Sonnet 43
* Robert Browning, "My Last Duchess"
* Matthew Arnold, "Dover Beach"
* Emily Bronte, "Song"
* Emily Dickinson, "Because I Could Not Stop for Death"

Early 20th Century	* Wilfred Owen, "Dulce et Decorum Est"
	* T.S. Eliot, "The Hollow Men"
	* William Butler Yeats, "The Second Coming"
Late 20th Century	* Dylan Thomas, "Do Not Go Gentle into That Good Night"
	* Margaret Atwood, "Disembarking at Quebec"
	* Stevie Smith, "Pretty"

Appendix 6.2

   The following is a list of those resources recommended by *the Integrated Resource Package for English Literature 12* that may contain representation of the marginalized Other, however defined by settler society. This evaluation is based on the annotations supplied by the *IRP* which are quoted verbatim below. Again, only the *IRP* could be studied as the District Resource Centre does not currently contain any resources for English Literature 12. Any mention of content from sources other than the literary canon and/or material featuring Commonwealth writers (which conceivably encompasses a broad spectrum of authors) was perceived as potentially offering this representation, however remote. Only those resources meant for student use are included here and all materials are intended for a grade 12 level. It is important to note that of these materials, only one is specified to contain Native content.

Title: *Adventures in English Literature, Athena Edition*
General Description: Resource package consists of a student text which surveys English
   literature from the Anglo-Saxon period to present day, an annotated teacher's
   edition, and a resource consisting of portfolio assessment and other support
   materials. Some 20th-century Commonwealth writers are featured.
Audience: General
Category: Student, Teacher Resource
Year Recommended: 1995

Title: *An Anthology of Poetry by Women*
General Description: Book contains a collection of poems by women ranging from the
   Anglo-Saxon period to the present and representing diverse cultural backgrounds.
   Works are arranged thematically (e.g. war, motherhood, death, love, passion,
   social protest) with introductions.
Audience: General
Category: Student, Teacher Resource
Year Recommended: 1995

Title: *Fiction's Many Worlds*
General Description: Anthology of 142 stories features a wide selection of 19th- and
   20th-century authors from around the world. Works are grouped into four literary
   "worlds" (i.e. reality, dream, fable, story). A teacher's guide is included.
Caution: The story "The Sin of Jesus," a translation of "Isaac Babel," contains language
   and events that some may consider sacrilegious.
Audience: General
Category: Student, Teacher Resource
Year Recommended: 1995

Title: *Five Modern Poets*

General Description: Book features works of five modern poets, three of whom are women, which cover a wide range of topics often associated with the 20th century. Includes some supporting notes and biographical information.

Audience: General

Category: Student, Teacher Resource

Year Recommended: 1995

Title: *The Heath Introduction to Poetry, Fourth Edition*

General Description: Anthology of poetry features works from the Anglo-Saxon period to the 20th century. It is divided into eight sections featuring mainly British and American poets. Preface includes historical notes and definitions of literary terms.

Caution: Some poets included in the modern period contain explicit sexual or racial references.

Audience: General

Category: Student, Teacher Resource

Year Recommended: 1995

Title: *An Introduction to Fiction, Sixth Edition*

General Description: Anthology of mainly British and American short fiction features writers of the 19th and 20th centuries. Selections are arranged around aspects of the short story genre such as setting, character, theme, tone, and symbol. Supporting information and an instructor's manual are provided. Language concerns may arise with some 20th century writers.

Audience: General

Category: Student, Teacher Resource

Year Recommended: 1995

Title: *Literature: An Introduction to Fiction, Poetry and Drama, Compact Edition*

General Description: Anthology of works by 19th- and 20th-century British and American writers features a range of ethnic and female voices. Commentary is interspersed throughout the text. Instructional strategies are provided. Language concerns may arise with some 20th-century works.

Audience: General

Category: Student, Teacher Resource

Year Recommended: 1995

Title: *The Penguin Book of Canadian Short Stories*

General Description: Book features works by more than 25 fiction writers who represent Canada's literary heritage, including Atwood, Laurence, and Richler. The stories deal with a range of 19th- and 20th-century themes such as "coming of age," "personal identity," and "personal quest."

Caution: Story by Hubert Aqui, "Back on April 11," deals with a failed suicide attempt;

"Foreigners," by Beth Harvon, has sexual references; "Brian, The Still Hunter," by Susanna Moodie, makes reference to "nigger," a reference that is appropriate in the social/historical context of the story; "Visions before Midnight," by Lawrence Garber, contains some swearing.

Audience: General
Category: Student, Teacher Resource
Year Recommended: 1995

Title: *Pens of Many Colors: A Canadian Reader*
General Description: Book contains a collection of 19th- and 20th-century Canadian fiction, non-fiction, and poetry. A range of ethnic and women's voices is included. Works are organized with both rhetorical and thematic considerations. Includes author notes, topics for exploration, and suggestions for further study. Some of the stories contain contentious language.

Audience: General
Category: Student, Teacher Resource
Year Recommended: 1995

Title: *Rethinking the Future*
General Description: Book contains 21 essays by contemporary Canadian authors exploring social issues for the 21st century. Topics cover technology, ethics, change, population growth, resource depletion, media, the future, and First Nations. Brief biographies are included.

Audience: General
Category: Student, Teacher Resource
Year Recommended: 1995

Title: *Ways of Seeing: Responding to Literature*
General Description: Thirty-minute video focuses on critical approaches to literature and features selected dramatic scenes and interviews with authors. Addresses the historical role of literature in culture and literature as art. A teacher's guide is available.

Audience: General
Category: Student, Teacher Resource
Year Recommended: 1995

Total Recommended Resources: 64
Total Resources Pertinent to Content Expressed Above: 11 (or 17.2%)

Appendix 6.3

The following is the list of questions and cover letter sent to the Ministry of Education, Skills and Training. The responses were received Monday May 27, 1997 and are quoted below in verbatim.

Dear Sir or Madam,

Enclosed is a series of questions I have created as part of my MA thesis work in First Nations Issues in Education. These questions focus primarily on the nature of the curriculum for Language Arts 11 and 12 and its representation of Native concerns. Most require a brief answer explaining current policies regarding education, Native issues, and the English classroom. I would greatly appreciate any response you can provide as any information will prove to be invaluable in my research efforts.

