

Dealing with Diversity: Multicultural Education in British Columbia, 1872-1981.

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ABSTRACT

British Columbia (B.C.), like the rest of Canada, has had a culturally diverse population since its earliest years. By the early 1970s, commonality of educational purpose had begun to fray in the province. Specialized programs for specific minorities became the norm as the province's educational mandate expanded rapidly. Social and political forces within and outside B.C. coalesced during the 1970s to create a "multicultural crisis" in the province's K to 12 education system. Culmination of these forces in 1981 led Brian Smith, the provincial education minister, to declare the first ministerial commitment to multicultural education. This dissertation illustrates how official policies and actions affecting minority learners changed with differing social, economic and political forces over time and how these factors intersected with the efforts of individual players involved in policy development.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Introduction

On October 8, 1971, Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced a federal "policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework."¹ Since then, Canadians have increasingly viewed Canada not only as bilingual but as a multicultural nation. In turn, conceptions of "multicultural education" have become firmly rooted in Canadian educational discourse through various teaching guides, provincial curricula, resources, policies and academic writings which pay homage to multicultural education. Despite the absence of an official multicultural education policy, since 1981—a decade after Trudeau's announcement—British Columbia's government has implemented various piecemeal reforms to address cultural diversity and schooling. What was the intent of these reforms? When, why, and how were such reforms initiated?

This dissertation argues that the genesis of the B.C. government's multicultural education reforms did not result directly from Trudeau's multicultural policy, as some Canadian scholars have suggested.² Nor did provincial reforms intend to address specific needs of teachers and learners in the education system. Rather, throughout the 1970s and early 1980s, government-funded lobby groups, school board trustees, school district officials, individual social activists, government paid consultants, and some politicians—many outside of education—were largely responsible for bringing multicultural education to the policy discourse³ of the provincial Ministry of Education. In addition to the activities of these key groups, social and political forces within and outside of the province itself coalesced to create a "multicultural crisis" in B.C.'s kindergarten to grade 12 (K to 12) system of common schooling. Culmination of these forces in 1981 led Brian Smith, the provincial Minister of Education, to declare the first ministerial commitment to multicultural education.

The purpose of this dissertation is to explore the development of the provincial Ministry of Education's initiatives dealing with multicultural education in B.C.'s public school system. In order to understand fully the impact of the government's commitment, this study surveys the provincial government's approaches to dealing with cultural diversity beginning in 1872 until Smith's announcement in 1981. In particular, the questions it addresses are:

- 1) What initiatives regarding cultural diversity and schooling were expressed by B.C.'s provincial government from 1872 to 1981?
- 2) Why and how did the term "multicultural education" enter the B.C. Ministry of Education's discourse about public schooling?
- 3) What forces within the education system (e.g. educational factors) and outside of it (e.g. socio-political factors) were significant in bringing "multicultural education" into the public policy discourse regarding schooling in B.C.?

Definition of Terms

Several key terms are used throughout this dissertation: multiculturalism, multicultural education, education, schooling, ethnic diversity, cultural diversity, race, racism, and policy. There are many possible definitions for each of these terms and scholars in education and the social sciences continue to debate them. I have chosen to separate multiculturalism from multicultural education, despite the fact that the two concepts are used interchangeably in the educational literature. For the purposes of this dissertation, *multiculturalism* refers to a federally-designated *socio-political* policy which attempts to help all Canadian cultural groups "to grow and contribute to Canada... to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society... to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages" and to experience "creative encounters and interchange...in the interest of national unity."⁴ On the other hand, *multicultural education* refers to a course of action to address the *educational* needs of learners in an ethnically and culturally diverse school system. Although *education* and *schooling* generally have different meanings in the educational literature, they are used synonymously in this dissertation to refer to the academic and social experiences of children in the K to 12 public education system.

The descriptors *culturally diverse*, *ethnically diverse* and *minority group* learners have also been used synonymously. These terms refer to B.C. school children who were not born in English-speaking countries or—if born in Canada—are either of First Nations descent or are not considered similar to middle-class and upper middle-class children due to their differing "values, beliefs, languages, habits and ways of life."⁵ Although religion could easily be added to this list of differences, there are several reasons why religious diversity is not discussed in this dissertation. When Brian Smith announced his ministry's commitment to multicultural education in 1981, it did not contain any references to religious minorities. Therefore, I decided that although religion is an important marker of diversity, it has been tangential to the province's core developments in multicultural education. This does not mean, however, that the concerns of religious minority groups in B.C. have not been important in steering the government away from the province's earliest conception of "common schooling" toward a greater recognition of the diverse needs of its learners. The long-standing requests of religious minorities for public aid to independent schools was addressed by the Independent Schools Support Act of 1977.⁶ Indeed, the scope of the religious debate is great enough to merit its own dissertation.