Your responses will be properly cited in my work and your participation will be duly noted. Thank you for your time and I look forward to your response.

Ministry of Education

Thank you for taking the time to respond. For those questions that request further explanation, please use the space provided. These are the most important of the questions and I therefore would greatly appreciate any response you can provide. If you need more space, please use the reverse side of this sheet.

Curriculum

1. Is a new version of the *Integrated Resource Package (IRP) for Language Arts 11 and 12*--the curriculum guide for English and English Literature-- issued every year?
　　Yes _____ No __x__

2. Do you request that all English teachers follow the guidelines established by the *Integrated Resource Package (IRP)*? Yes __x__ No _____

3. How much have these guidelines changed over the years?

"The format has recently changed. *Integrated Resource Packages* contain 4 columns with prescribed learning outcomes, suggested instructional strategies, suggested assessment strategies, recommended learning resources. The content in English Language

Arts has undergone significant change (e.g. applied focus; media and technology inclusion; teaching reading, grades 8-12)".

4. Are any alterations to the current curriculum guide (the *IRP*) for English 11 and 12 under consideration? Yes _____ No ___x___

If so, please explain:

"The English Language Arts K-12 *IRP*s were released in May 1996. The content was informed by provincial and national assessments of literacy and communication, and the Western Canadian Protocol Framework. *IRP*s are available electronically which facilitates an 'evergreening' process. We anticipate a 6 year cycle curriculum revision".

5. In terms of content, what criteria do you demand for the literature read in the English 11 and 12 classroom?

"Learning resources must be approved either provincially at the Ministry, or locally by the School Board. At the Ministry, all materials are scrutinized by teacher evaluators using 40 or so criteria: curriculum match/Content; Instructional and Technical Design; Social Considerations. We include Canadian and BC literature, First Nations and International Literature".

Teachers

1. Are there penalties for teachers of English 11 and 12 who do not follow the recommendations and/or guidelines set out by curriculum guides such as the *IRP*?
Yes _____ No ___x___

If yes, please explain:

"There are no such 'penalties' as such, although there are various forms of accountability such as School Accreditation, Provincial exam results, performance of students in learning assessments, and administrator's reviews of teachers' instructional plans".

2. What do you feel to be the teacher's role in educating students in the study of English and English Literature?

"The teacher requires a sound knowledge of the discipline and a range of strategies for effectively facilitating student learning. Teachers should provide exemplary models of language use and communication skills. A love of language, literature and a passion for teaching are needed for excellence—and caring for students' success.

The following questions in the section below were not answered.

First Nations Concerns

1. What do you perceive to be the cause(s) for the rather high drop-out figures within the Native student population in public education?

2. Do you feel Native concerns (such as adequate representation, teacher and student prejudice, etc.) in public education need to be addressed? Yes _____ No _____

    If so, how?

4. Are there future plans to increase First Nations representation in the public classrooms across British Columbia (e.g. as educators, counselors, and so forth)?
Yes _____ No _____

    How?

5. Do you feel the current education system in British Columbia teaches respect for Indigenous peoples and cultures? Yes _____ No _____

6. What do you feel English 11 and 12 have to offer First Nations students?

Education and the Future

1. Do you feel that education should successfully guide all students into the workplace or other future endeavors? Yes ___x___ No _____

2. Do you feel that English 11 and 12 should successfully guide all students into the workplace or other future endeavors? Yes ___x___ No _____

3. How do you define success?

    "Mission statement for BC schools: 'The purpose of the BC school system is to enable all learners to develop their individual potential and to acquire the knowledge, skills, and attitudes need to contribute to a healthy, democratic, and pluralistic society and a prosperous and sustainable economy' — this is success!"

Appendix 7.1

Source: *Indian Education Paper: Phase 1.* May 1, 1982.
    Published under the authority of the Hon. John C. Munro, P.C., M.P.
    Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development
    pp. 46-48

The following is the series of suggested work projects recognized by the authors of this paper as necessary in order to resolve Indian education problems.

3.1 Quality of Education

    3.1.1   Curriculum development

        - Identify basic provincial curriculum
        - Prepare an inventory of current special curriculum components in band, federal, and provincial school systems
        - Establish objectives for special curriculum components
        - Assess suitability of current special curriculum components
        - Establish and communicate standards
        - Establish methodology for the review, design and development of curriculum
        - Explore the use of demonstration projects
        - Consider the establishment of a curriculum clearing house for the distribution of new materials to Indian education authorities

    3.1.2   Facilities

        - Identify provincial standards for education facilities
        - Prepare an inventory of the current building and school construction backlog
        - Explore feasible time frames for the construction program
        - Explore alternate methods of financing schools

    3.1.3   Student support

        - Identify provincial standards for student support services
        - Prepare an inventory of support services currently available to Indian students in band and federal schools
        - Assess suitability of current support services available to Indian students
        - Identify the special support needs of Indian students
        - Establish and commmunicate standards
        - Establish methodology for the review, design and development of student support services

3.1.4 Staff support

- Identify provincial standards for:
  - teacher support services
  - classroom consultants
  - teacher orientation
  - in-service training
  - professional development
  - conferences and workshops
  - teacher residences in isolated communities

- Identify current practices in band and federal schools
- Quantify differences, measured against provincial standards
- Assess the impact of these differences
- Identify effects of the Public Service Commission Staffing Policy
- Establish methodology for the review, design and development of staff support standards

3.1.5 Monitoring

- Establish systems and procedures to monitor quality of education functions and measure performance

3.2 Local Control

3.2.1 Role of Indian education authorities

- Establish terms of reference for Indian education authorities setting out such matters as:
  - roles and responsibilities
  - relationship to community
  - accountability for funding
  - operating policies, structures, and procedures
  - reporting requirements
  - relationship to Indian Affairs

3.2.2 Education System

- Consideration of regional and national Indian professional education bodies for the development of quality education

3.2.3 Indian Affairs accountability

- Develop accountability systems including qualitative accountability criteria, program objectives and performance measures for use with band, federal and provincial schools systems

3.2.4 Transfer process

- Develop guidelines and procedures for the transfer of control from Indian Affairs to Indian education authorities including provisions for:
  - community awareness and involvement
  - structuring and training of band education authorities
  - a comprehensive agreement for the transfer

3.2.5 Contribution agreements

- Develop a standard contribution agreement which would include, inter alia, provisions for terms of reference for Indian education authorities, accountability requirements and standards governing quality of education

3.2.6 Duplication of facilities

- Assess the current policy and identify its impact on Indian education
- Review the policy for appropriateness

3.3 Management framework

- Define departmental roles and responsibilities for the following functions:

  - curriculum development
  - facilities
  - student support
  - staff support
  - monitoring
  - relationship to Indian education authorities
  - relationship to other Indian authorities
  - relationship to provincial governments

- Design departmental headquarters and regional organizational structures required to fulfill these roles and responsibilities
- Identify human resource requirements
- Explore mechanisms for input from Indian education authorities on program components such as curriculum development and establishment of standards
- Consider the need for independent Indian education foundations to further Indian-specific education development

3.4 Funding

- Estimate incremental costs for the adoption of special programming related to Indians including:

- management framework
- curriculum development
- facilities
- student support
- staff support
- monitoring
- Indian Education authorities/organizations

3.5 Indian Consultation

- Depending on the outcome of DMC, serious consideration must be given to the consultation process; its context, objectives, parameters, process, etc. Hopefully this would result in joint recommendations:
- Development of a paper for consultation
- Development of the consultation process
- Establish funding levels

FIGURE 1

Research at the District Resource Centre (School District #57), the source of this information, was conducted over a one week period commencing April 8, 1997. Only texts designated to be appropriate for Grade 11 and 12 students were examined as the scope of this thesis restricts itself to these levels. Following the bibliographic information of each text, a brief annotation is provided detailing the content of the work and its relevance to Native peoples, cultures, or concerns. Each series of texts is subdivided by the box number in which it can be found. Texts and videos could only be reviewed within the Centre as materials could only be signed out by teachers of School District #57. A total of fourteen boxes were examined and over 90 resource materials were analyzed (only those specific to Grades 11 and 12). Special thanks to DRC librarians Dawn Farber, Flo Hoffman, and Jane McKay who helped me in this aspect of my research.

Though the annotations represent my analysis and perspective of the resource materials, the content of these materials were in part evaluated using the ten criteria described by Verna J. Kirkness in her article, "Prejudice About Indians in Textbooks." These criteria provided the conceptual (rather than methodological) structure of the evaluation and are as follows:

1. *Bias by Omission*: selecting information that reflects credit on only one group, frequently the writer's group.
2. *Bias by Defamation*: calling attention to native persons' faults rather than their virtues and misrepresenting their nature.
3. *Bias by Disparagement* (disparagement: something that lowers a thing or person in worth or importance): denying or belittling the contributions of Native people to Canadian culture.
4. *Bias by Cumulative Implication*: constantly creating the impression that only one group is responsible for positive developments.
5. *Bias by (lack of) Validity*: failing to ensure that information about issues is always accurate and ambiguous. (Ambiguous: having more than one possible meaning).
6. *Bias by Inertia*: perpetuation of legends and half-truths by failure to keep abreast of historical scholarship.
7. *Bias by Obliteration*: ignoring significant aspects of Native history.
8. *Bias by Disembodiment*: referring in a casual and depersonalized way to the "Indian menace" or representing the annihilation of Indian culture as part of "the march of progress."
9. *Bias by (lack of) Concreteness*: dealing with a race or group in platitudes and generalizations (applying the shortcomings of one individual to a whole group). To be concrete, the material must be factual, objective, and realistic.
10. *Bias by (lack of) Comprehensiveness*: failing to mention all relevant facts that may help to form the opinion of the statement. (597-598)

* Each resource will be annotated with one of the following two terms:
    NFNC = No First Nations Content
    FNC = First Nations Content

BOX #H1

Graham, Neil. *Exploring Perspectives*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1991. Grades 10-12.
    NFNC

   This text defines itself as encouraging critical thinking and generating discussion of all perspectives. It is subdivided into three sections: *Focusing In* (students are told to identify their own perspectives and thoughts on the subject), *Finding Out* (students are expected to explore the topic from various perspectives and to interpret them all objectively), and *Following Through* (the wider perspective is applied to a situation that affects/involves the student at a personal level). A strong text in the sense that it encourages critical thinking in a large number of areas including advertising and censorship. However, such topics as racism, prejudice, and Othering are not discussed.

   One section, titled "Putting Your Best Voice Forward", discusses the various dialects and vernaculars inherent to the English language. Here, aspects of language's role in assimilation, as discussed in Chapter Three, are evident. For instance, the essay illustrates the importance of speaking "proper spoken English" and focuses on the story of one speech therapist who teaches ESL students not to "erase the traces of the original mother tongue," but to "adjust their way of speaking to include more of the sounds commonly used and needed in English" (101). The author also suggests that failure to speak proper English can lead to a pronounced lack of success in future endeavors:

> The results [of not having a good command of the English language] on a professional level may be low sales, ineffective management, hampered business deals because of misunderstandings by clients, customers or staff, and a stalled career. On a personal level, they may feel socially isolated and frustrated by their inability to advance themselves through social contacts.

   Other items deal with the importance of voice in the formation of personal and corporate identity.

   The teacher's guide does not contain any suggestions for implementing post-colonial concerns.

Mellow, Brian and John Krisak. *Matters of Fact*. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., 1992.
    Grades 10-12. NFNC

   This work contains a number of short non-fiction articles covering a multitude of issues arranged into thematic units, including "Exceptional Lives "(biographies) and "Earthkeeping" (deals with environmental issues) which are designed to stimulate critical thinking.

Nelson, Jenny. *West Coast Rhymes*. Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing Company, 1993.
    Grades: unknown (no sticker) FNC

A very small (30 page) book that contains poetry by the author about the Haida nation and culture. The poems focus on Haida perspectives concerning nature, relationships, and culture. One of the few resources not limited by the impediments placed upon the conditions of its existence as discussed in Chapter Five.