The terms *race* and *racism* are central to the background literature discussed in this dissertation. Although biologists and social scientists today have generally discounted "superficial physical traits ... as logical grounds for classifying people into racial groups,"⁷ I have defined a *race* of people as a "group of persons related by common descent and common physical characteristics such as skin colour, facial form or eye shape."⁸ Thus, I refer to the 'Asian races' not as an attempt to validate biological categorization, but instead to remain faithful to the historical record which indicates that much of the social discord in B.C. in the early twentieth century contained references to biological conceptions of race.⁹ The 1981 report of the B.C. Human Rights Commission defined racism as the denial of accommodation, service or facility to a person or class of persons based on race, religion, colour, ancestry or place of origin.¹⁰ In the context of this dissertation, *racism* is limited to

the denial of educational service to children, based on their race, colour, ancestry or place of origin.¹¹

I have chosen to use the term *policy* as an "authoritative determination, by a governing authority, of a society's intents and priorities and an authoritative allocation of resources to those intents and priorities."¹² I have adopted UBC policy analyst Lorne Downey's somewhat loose definition of policy to describe the B.C. Ministry of Education's initiatives in multicultural education since the government has not actually established an "official" multicultural education policy, but has instead allocated resources to its intents and priorities. Initiatives, intents, actions and policy are all used interchangeably here to refer to the B.C. government's excursions into multicultural education.

Background

In 1981, Brian Smith made the first "official" provincial government commitment to multicultural education. During the fall of 1980, Smith undertook an intensive tour of British Columbia in order "to determine what the people of this province wanted in their education system."¹³ Smith devoted several sections of his report to the discussion of English as a Second Language (ESL), multiculturalism and racism. The minister promised \$7 million in funding for ESL and \$6.9 million—or \$3,000 per child—in additional grants to school districts to deal with refugee children, "due to the influx of Vietnamese students into the B.C. school system."¹⁴ Smith also supported funding home-school multicultural workers to help new Canadians make the transition to school life in Canada and developing a supplementary course to be entitled "Alternatives to Racism" in order to combat racial discrimination.

In the years following Smith's announcement, the Ministry of Education continued to address cultural diversity through a series of accretive reforms to the education system. Such reforms can be illustrated by changes to A Guide to the School Act of British Columbia, a basic reference text on school law, compiled by Alan Nicholls. The 1984

version of the Guide makes no mention of cultural diversity in B.C.'s schools.¹⁵ However, in the sixth edition, published in 1990, section 10.0 on Special Education lists "English for students with another first language, such as some recent immigrants" as one of "20 approved special program categories."¹⁶ By the time Nicholls published the seventh edition in 1993, the Guide contained a whole chapter on Multiculturalism and Immigration with subheadings such as *Authority for Programs, Provincial Advisory Council, Provincial Policy Statements, Multiculturalism Activities, Canadian Multiculturalism Act, Immigration Programs in B.C. and Canada's Immigration Act*.¹⁷ The extent of coverage that Nicholls devoted to multiculturalism seems surprising in the absence of corresponding legislation.¹⁸

In some cases, federal government initiatives have triggered provincial developments. Section 23 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms entitles children to schooling in either of Canada's two official languages. Although Section 5 of B.C.'s School Act entitles every child to an educational program in English or French, in 1989 the B.C. government amended the Act to recognize minority language rights. The addition of a new clause enables districts to offer instruction in a language other than French or English—with the Education Minister's consent.¹⁹

In the early 1990s, the provincial Ministry of Education began large-scale revisions of its existing kindergarten to grade 12 curricula. Approximately 65 per cent of today's curriculum guides (referred to as Integrated Resource Packages, or IRPs for short) make at least one reference to recognizing cultural diversity. For example, one of the prescribed English Language Arts learning outcomes for grade 4 is that students will be able to "demonstrate an awareness of the diverse languages, ideas, opinions, cultures, and contributions of their peers."²⁰

These few examples illustrate a commitment to dealing with cultural diversity in schooling both in the B.C. Ministry of Education's policy discourse and actions. What is less clear is the impetus for such commitment. According to the B.C. government itself, the ministerial initiatives resulted from the report of the 1988 Royal Commission on

Education.²¹ In its official response to the report's recommendations, the provincial government assumed the responsibility to "recognize" the multicultural nature of the province in three ways: 1) by helping students develop an appreciation for the variety of cultural groups that enrich our society; 2) by establishing provincial multicultural policy; and 3) by reviewing prospective teaching materials for racial or cultural bias.²² Curiously, the final report of the commission did not contain any recommendations pertaining to multicultural education and educators have been left wondering to what the government was responding when it offered to address multiculturalism.²³

The education ministry is not alone in citing the 1988 Royal Commission Report as the impetus for B.C.'s multicultural education reforms. Several scholars have also done so. For example, in her chapter entitled in "Multicultural Education in Canada: Historical Development and Current Status" in the *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education*, UBC educational sociologist Kogila Moodley has incorrectly interpreted the Commission's intent on page 8 of its report by inserting the word "need" into her paraphrase. She states that

the 1988 Sullivan Royal Commission on Education identified the *need* [italics added] for the school system to enshrine language rights, to preserve diverse cultural heritages and to promote social equality and justice through recognition of individual difference.²⁴

In fact, the original paragraph reads as follows:

Recently, new expectations have been appended to the already considerable expectations of the past. Today, we turn to the schools [italics added] to help us enshrine language rights, to preserve diverse cultural heritages...²⁵

Further along on page 8, it states that the imposition of social responsibilities on our schools has

generally obscured their primary function as institutions for learning and, in turn, has led to questions about their general educational effectiveness. This Commission believes... that the school's first purpose as a place for learning should not be overshadowed by the social responsibilities appended to its mission in recent years... (and) that schools, insofar as it is possible, concern themselves strictly with children's learning.²⁶

In short, the Commission did **not** recommend that the schools of B.C. act to enshrine language rights, to preserve diverse cultural heritages and to promote social equality and justice. Moreover, given that fewer than 3 per cent of the 2,339 oral and written briefs presented to the Commission pertained to cultural diversity, the Commission evidently felt that multiculturalism was not a major issue troubling educators or the public at this time.²⁷ One of the main intentions of this dissertation is to shed light on the confused genesis of multicultural education in the province of B.C.