Weber, Ken and Cecile Weber. *The Spirit of Vocabulary Canada.* Globe/Modern Curriculum Press. Toronto, 1991.   Grades 9-12. FNC

This text combines vocabulary exercises with a brief story of contemporary relevance, including the Elizabeth Manley Olympic win and the United Autoworkers Strike of the past decade. Students are expected to read the short biography or story and answer a number of questions related to the language of the piece and their understanding. Entirely Canadian in content, one series of exercises revolves around the story of Pi-A-Pot who staged a protest in Saskatchewan (1882). The prejudicial nature of this piece is discussed in Chapter Five.

---. *The Variety of Vocabulary Canada.* Globe/Modern Curriculum Press. Toronto, 1991. Grades 9-12. NFNC

Similar thematic structure as that described above.

---. *The Style of Vocabulary Canada.* Globe/Modern Curriculum Press. Toronto, 1991. Grades 9-12.   FNC

Same design and structure as similar works by the same authors.
One exercise revolves around the story of Tecumseh, "the great chief of the Shawnee nation," and his involvement in the War of 1812. Throughout the biography and the vocabulary exercises, Tecumseh is described as "wily." Despite suggestions that Tecumsah was responsible for the victory, the biography concludes with a paragraph on Commander Sir Isaac Brock. It is suggested here that the First Nations chief was only an assistant in this win and it was Brock who ultimately won the first battle against the Americans.

---. *The Wonder of Vocabulary Canada.* Globe/Modern Curriculum Press. Toronto, 1991. Grades 9-12.   NFNC

BOX #H2

Bates, Susan. *Amazing! Canadian Newspaper Stories.* Scarborough, Ont.: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1991. Teacher' Guide. Grades 10-12   FNC

The recommendations for stimulating class discussion on Native issues as they are introduced by the literature are largely stereotypical. As was discussed in Chapter Five, reference to the Inuit culture, for instance, notes that the Native population has been dependent upon the federal government for decades.

Clarke, Ron et al. *Themes for All Times*. St. John's, Nfld: Jesperson Press, 1989. Grades 10-11. FNC

This is an anthology of literary works representing three genres: stories, essays, and poetry. The content of this text is organized around seven themes: "relationships," "faith and belief," "conflict survival," "freedom and equality," "dealing with today," and "facing tomorrow."

Native content includes: "Prayer" by Chief Dan George (a daily prayer to the Creator) and "The Declaration of The First Nations" (from the Assembly of First Nations Conference, 1980). Also included is a class project in which students are asked to study the history of Aboriginal peoples (i.e. reserves, land claims, living conditions on reserves) and present the findings to the media.

The remaining 460 pages contain either canonical literature sustaining Western humanist ideals or excerpts from literature by canonical authors espousing similar philosophies.

Jeroski, Sharon et al. *Speak for Yourself*. Scarborough, Ont.: Nelson Canada, 1990. Grades 8-12. NFNC

A collection of ideas and articles aimed at teaching critical thinking and reading. Chapter One revolves around the issue of communication, stressing throughout that proper communication is a key to success in life. Chapter Two discusses words and their meaning, in part analyzing the importance of denotation and connotation. Special attention is paid to the word "love," but no time is devoted to words to which negative connotations are often assigned. Subsequent chapters deal with effective listening, critical listening, interviews, problem solving, and cooperative learning.

The teacher's guide also does not contain any references on how to integrate post-colonial themes or issues as they are communicated in language into the classroom.

Murphy, Raymond. *Basic Grammar in Use: Reference and practice for students of English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993. Grades: unknown (no sticker) NFNC

Another guide to grammar intended for more advanced audiences. This text deals mainly with verb tenses, though questions, word order, prepositions, and adjectives/adverbs are also examined.

Seidl, Jennifer. *Grammar One*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993. Grades 4-12. NFNC

A very basic grammar textbook that covers all aspects concerning grammatical functions. However, it is rather too simplistic for grades 10-12, despite the suggested grade levels, unless used as a remedial guide.

BOX #H4 -VIDEOS
Grades 11-12
NFNC

No videos were found that deal with First Nations concerns, issue, or representations. A total of 7 videos are in the box, though "Words to Live By" is missing and may contain Aboriginal content or pertinent references. Video subjects range from filmic adaptations of works from O Henry (*The Gift of the Magi*) and Edgar Allan Poe (*The Fall of the House of the Usher* and *The Cask of Amontillado*) and L.M. Montgomery (*Jane of Lantern Hill*) to stories dealing with the effects of the bombing of Hiroshima on a Japanese teenager.

BOX #H5 - NON-FICTION VIDEOS
Grades 8-12
FNC

A collection of non-fiction videos used by local schools as supplements to the English class. One video in a collection of 19 titled "Chronicles of Pride" deals with First Nations concerns. According to the cover of the video, the short film "features profile of contemporary First Nations individuals who have contributed to society at various levels and in different walks of life. Included are Gloria George, Judge Alfred Scow, Dorothy Francis, Vivian Wilson, and Blanch Macdonald." Though I did not preview this video, the brief description supplied bears much resemblance to that supplied for the only video dealing with First Nations content listed in the *IRP*, *4 Sight*, even though this video is not in this collection. Again, however, it sounds as if success is defined and measured by parameters specified by settler society (how a small percentage of a minority group has *contributed* to society), a fact also hinted at in that none of those portrayed have their original, Aboriginal names.

Other videos offer biographies of such individuals as Mark Twain, George Orwell, Frederic Bank and Charles Dickens while others discuss the Japanese-Canadian internment, World War 2, and the Bible as Literature.

BOX #H6 - POETRY (INCLUDES VIDEOS)

Videos (grades 8-12)
NFNC

These videos are filmic representations of the poetry of various canonical authors including Earle Birney and Robert Service. Also included in this group are visual representations of a poem ("Call My People Home") dealing with Japanese-Canadian internment and a video that traces the history of the English language, beginning with Beowulf.

Texts:

Israel, Inge. *Raking Zen Furrows: Encounters with Japan.* Vancouver: Cacanadadada Press
    Ltd., 1991. Grades: 8-11.   NFNC

As the jacket cover describes, "this Canadian collection of 53 poems was inspired by Inge Israel's six-month residence in Japan . . . .The title, *Raking Zen Furrows*, summarizes Israel's unique ability to 'rake' Western perceptions of nature and society into traditional Japanese patterns of poetry." As such, this text successfully represents the amalgamation of cultures to create a genuine appreciation for cultural diversity. In this regard, we are given insight into the cultural Other, a viewing supplemented with brief introductions to many of Japan's customs and traditions seen through the lens of Western society.

Larrain, Virginia, ed. *Timeless Voices: A Poetry Anthology Celebrating the Fulfillment of Age*. Berkeley, California: Celestial Arts, 1978. Grades 10-12.

Described as a "collection of poetry that captures the beauty and dignity of long life" (back jacket), this collection of poems from a variety of authors includes those of the canon such as Yeats and Dylan Thomas as well as from authors of "traditional cultures which venerate old age" (including Sioux and Navaho). These latter works perpetuate stereotypes of Native peoples as strictly "earthly," pastoral peoples, and as such is representative of the impediments impinging on successful communication of post-colonial concerns.

Packard, William ed. *The Poet's Craft: Interviews from The New York Quarterly*. New York: Paragon House Publishers, 1987. Grades: 11-12. NFNC

A collection of interviews with 25 American poets who respond to various questions regarding their craft, styles, and techniques.

Saliani, Don ed. *Poetry Alive Perspectives*. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1991. Grades: unknown (no front sticker) NFNC

An immense collection of poetry from a variety of international authors, none of whom (as far as I can tell) are of First Nations/American Indian descent. Mainly the works of canonical authors.

---. *Poetry Alive Transitions*. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1991. Grades: unknown (no sticker) NFNC

Same as above.

BOX #H9 - SHORT STORIES

Browne, Jane, ed. *Points of Departure: Six Women Remember their Early Lives*. London: Hutchinson Education, 1988. Grades: 10-12. NFNC

A collection of six autobiographies that together provide a "commentary on human diversity" (jacket). Six very different women are featured, each separated by space, time, race, country, and social class. All are from Europe, so the book is rather limited in this aspect. Consequently, no First Nations women are portrayed.

Kellow, Brian, and John Krisak eds. *Prose: Short Forms*. Scarborough, Ont.: Prentice-Hall
    Canada Inc., 1990. Grades: 10-12.   NFNC

    This text explores, through short stories and articles, a variety of themes, including
learning, aging, and public policy, all of which offer insightful examinations designed to encourage
critical thinking and reading. Each article/short story begins with questions designed to stimulate
the reader. Upon completion, a series of questions follow.

BOX #H62

All resources annotated below are for grade 11 and 12 students.

Ahenakew, Freda, et al. *Voices of the First Nations*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited,
    1995.   FNC

    This collection of essays, poetry, and prose by First Nations authors is dedicated entirely
to contemporary issues. Included in this text are essays dealing with the image of the Indian,
stereotypes, prejudices, and so forth. I discuss this work in more depth in Chapter Five.

Barker-Sandbrook, Judith. *Essays: Patterns and Perspectives*. Toronto: Oxford University
    Press, 1992.   NFNC

    A book emphasizing the writing of essays in all forms, each section detailing the various
types of essays and their characteristics is followed with a number of suggestions for practice
activities.

Catanoy, Nicholas. *notes on a prison wall*. Vancouver: Ronsdale/Cacanadadada, 1994.
    NFNC

    The memoirs of the author who was imprisoned by the Russians following their invasion
of Romania. The book is essentially a list of quotations--his own and those of others. No
Aboriginal references are found.

Colombo, John Robert. *Worlds In Small: An Anthology of Miniature Literary Compositions*.
    Vancouver: Cacanadadada Press Ltd., 1992.   NFNC

    This text claims to be the largest anthology of the shortest literary compositions ever
written. None of the works are more than 50 words in length.

Evans, Kathy, and Gillda Leitenberg, eds. *Ethics*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited,
    1995.   NFNC

A multi-genre anthology of prose, poetry, and essays dealing with issues of ethical behavior. An excellent book covering many aspects of ethics designed to stimulate critical thought. A number of essays are concerned with issues of the social Other. For instance, an especially good piece on the damaging effects of racist jokes discusses how they hurt and perpetuate stereotypes in a 'humorous' context. Nonetheless, none of the essays examine such concerns as they directly pertain to First Nations peoples and cultures.

---, eds. *Family Issues*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1995. FNC

A multi-genre (poetry, prose, and essays) anthology that focuses on family issues: death, old age, sexual abuse, adoption, parents, siblings, marriage, divorce, and so forth. Of the 61 works included, only two are relevant in an Aboriginal context, though the issues represented in both works are reflective of the fundamental barriers imposed upon and enforced by the selection of this literature. For instance, the first, a poem titled "Whose Mouth Do I Speak With," discusses the author's special relationship with her father and her memory of chewing spruce gum he picked from trees. The other, a short story entitled "Woman With No Face," is the story of a young girls' encounter with "the injured spirit of the earth." Realizing her fright, the girl's grandmother sings to her the reasons for the spirit's arrival and, in so doing, tells a tale of environmental degradation.

Haberman, Arthur, and Fran Cohen, eds. *On The Edge: Literature and Imagination*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1993. FNC

An interdisciplinary anthology divided into thematic units (madness, dreams, time, heritage, language and power, self- and other, risk, other worlds), this book contains some work by First Nations authors. A small number of photographs feature the art of Bill Reid and an excerpt from Hugh Brody's *Maps and Dreams* is also included. This literature (and art) is also considered to contribute to those impediments discussed in Chapter Five.

The teacher's guide provides some background material to the Native authors and stories represented in the text. It is recommended to teachers that issues of representation and identity be discussed in class.