The Study

This dissertation is based on systematic analysis of historical and contemporary government papers, documents, legislative initiatives, educational policies and professional and academic writings from which I have determined the evolution of multicultural education in B.C.'s schools. Data were collected from primary and secondary sources, as well as from interviews with individuals conversant with multicultural policy development in B.C.'s schools up to and including 1981. (See Appendix for a copy of the interview protocol used).

Primary data sources included archived government documents and files held in the British Columbia Archives and the Canadian National Archives, as well as the archives of the B.C. School Trustees Association, the Vancouver School Board, and the B.C. Teachers' Federation. Minutes from the Debates of the Legislative Assembly, the House of Commons, federal and provincial government legislation and policies, as well as provincial newspapers and BCTF newsletters were all collected. Through content analyses of these documents, I determined when multicultural education entered the policy discourse in B.C. From these initial investigations, I found it necessary to examine documentation from other organizations, including: The Canadian Council for Christians and Jews, the Canadian Council for Multicultural and Intercultural Education, the Vancouver Multicultural Society, the Affiliation of Multicultural Societies and Service Agencies of B.C., and Directions ESL. Secondary sources were mainly used in preparation of the literature reviews in

chapter 2. However, in several parts of that chapter, primary sources were consulted to augment the secondary literature.

Archival data indicated that in attempting to deal with ethnic and cultural diversity in the schools of B.C., the government focused mainly on the children of the following groups: First Nations, children for whom English is a second language, Francophones and others learning French. Officials were also concerned with bringing conceptions of multicultural education to the attention of non-minority learners as a means of fighting racism both in schools and in society at large.

Chapter 3 deals with the developments concerning the education of First Nations children in B.C. from 1950 to 1981. Before 1950 few native children attended public schools in this province. Instead, most natives were part of a complex federally-funded school system which was administered by a number of religious orders across the country.²⁸ By 1981, the B.C. Ministry of Education was spending over \$2 million yearly for special programs aimed at addressing the needs of native children. Despite this, many native children continued to underperform academically and to drop out at what many people perceived as unacceptable rates. This prompted some native parents and other advocates to lose confidence in the public system and to call for total control of their children's education.

Chapter 4 chronicles the provincial government's development of French language policy and the accompanying expansion of services in support of French in B.C. which followed the establishment of the federal Official Languages Act and the election of René Levesque and his Parti Québécois in Quebec. In an attempt to maintain national unity, B.C.'s education minister Patrick McGeer actively supported French language instruction despite the fact that less than 2 per cent of the province's population spoke French as a main language. Armed with over \$200 million in federal funding, B.C. was able to implement "French Immersion" and "programme-cadre de français," as well as various other smaller initiatives, including a French language policy.

Chapter 5 describes the evolution of provincial "English as a second language" programs. Prompted by changing federal immigration and manpower policies during the 1960s and 1970s, various interest groups, politicians and individuals influenced provincial ESL policies in substantial ways. For example, in 1976, B.C.'s government changed its ESL funding policy from a one-year to a three-year pull-out program, in which children were "pulled out" of the mainstream classroom for remediation. Not only did funding for public school ESL programs escalate throughout the 1970s, but the provincial government gave increasing financial support to organizations involved in the settlement of adult immigrants.

Chapter 6 describes the final leg of multicultural education's circuitous journey into British Columbia's school system. In June 1981, John McAlpine, a lawyer hired to investigate the activities of the B.C. Ku Klux Klan, released his report to the provincial government. In responding to the report, Minister Smith, himself a lawyer, promised to commit educational resources to multicultural programs in order to address the Klan's allegations that non-English-speaking students were adversely affecting B.C.'s public school system.

Significance of the Study

This study may inform educational thought and practice in several ways. From a theoretical perspective, this research describes and presents the unfolding of historical events as they actually occurred and not as theorists may wish them to be. Currently, scholars actively debate the very definition of multicultural education.²⁹ This is particularly important in light of the fact that more than half the academic literature in the area of multicultural education is prescriptive rather than descriptive. By analyzing the development of multicultural education in a particular provincial jurisdiction from an historical perspective, this dissertation attempts to shed light on theoretical perspectives on multicultural education.³⁰

From the perspective of research, this study is unique in that no research to date has described the historical development of multicultural education in a single Canadian provincial jurisdiction. This study offers the possibility of bringing a richer contextual understanding to the processes by which educational policies are formulated and implemented. Further, many unanswered questions noted throughout the dissertation may provide the basis for future inquiry. For example, during the 1920s, educational discourse became increasingly devoted to issues of citizenship and language instruction but the reasons for this change have not been well documented.

The academic literature indicates that educational policy study is largely neglected in both education and in traditional policy fields, such as political science.³¹ Furthermore, since the late 1970s, various historians have advocated a stronger role for historical research in policy implementation and analysis.³² Despite such calls, the historical scholarship which bears on the development of policies, legislation and governmental initiatives surrounding multicultural education has remained sparse. This dissertation seeks to explore the relevance of historical analysis in policy studies.

In practical terms, this study may also provide significant implications for educational administrators. Much of the education literature on policy development and analysis operates within what has been termed a "rational model" framework which assumes a top-down process, essentially controlled by the local school board and its administrators.³³ This dissertation may serve to broaden administrative understanding about the variety of forces acting upon educational policy-making—many of which are beyond administrative control.

Finally, this dissertation may be relevant to public school teachers, faced daily with the task of "dealing with diversity." In addition to the B.C. Ministry of Education's initiatives to present educators with culturally sensitive curricula and ministerial directives, the B.C. College of Teachers has mandated that every teacher in-preparation undertake training in the area of multicultural education.³⁴ This dissertation may help teachers and

other professionals understand the historical roots of multicultural education and schooling in B.C. This may better enable them to assess and respond to changing policies, legislation and other directives from the political bodies which govern the teaching profession.

Limitations to the Study

Historical research in education differs from experimental research in that the historian is involved in *discovering* data as opposed to *generating* it. For the past five years, I have been involved in a complex—and at times frustrating—search for policy documentation regarding the education of culturally diverse learners. Due to insufficient staff and funding at the British Columbia Archives, most of the files that I accessed were designated as "unclassified" and "restricted," and required clearance through Freedom of Information. In addition, all unclassified material was stored without finding aids or content lists. I sifted through hundreds of boxes of material—some of which contained nothing at all of relevance to my research. I was frustrated to learn that a number of files pertaining to culturally diverse learners had been destroyed as they were deemed to be of no interest. Furthermore, I was surprised to discover that much of what I needed to see was not in educational archives, but in the records of the B.C. Ministry of Human Resources, Ministry of Provincial Secretary, B.C. Ministry of Travel and Tourism, Culture and Recreation. Just as I was completing my excavation through boxes of materials from one source, a single memo or comment in a letter would send me on a chase in an entirely new direction. As I worked I imagined myself opening wooden Russian dolls, each complex in itself, yet yielding another no less detailed inside. I believe that I have exhausted every possible avenue in my data search; however, I fully anticipate that future researchers will add to and improve the details of this narrative.

Notes

¹ Debates of the House of Commons, 8 October 1971, 8545.

² See J. Friesen, "The Last Decade, the Next Decade," Multicultural Education Journal, 10 (1992): 2; M. McAndrew, "Ethnicity, Multiculturalism, and Multicultural Education in Canada," in Social Change and Education in Canada, 3rd ed., edited by R. Ghosh (Toronto: Harcourt, Brace Canada, 1995), 165-177; K.

McLeod, Multiculturalism and Multicultural Education in Canada: Human Rights Education, in Beyond Multicultural Education, edited by K.A. Moodley (Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1992); V. Masemann & J. Cummins, Education and Cultural and Linguistic Pluralism: Country Surveys: Canada (Ottawa: Multiculturalism Canada, 1985). Moodley, Beyond Multicultural Education, 1992.

³ In education, policy discourse generally refers to all communications regarding policy development and implementation. It refers to both verbal discussions and written communications, including academic literature.

⁴ Debates of the House of Commons, 8 October 1971, 8546.

⁵ This definition is based on the glossary in Celebrating the Mosaic: A Handbook and Guide to Resources for Multicultural Education, 2nd ed., edited by the Consortium on Diversity in Education (Victoria: B.C. Ministry Responsible for Multiculturalism and Immigration, 1997), 37.

⁶ For a discussion of the 1977 Act, see L.W. Downey, "The Aid-to-Independent-Schools Movement in British Columbia," in Schools in the West: Essays in Canadian Educational History, edited by N.M. Sheehan, J. D. Wilson and D.C. Jones (Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1986). For colonial discussions of religion in schools see also Vincent J. McNally, The Lord's Distant Vineyard: A History of Oblates and the Catholic Community in British Columbia (Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta Press, 2000).

⁷ See P.S. Li, Race and Ethnic Relations in Canada, 2nd ed. (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 1999), 4.

⁸ See Consortium on Diversity in Education, Celebrating the Mosaic, 1997, 39.

⁹ See, for example, W. P. Ward, "Class and Race in the Social Structure of British Columbia, 1870-1939," BC Studies, 45 (Spring 1980): 17-35; W.P. Ward, White Canada Forever, 2nd ed., (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990) and T.J. Stanley, "White Supremacy, Chinese Schooling and School Segregation in Victoria: The Case of the Chinese Students' Strike, 1922-1923," Historical Studies in Education, 2 (1990): 287-305.

¹⁰ See Human Rights Commission of British Columbia, 1981 Annual Report (Victoria: B.C. Human Rights Commission, 1981), 33.