Kirkland, Glen, and Richard Davies, eds. *Inside Stories for Senior Students*. Toronto: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1993. FNC

An anthology of short narratives with an emphasis on Canadian content, this book divides the stories by literary focus into eight units: "Purpose," "Characters in Conflict," "Point of View," "Theme and Interpretation," Irony and Symbol," "The Texture of Story," Perspectives on Story," and "Stories for Further Reading." Included with these stories are critical essays on the work and its author. Only one piece is by a First Nations author; Thomas King's "Totem" is the story about a totem pole in an art gallery that emits disturbing noises. Despite all efforts by staff to silence the chatter, the emissions persist. This story is interpreted by this author to be a metaphor for First Nations cultures that refuse to be silenced by an oppressive majority. This is one of the few works that may foster further examination of First Nations cultures in a post-colonial context,

though it too is a reflection of the impediments imposed on this literature. In particular, it is representative of small First Nations inclusion in an anthology edited by non-Native authors.

The teacher's resource guide asks educators to stimulate discussion of King's short story on the subject of representation and the symbolism of the totem.

Misener, Judi, and Sandra Steele. *The Business of English, Second Edition*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1995.   NFNC

A book dedicated to business communications such as computer applications, reports, and job searching with no First Nations representation.

The teacher's resource also does not contain any Native representation.

Nemiroff, Greta Hofmann, ed. *Matters of Gender*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1996.   FNC

An anthology dealing with issues of sexuality, self-esteem, and gender pride, this text is an excellent collection of works detailing the experiences of the social Other: gays and lesbians, Native women, and so forth. Although a good book for developing critical thought on these topics, many essays nonetheless demand extrapolation in order for such discussion to occur. First Nations representation is limited to a small interview titled "Listening . . . an Interview with Bertha Petiquan," which is the biography of an elderly Native woman and her experiences living in relative isolation. Far more humorous than controversial, this work might lead to a discussion of alterity.

Roy, Ken. *Horizons: Exploring Poetry, Prose, and Non-Fiction*. Toronto: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1994.   FNC

A multicultural collection of poetry, prose, and essays in which each work is book-ended by questions designed to stimulate critical thought. Students are asked a series of questions prior to reading the work and following its perusal. While this text is described as a multicultural anthology, very few authors represented are not from Canada or the United States. In fact, less than 10% of the book includes works by authors from such nations as India, Japan, and South Africa. There is small First Nations representation in the form of two poems. The first, "Original Thought," by The Four Dancers, discusses the nature of original thought and asks if such a concept actually exists. The second, titled "Wanted: Someone Who Cares," is a poem about discovering one's sense of self. None of the questions ask for critical examination of postcolonial concerns of First Nations authors, but rather emphasize the universal qualities of such literature.

The guide for teachers does not offer any suggestions on how to elucidate postcolonial concerns as they may be seen in this literature.

Wagamese, Richard. *Keeper 'N Me*. Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited, 1995.   FNC

As discussed in Chapter Five, this work is one of the few actually written by a First Nations author. This novel is the story of a Native youth who, alone and in jail, receives a letter from his long-lost Native family. This note leads him home to his reservation where he is able to

find a sense of place and identity. In discussing the redemptive powers of one's family and traditions, this book is a good introduction to Ojibway culture.

Waldron, Ian, and Nancy Steinhauer, eds. *Global Matters*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1995.   FNC

This collection of multi-genre works revolves around discussions on the environment and the influences upon it, including development, overpopulation, and environmental destruction. Although the majority of works focus on the developing world, the two works by First Nations writers eloquently point out the concerns of Aboriginal cultures. Tanure Ojaide, in "No Longer Our Own Country," describes the effects of colonialism on the First Nations population in Canada. The second poem, "Walking Both Sides of an Invisible Border," discusses the trouble many Aboriginal peoples face in trying to balance traditional First Nations culture and the demands of settler society. These two poems are the only two works of more than 60 that contain some form of First Nations representation.

Wowk, Jerry, and Carol Mayne. *Travel and Tourism*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1995.   FNC

This text features multicultural perspectives on travel and tourism. Topics and issues presented include: eco-tourism, travel as education, and issues in tourism. The only work of First Nations representation is a poem, "Trickster Time," by Jeannette C. Armstrong, a work that humorously explains how the chaos of air travel is a result of trickster's influence. Again, this work, although presenting a key aspect of First Nations philosophies (i.e. tricksters), does not raise other, more controversial issues. It is also only one story in an anthology of more than 25.

BOX #H61

All resources are intended for a grade 11 and 12 audience.

Bloom, Lynn Z., and Edward M. White, eds. *Inquiry: A Cross-Curricular Reader*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ.: Prentice Hall, 1993.   FNC

This is a university level collection of critical essays, stories, and poems grouped thematically and preceded by a biography of the author. Each section also contains follow-up questions for class discussion. Only three essays, of the more than 80 included, contain some form of First Nations representation. The first is an essay by Leslie Marmon Silko titled "Landscape, History, and the Pueblo Imagination" and discusses the importance of storytelling for the Pueblo peoples. Stories, she writes, are vital to knowledge and the development of a communal sense of truth and self. The second of these works is another essay, this one by Linda Hogan titled "Hearing Voices." This piece illustrates the importance of listening to the Earth, to "the literal language of this continent" (413). Finally, Barry Lopez in "Searching for Ancestors" recounts the archeological search for "tangible remains" of the Anasazi culture (447). Lopez takes great pains to dispel the notion that prehistoric means 'primitive' and/or 'pagan.'

Drapeau, Patricia, et al., eds. *Discoveries in Non-Fiction*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1993.   NFNC

A collection of 37 personal essays, articles, and profiles on contemporary issues all linked by their strong Canadian content. Questions for discussion bookend each piece.

The teacher's guide accompanying this text suggests a number of ways post-colonial issues such as representation and identity may be introduced and discussed in class.

Fisher, David, and Sharon Jeroski. *Voices 2: Contemporary Short Fiction*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1993.   FNC

An anthology of short stories designed to reflect a wide variety of themes, writing styles, and cultural contexts, this collection contains only one work by an Aboriginal author. This story, "The Red Convertible" by Louise Erdrich, tells the tale of a summer spent traveling the United States in a red convertible and the development of the protagonists' to adulthood. Margaret Atwood's "Death by Landscape" also includes some First Nations considerations in that it discusses images of Native peoples. However, this is a story *about* Aboriginal peoples rather than *by* them.