¹¹ This is a very narrow definition of racism which does not include more subtle forms which continue to exist today. Nevertheless, I have chosen this "working" definition since it was the "norm" at the time of Smith's announcement. Furthermore, the notion of "denial" of services is also inherent in the School Act.

¹² See L. Downey, Policy Analysis in Education (Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1988), 10.

¹³ Province of B.C., Ministry of Education, Education: A Report from the Minister, (Victoria: Province of B.C., 1981), 2. See also Debates of the Legislative Assembly, 26 June 1981, 6453. Smith's report also promised increased support for natives and for French instruction. Unfortunately, at the time of writing this dissertation the records from Smith's Tour (dubbed the "Apple Tour") had not yet been archived. They belong to a set of materials dated 1980 to 1990, stored at the Ministry of Education until January 2001. It is unlikely that the files will be sorted or classified for many years due to staffing and funding shortages at the B.C. Archives (BCA, hereafter).

¹⁴ Province of B.C., Education: A Report from the Minister, 85.

¹⁵ A.C. Nicholls, A Guide to the School Act of British Columbia, 3rd ed., (Vancouver: The British Columbia School Trustees Association, 1984).

¹⁶ Nicholls, Guide, 6th ed., 17.

¹⁷ Nicholls, Guide, 7th ed., 157-164.

¹⁸ Nicholls, A Guide to School Legislation in British Columbia (Vancouver: The British Columbia School Trustees Association, 1995). Even more curious is that Nicholls' 1995 A Guide to Schools Legislation in B.C.—a volume meant to supersede previous guides—contains no mention at all of multicultural education.

¹⁹ Province of British Columbia, B.C. School Act 1989 (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1989).

²⁰ B.C. Ministry of Education, English Language Arts—K to 7 Integrated Resource Package (Victoria, Queen's Printer, 1996), 76. Interestingly, even IRPs in subject areas such as Mathematics, Applied Skills (such as Wood and Metal Working), Information Technology and Physical Education contain objectives pertaining to cultural diversity. See, for example, the Physical Education 8 to 10 IRP, pages 42 and 56.

²¹ B.C. Ministry of Education, Multicultural and Race Relations Education: Guidelines for School Districts—Draft (Victoria: B.C. Ministry of Education Website, www.bced.gov.bc.ca, 1994).

²² B.C. Ministry of Education, Policy Directions—A Response to the Sullivan Royal Commission of Education by the Government of B.C., (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1989), 23.

²³ Province of B.C. A Legacy for Learners—The Report of the Royal Commission on Education (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1988), 257-264.

²⁴ K.A. Moodley, "Multicultural Education in Canada: Historical Development and Current Status," in Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education, edited by J. Banks and C.M. Banks (New York: MacMillan Press, 1995), 806. Political scientist Ronald Manzer has also misinterpreted the intent of the Commission's comments on multicultural education. Public Schools and Political Ideas: Canadian Educational Policy in Historical Perspective (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 217. Manzer states that according to the Royal Commission report, schools in B.C. are "now expected to sustain and nourish cultural diversity." Manzer feels that the report's "concern to reconcile common education and social diversity is unusual in official policy studies of public education in the late 1980s and early 1990s." The source of these inaccuracies may be the B.C. Ministry of Education itself, which incorrectly paraphrased the Royal Commission report in its 1994 Guidelines for School Districts Regarding Multicultural and Race Relations Education - Draft. See the B.C. Ministry of Education website, www.bced.gov.bc.ca, where it states that the "concept of social justice is recognized in the 1988 report of the Royal Commission on Education which identified the need for the school system..."

²⁵ Province of B.C., Legacy for Learners, 8.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 8.

²⁷ Province of B.C., Briefs Submitted to the Royal Commission on Education, 1988, B.C. Archives (BCA) File GR1219.

²⁸ The tragic experiences of native children under the residential system are beginning to be documented in the historical and educational literature. See, for example, Indian Education in Canada, Vol. 1: The Legacy, edited by J. Barman, Y. Hebert and D. McCaskill (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986); J. Barman and M. Battiste, First Nations Education in Canada: The Circle Unfolds (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1995); C. Haig-Brown, Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School (Vancouver: Tillacum Library, 1988); E. Brian Titley, "Duncan Campbell Scott and Indian Education Policy," in An Imperfect Past: Education and Society in Canadian History, edited by J.D. Wilson (Vancouver: Centre for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction, University of British Columbia, 1984), 141-153.

²⁹ For reviews of the literature on the definitional debate over multicultural education see C. Sleeter and C. Grant, "An Analysis of Multicultural Education in the United States," Harvard Educational Review, vol. 57 (November 1987): 421-444 and H. Raptis and T. Fleming, "Unraveling Multicultural Education's Meanings: An Analysis of Core Assumptions Found in Academic Writings in Canada and the United States, 1981-1997," Journal of Educational Thought, 32 (August, 1998): 169-194.

³⁰ For theoretical conceptions of multiculturalism reflecting post-modern and critical theory, see B. Kanpol, Critical Pedagogy—An Introduction, (Westport, CO: Bergin and Garvey, 1994) and H. Giroux, Living Dangerously: Multiculturalism and the Politics of Difference, (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 1993).

³¹ See Downey, Policy Analysis in Education, 1988; A. Lieberman and M.W. McLaughlin, Policy Making in Education, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982); L. Pal, Interests of State - The Politics of Language, Multiculturalism and Feminism, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993); B. Salter and T. Tapper, Education, Politics and the State, (London, England: Grant McIntyre, 1981); J.T. Thompson, Policymaking in American Education: A Framework for Analysis, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1976) and M. Vinovskis, History and Educational Policymaking, (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1999).

³² Harold Silver advises that "policy analysts and policy makers have in a loose sense all become historians now, at least in the assumptions that they often make about the past. See Silver, "Policy Problems in Time," in Historical Perspectives on Educational Policy in Canada, edited by E.W. Ricker and B.A. Wood (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 1995), 32. For other contributions to this perspective, see E. W. Ricker, "Historians and the Study of Educational Policy: An Overview," in Historical Perspectives, 3-26; N. Stearns, "History and Public Policy," in Social Science and Public Policy: The Roles of Academic Disciplines in Policy Analysis, edited by G.J. McCall and G.H. Weber (New York: Associated Faculty Press, Inc., 1984), 91-128 and D.R. Warren, "A Past for the Present," History, Education, and Public Policy, edited by Warren (Berkeley, California: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1978), 1-20.

Educational historians Elizabeth Hansot and David Tyack offer three advantages of historical approaches to policy making. The first of these is the psychological distance afforded by historical analysis. The second is that longitudinal meta-analyses can help to clarify whether and why certain problems appear to merit attention at specific times in history. Finally, they believe that historical perspectives on schooling can return us to the ideal that "public education has served—and still can serve—a common good." Hansot and Tyack, "A Usable Past: Using History in Educational Policy," Policy Making in Education, in Eighty-first Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (Chicago, Ill: National Society for the Study of Education, 1982), p. 21.

³³ See Downey, Policy Analysis in Education, 1988 and Lieberman and McLaughlin, Policy Making in Education, 1982.

³⁴ B.C. College of Teachers, Policies of the B.C. College of Teachers, (Vancouver: B.C. College of Teachers, 1997).

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW:
MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Introduction

Discussions about “multicultural education” have recently become an integral part of academic and professional literatures in both Canada and the United States.¹ Despite a general intellectual climate within the educational community that favours the promotion of education that is “multicultural” in character, along with government policies and directives which mandate multicultural education programs, scholars in the field continue to debate what is meant by “multicultural education.”² Such debate prompts inquiry into three fundamental questions: How have Canadian and American scholars defined “multicultural education” in their writings since the literature on this topic took form? What social and educational beliefs or assumptions are reflected in the various definitions scholars have offered? And, what empirical research exists in support of these beliefs and definitions?

This analysis of multicultural education began with a comprehensive review of educational literature from 1966 to 2000 using five major indices—the Education Index, ERIC, the Readers’ Guide to Periodical Literature, Dissertation Abstracts International, and PsychLit. Each index was examined for its listings under a broad range of descriptors including “multicultural education,” “multiculturalism,” “pluralism,” “racism,” “intercultural education,” “minority education,” “multicultural policy,” “racism education,” “minority self-concept” and “ethnic self-concept.” Altogether, I found approximately 2900 writings, including books, articles, and chapters in books which dealt with multicultural education.³

Growth of scholarly interest in multicultural education can be readily evidenced in the numbers of writings that have appeared since the early 1970s. Although, the first mention of multicultural education in the academic literature is found in a paper presented

by University of Washington Professor James Banks in 1974,⁴ for the years 1971 to 1976, the term "multicultural education" was not a heading in the Education Index. However, there were references to a total of 175 writings under the headings of "intercultural" and "intergroup" education.⁵ In contrast, for the years 1991 to 1996, the Education Index recorded 798 publications on "multicultural education" under various subheadings, including activities, aims and objectives, teaching methods, and theories and principles. This suggests something in the order of a four-fold increase in scholarly and professional writing on multicultural education over a twenty-year period.

Scholars have likewise observed that, although many similarities may be found in the ways scholars in Canada and the United States define "multicultural education," the origins of interest in this topic differ considerably in Canada and the United States.⁶ Multiculturalism's beginnings in the United States, for example, have been traced generally to a post-World War II rise in ethnic nationalism in which marginalized minorities began to voice discontent with the cultural dominance of a largely white, middle-class, male social order.⁷

A more recent explanation of "multiculturalism" in the United States holds that its emergence was a social consequence of the civil rights movement and school desegregation policies.⁸ Because America's schools have long been portrayed as the nation's most influential social institutions, they have come under the gaze of social critics many of whom view them as structures in need of reform, especially for their alleged complicity in perpetuating the status quo, promoting the values of dominant and elite groups, and for enculturating children into pre-determined social roles.⁹ Since the landmark Supreme Court decision, Brown versus the Board of Education in 1954, public education has emerged as one of the most important arenas where the struggle to free oppressed minorities has been contested.¹⁰

James Banks traces the origins of multicultural education in the United States to various academic writers who can be characterized after 1970 by their shared "interests and

specializations in the history and culture of ethnic minority groups.”¹¹ Banks contends that this academic cohort, as opposed to politicians or social planners, was primarily responsible for initiating the multicultural education "movement." Because of such scholars' activities, legislators and social planners have been obliged to include multicultural perspectives in social studies courses that traditionally have provided Eurocentric explanations about the development of American society.