Guth, Hans P., and Gabriele L. Rico. *Discovering Fiction*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1993.   NFNC

This anthology of short fiction is prefaced with a statement noting the intention of the editors to redefine the canon. In order to accomplish this, the collection includes a combination of 'classics' with what is termed "classics of tomorrow" and "multicultural writing."

The teacher's guide does not offer suggestions as to how any post-colonial themes or issues may be discussed.

Kerr, Moira, and John Bennett. *Myth*. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1966.   NFNC

This book is entirely dedicated to a study of Greek and Roman myths.

Mouland, Elisabeth, ed. *Tracing One Warm Line: Poetry of Canada*. St. John's, Nfld.: Breakwater, 1994.   FNC

This text is a collection of poetry from various Canadian writers that is divided into 5 sections, one of which is titled "Aboriginals." However, only 8 pages are dedicated to this section and all the poems tend to promote deep-rooted stereotypes concerning indigenous cultures. For instance, included in these pages are poems on nature, a war chant, and a hunting song.

Although the teacher's guide includes Native representation, it is limited to a definition of the symbolism of the animals in the poems by Native writers.

Novels:

Margaret Laurence: *The Stone Angel*
Susan Hill: *The Mist in the Mirror*
William Golding: *Lord of the Flies*
Daniel Quinn: *Ishmael*
W.O. Mitchell: *Who Has Seen the Wind*
Marjorie Darke: *A Question of Courage*
Charles Dickens: *A Tale of Two Cities*
---: *A Christmas Carol*
Lois Lowry: *The Giver*
Ernest Hemingway: *A Farewell to Arms*
Erich Maria Remarque: *All Quiet on the Western Front*
Emily Bronte: *Wuthering Heights*

Drama:

Arthur Miller: *An Enemy of the People*

BOX #H63

All resources described below are designated for a grade 11 and 12 audience.

75 Readings: An Anthology. New York: McGraw-Hill Inc., 1995.   FNC

      This collection contains 75 essays divided by format according to a variety of themes: "Perspectives on Human Existence," "Descriptions of Place," "Portraits," "Culture and Identity," and so forth. Because only two canonized authors are represented, the content presented mirrors the impediments discussed in this thesis. For instance, "Tuesday Morning" (61-65) by William Least Heat-Moon is an exposition on the Navajo reservation, its peoples, culture, geography, climate, and the like. N. Scott Momaday's "The Way to Rainy Mountain" (69-73) describes the return of the author to his grandmother's graveside, at which point he describes her life, his memories of her, and her stories.

Barry, James, and Joseph Griffin. *The Storyteller: Short Stories From Around the World.*
      Scarborough, Ont.: Nelson Canada, 1992.   FNC

      This is a collection of 37 short stories by international authors that is divided according to continent and includes biographical notes of each writer represented. Unfortunately, representation from continents is especially limited to white authors, particularly the stories from Africa and North America. The sole exception to this is "Blue Winds Dancing" by Thomas Whitecloud, a story that describes the protagonist's journey from the world of settler society to his home on a Native reservation and, in so doing, addresses colonialism and the cultural conflicts or differences that arise.

Cochrane, Robertson. *The Way We Word: Musing on the Meaning of Everyday English.*
Saskatoon: Fifth House Publishers, 1993.   NFNC

A collection of articles that explores word origins and usage as well as the practical applications of language.

Conrad, Ronald. *The Act of Writing: Canadian Essays for Composition.* Fourth Edition.
Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1995.   FNC

This book features 50 essays divided by fundamental patterns of organization: narration, example, description, cause and effect, comparison and contrast, and so forth. Questions follow each essay. Only one is of First Nations content; Carol Geddes' "Growing up Native" (32-40) describes the life of a Tlingit woman and her experiences with racism and intolerance. The story ends with her involvement in university and her aspirations of becoming an elder. As such, this essay is a good introduction to First Nations concerns, including racism, prejudice, and Othering.

---. *Process and Practice.* Fourth Edition. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1993.
NFNC

A book designed to develop students' writing skills, this text features many examples, exercises, and explanations devoted to this objective. Each section contains exercises in 3 levels of difficulty that also discuss the writing process, construction of arguments, the process of editing, and so forth.

Guth, Hans P., and Gabriele L. Rico. *Discovering Literature: Fiction, Poetry, and Drama.*
Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1993.   FNC

A large collection of fiction, poetry, and drama that features a wide range of themes from international sources and all arranged into units. Like *Discovering Fiction,* which is edited by the same authors, this text also makes note of its redefinition of the literary canon through a variety of mechanisms. Four short works are of Aboriginal content, the first of which is a poem by N. Scott Momaday titled "New World" (451). This poem about nature is uniquely structured with four sections, each one focusing on the elements of the day. The second, "Tlingit Concrete Poem" by Nora Dauenhauer (454), is a poem that uses the Tlingit word for apple (x'aax') to give a picture of an apple. This work is emphasized in Chapter Five as an example of potentially subversive literature. However, the inherent impediments preventing the teaching of post-colonialism hinder its impact. Louise Erdrich is also featured; her poem "Indian Boarding Schools: The Runaways" (607) is perhaps the most challenging of these works in that it discusses life at a residential school and an incident involving two runaways. Finally, N. Scott Momaday is featured again in a poem titled "Earth and I Gave You Turquoise" (635).   More than 250 works are featured in this anthology, but these four are the only ones written by Native authors. The rest of the work does contain some multicultural works, though much of the collection is devoted to canonical pieces.

Though background information is provided on these short stories, the teacher's guide does not offer any recommendations on how to introduce post-colonial concerns or themes presented by any of the above works.

Hamlin, Mike et al., eds. *The New Windmill Book of Nineteenth Century Short Stories*. Oxford: Heinemann Educational Publishers, 1992.   NFNC

An anthology of short stories from various authors of the 19th century. A brief introduction to the work and its author prefaces each story.

Holeton, Richard, ed. *Encountering Cultures: Reading and Writing in a Changed World*. Second Edition. Englewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice Hall, 1995.   FNC

This book, a series of adult-level essays on cultural differences, cultural diversity, language, and the development of stereotypes, is designed to facilitate critical thinking. Of all the texts examined, this is perhaps the best one for students to achieve the objectives of the *IRP* concerning a "recognition of and appreciation for other cultures" (3). In providing critical examinations of these and other themes, the text represents a key medium for the dismantling of traditional conceptions of First Nations peoples and cultures.