In contrast, Canadian national consciousness about multiculturalism has been traced to October 8, 1971, when Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau declared that “a policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework commends itself to the government as the most suitable means of assuring the cultural freedom of Canadians.”¹² For example, Marie McAndrew has argued that, following passage of the Official Languages Act and the social upheaval attendant with the “October crisis” of 1970, Canada’s multiculturalism policy developed principally as a social and political measure to promote Canadian unity.¹³ Since then, multiculturalism has become an important characteristic of national identity and Canadians have come to regard themselves as a multicultural society within an officially bilingual nation. Canadian educational researcher and multicultural theorist John Friesen has suggested that, since 1971, Canadian educators have been left to work out the logistics of making “multiculturalism an attainable educational objective.”¹⁴

Dissimilar origins notwithstanding, academic writers in Canada and the United States have pursued similar goals for multicultural education since the early 1970s. In both countries, many articles, books, monographs and state, provincial, and local school district policies, as well as professionally-developed teaching guides and materials have argued strenuously for implementation of multicultural education.¹⁵ Professional councils influential in guiding educational practice in both countries—such as the American National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education in the United States or, at the provincial level in Canada, the British Columbia College of Teachers—have also mandated that teacher preparation programs provide instruction in multicultural education.¹⁶

Divisions within the literature

Canadian and American academic writings on this topic may be generally classified under six broad headings: 1) program descriptions; 2) resource material for teachers and other multicultural workers; 3) theories, philosophy, principles and aims; 4) policies and policy discussions; 5) commentaries and discussions, including historical perspectives; and 6) empirical research. The largest body of writings, some 48 per cent, were accounts of multicultural education programs, resource materials to support these programs, or accounts of multiculturalism's general development. About 25 per cent of the literature were writings that detailed various theories, principles and aims ascribed to multicultural education. A further 10 per cent consisted of commentaries on some aspect of multicultural education policies in state, provincial, or local jurisdictions. Only 11 per cent of the writings reviewed were empirical in nature, that is discussions based either on qualitative or quantitative research findings. Finally, it is significant that fewer than 6 per cent of the publications provide historical perspectives on cultural diversity and schooling. In short, the majority of publications appear to be largely philosophical and prescriptive in nature, based on what ought to be promoted in our schools rather than on systematic data collection and analysis of what problems exist and how solutions can be generated.

The foregoing categorization of the "multicultural education" literature in Canada and the United States generally reflects Sleeter and Grant's 1987 findings about American writings on multicultural education, notably that: the bulk of the literature consists of program and policy descriptions or philosophical and theoretical discussions; many writings do little more than advocate implementation of multicultural education; and, most writings on multicultural education are not generally grounded in qualitative or quantitative research. Altogether, the results of this literature analysis, as well as those reported by Sleeter and Grant, beg further investigation into exactly how multicultural education has been defined since the early 1980s, and to the core assumptions scholars commonly hold in their efforts to define the meaning and purpose of multicultural education.

Multicultural Education's Multiple Meanings

Over the past two decades scholars have applied various definitions to multicultural education. In the United States, for example, James Banks, who first used the term multicultural education, believes that it is too restrictive. He prefers "multiethnic" education which he distinguishes from "multicultural" education by stating that the former is

concerned with modifying the total school environment so that it is more reflective of the ethnic diversity within a society. This includes not only studying ethnic cultures and experiences but also making institutional changes within the school setting so that students from diverse ethnic groups receive *equal educational opportunities* [italics added] and the school promotes and encourages the concept of ethnic diversity.¹⁷

In Banks' view, "multiethnic education" transcends culture to encompass inequities with respect to gender and social class as well. Barry Kanpol's definition, also directed toward an American audience, applies Paolo Freire's and Henri Giroux's notions of critical pedagogy and postmodernism, arguing that the "multicultural movement has historically been (since the civil rights movement and the influx of so many immigrants into the United States beginning in the mid-1960s) a modernistic attempt at *equalizing educational opportunity*" [italics added].¹⁸ Kanpol believes that multicultural education is a means of offsetting educational inequities associated with school finance formulas in the United States, which have produced disparate opportunities for children in "have" and "have-not" districts. According to Kanpol:

the New York Times (February 12, 1992) reported that there are wealthy school districts, such as Amagansett, Long Island, where classes contain an average of sixteen pupils, and poorer districts, where classes can range up to forty and perhaps more students per class. ... One doesn't have to look hard in an inner-city school to notice the lack of computers and extracurricular materials as well as see the appalling physical condition of the classrooms.¹⁹

In addition to the notion of equalization is multicultural education's purported promotion of tolerance. Canadian researcher Reva Joshée has argued for *tolerance* of diverse races and ethnicities by claiming that multicultural education's "goal is a society which encourages the retention and development of meaningful *ethnocultural identities*