Hamlin, Mike et al. *The New Windmill Book of Nineteenth Century Short Stories*. Oxford: Heinemann Educational Practices, 1992.   NFNC

An anthology of short stories from various authors of the 19th century. A brief introduction to the work and its author prefaces each story.

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Kellow, Brian, and John Krisak. *Essays: Thought and Style*. Second Edition. Scarborough, Ont.: Prentice Hall Ginn Canada, 1996. FNC

This text, an anthology of contemporary and classic essays, includes Canadian, American, and international writers. The essays are grouped according to purposes in writing: to observe, describe, narrate, define, and explain. First Nations representation is limited solely to a small essay by Chief Seattle (229-234) titled "Reply to the U.S. Government."

Miller, George. *The Prentice Hall Reader*. Fourth Edition. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1995. FNC

      An anthology of essays that provide examples of expository writing, narration, and description, this text is organized according to theme and genre. Each section provides instruction on how to write and revise each of these three forms as well as the schematics of writing essays. Some First Nations content is represented, though, again, this representation is limited to canonical First Nations authors only. N. Scott Momaday's "The Way to Rainy Mountain" and William Least Heat-Moon are featured.

World Literature: Signature Edition. Macmillan Literature Series. Lake Forest, Illinois: Glencoe, 1991. NFNC

This large collection of multi-genre works from all over the world includes many Nobel Prize winning authors. Each story is prefaced with a biography of the author and is followed with a number of questions for class discussion. Although representation of the Other in a post-colonial context is evident—for instance, issues of representation, identity, and colonialism--the book remains an anthology of canonical literature. This text is like a who's who of literature in that only prominent names are represented.

BOX #H59

All resources described below are meant for a grade 11 and/or 12 audience.

Barry, James, ed. *Coast to Coast: Canadian Stories, Poetry, Non-Fiction & Drama*. Toronto: Nelson Canada, 1995. FNC

      A multi-genre anthology of 20th century Canadian literature organized into nine themes, including the land, communication, identity, and love, this text covers the many aspects of Canadian life, past and present, and features some First Nations content. Of this, the first is a short, two line poem by Chief Dan George. The other works are a poem about identity titled "The Ballad of Alice Moonchild" by Aleata Blythe and a short memoir called "Two Different Ways of Life" by Dene author, George Blondin.

Borovilos, John. *Breaking Through: A Canadian Literary Mosaic*. Scarborough, Ont.: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., 1990. FNC

      This is an anthology of Canadian literature featuring short stories, poetry, and essays that provide a view of the Canadian mosaic "through the eyes of immigrants" (*IRP*). Included in this text are three essays by First Nations authors, though they are defined as immigrants rather than original inhabitants. Nonetheless, these essays offer a good introduction to Aboriginal concerns regarding colonialism, cultural differences, and identity.

---. *Breaking Free: A Cross-Cultural Anthology*. Scarborough, Ont.: Prentice-Hall Canada

Inc., 1995.   FNC

This is a cross-cultural anthology of short stories and poems representing Canadian and international authors. Included in this collection is a table of contents indicating the roots and current residence of each author represented. Of the 43 works included, only three are by Aboriginal writers: Jeanette Armstrong, "History Lesson" (poetry); Thomas King, "Borders" (fiction); and George Kenny, "On the Shooting of a Beaver" (fiction).

Vanstone, Kay. *Develop Your English Skills*. Second Edition. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman
        Ltd., 1993.   NFNC

This text is an English skills workbook aimed at developing grammar and writing skills in students for business world. A very exhaustive study of the elements of writing, this book also contains a number of practical exercises and tests. As was expected, there is no Aboriginal content.

BOX #H57

All resources annotated below are intended for a grade 11 and 12 audience.

"Just Talking About Ourselves": Voices of Our Youth. Penticton: Theytus Books, 1994.
FNC

Although previously discussed in Chapter Five, this book is a depiction in stories, poetry, and visual art of the reality of many of B.C.'s Native youths. The second half of the book is "an overview of the many projects that commenced in 1988" (69) to combat the use of drugs by many Native adolescents. Intended to be a resource for future endeavors, this section also contains a resource list of treatment centres, counseling services, and friendship centres across the province. This anthology is one of the best texts currently available for the presentation of Aboriginal post-colonial concerns as it is not impeded by any of the barriers discussed in Chapter Five.

Lieb, Anthony. *Speaking for Success: The Canadian Guide*. Toronto: Harcourt Brace &
        Company, Canada, 1993.   NFNC

This text is a communications guide intended to teach students how to speak and write for the world beyond school. Meant for language arts in the business world, this work is essentially a how-to manual on proper speaking, business etiquette, the use of visual aids in public speaking, proper dress, speech anxiety, and so forth.

Searchlights: Selected Essays. Toronto: Irwin Publishing, 1982.   FNC

This text is a collection of essays on a broad range of topics. Each article is followed by a number of questions for discussion. Only one of the 25 essays presented is representative of First Nations concerns, though it offers a good examination of Aboriginal attitudes concerning

colonialism to students. Strongly personal, Wilfred Pelletier's "For Every North American Indian Who Begins To Disappear, I Also Begin To Disappear" illustrates cultural differences and the subjugation of Native cultures and peoples as a result of imperialism.

BOX #H56 - Teacher's Resources

Brownlie, Faye, and Susan Close. *Beyond Chalk & Talk: Collaborative Strategies for the Middle and High School Years*. Markham, Ont.: Pembroke Publishers Limited, 1992. Grades 6-12. NFNC

    This text is designed to be a learning guide for teachers on implementing strategies and other educational mechanisms for students making the transition from elementary to secondary school. Much of the book is devoted to writing and writing exercises.

Calkins, Lucy McCormick. *The Art of Teaching Writing*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1994. Grades: K-12. NFNC

    A book on writing and the process of writing for students at all grades and levels.

Fletcher, Ralph. *What A Writer Needs*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1993. Grades: 4-12. NFNC

    This text provides a number of educational strategies for helping students to become better writers.

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