[italics added] within a shared culture.”²⁰ American educational theorist Peter McLaren similarly argues that “one of the surreptitious perversions of democracy has been the manner in which citizens have been invited to empty themselves of all racial or ethnic identity so that, presumably, they will all stand naked before the law.”²¹ He advises that multicultural education needs to combat this “cultural stripping” since “one’s *identity* [italics added], whether as black, white or Latino, has to do with the discovery of one’s *ethnicity* [italics added].”²²

Alongside notions about equalizing educational opportunity, increasing racial tolerance, and developing minority identities stands the idea of *social empowerment* for all students. Canadian scholar Stan Shapson adopts C. Michalski's definition as follows:

It is an education in which the individual child of whatever origin finds not mere acceptance or tolerance but respect and understanding ... in which cultural diversity is seen and used as a valuable resource to enrich the lives of all ... in which *every child has the chance to benefit* [italics added] from the cultural heritage of others as well as his or her own.²³

Other Canadian theorists such as Ian Wright and Jerrold Coombs, as well as Americans such as Nicholas Appleton, also advocate multicultural education for reasons of social justice and the betterment of all students.²⁴

Still other writers have attempted to sidestep definitional problems by framing multicultural education in broader and more comprehensive terms. Canada’s Ratna Ghosh replies to the question “What is multiculturalism?” by stating that “in recent times it has been misconstrued as political correctness. It stands for a wide range of social ideas and practices and its meaning is still evolving. As such it is a dynamic concept—to fix its meaning would be to delimit its possibilities.”²⁵ Unfortunately, Ghosh seemingly contradicts this position in following paragraphs by claiming that “multicultural education programs are an attempt at reducing the *school performance achievement gap* [italics added] between the dominant group and minority ethno-cultural groups,” a goal likewise endorsed by Americans such as Donna Gollnick and Peter Chinn.²⁶

But elsewhere Ghosh expands multicultural education's objectives by adding that multicultural education “involves the notions of voice and representation, *identity* and *empowerment of all students* [italics added], male and female, and not only students of ethno-cultural groups.”²⁷ In reference to Canada's ethnic composition, Ghosh further suggests that multicultural education “should enable us to express differences” among social groups.²⁸

Taken as a whole, such statements illustrate a marked lack of agreement in the ways North American scholars have defined multicultural education. Moreover, the definitional differences that exist between the two countries cannot be attributed simply to the geographic or historical contexts in which the scholarship was produced: similarities and differences exist both among and between American and Canadian scholars and appear to be more matters of conceptual disagreement than reflections of cultural and political differences between the two nations.

Lack of definitional consensus has obvious and important implications far beyond the realm of academic debate. In particular, it poses formidable problems for those charged with formulating educational policy in provincial and state departments of education, in local school districts, and in classrooms where, daily, teachers encounter the task of translating an array of competing multicultural education objectives into learning outcomes for youngsters.

Foundational Ideas in the Literature

What, then, are the ideas that appear to be foundational to writings on multicultural education by Canadian and American scholars? Analysis of theoretical and philosophical writings reviewed in this chapter suggest that five different social beliefs or assumptions are commonly embodied in definitions of multicultural education that scholars have set out. These include: 1) equalizing opportunities for minority learners; 2) increasing racial tolerance; 3) developing self-identity in minority learners; 4) reducing differential academic achievements among different ethnic groups and, finally, 5) socially empowering all

learners, ethnic and non-ethnic alike. A key question that arises from these beliefs is: To what extent do empirical studies support the assumptions embodied by current conceptions of multicultural education? The next section of this chapter examines the empirical literature in an attempt to answer this question.

Research Findings

Multicultural education and inequity

The first key assumption embodied in the definitions above holds that multicultural education has the potential to ameliorate unequal educational opportunities. Barry Kanpol, for example, points to vast differences in class size and learning resources between “inner city” schools and wealthy suburban districts and calls for greater social and fiscal equality in educational funding.²⁹ Even allowing, as Kanpol argues, that inequities in educational opportunity are attributable to inequities in school finance, the question of how multicultural education—which advocates learning about other cultures—could possibly address inequitable funding formulas remains unanswered. Rather than calling for political action to change discriminatory funding practices, some critical theorists appear content with less direct courses of action. Kanpol, for example, advises teachers to “plant the seeds of critical thought in students” and to model democratic practices in classrooms by “writing class rules cooperatively” and negotiating “various forms of testing and exams.”³⁰

Others are considerably less optimistic that academic appeals for greater critical discourse can precipitate real social change. Social critic Robert Young, for example, argues:

the notion that either deconstructive writings or argumentative dialogue can have real political effect has been heavily parasitic on the linguistic turn in social theory and on the idea that social reality is dialogically constructed. It has also been parasitic on an inflated estimation of the significance for social change of intellectual discourse and of what might be called the ‘theoretic’ layer in social structure.³¹

Multicultural Education and Tolerance

A second assumption commonly embedded in definitions of multicultural education holds that multicultural education programs will assist society in becoming more *tolerant* of cultural and ethnic diversity. Within Canadian, American, and British educational circles, in fact, early academic emphasis on cultural diversity has recently given way to an “anti-racism” emphasis.³² Claims persist, in Canada for example, that despite over 25 years of federally-mandated multiculturalism, racism continues to increase.³³ Whether these claims can be confirmed in social data which enumerate incidents of racist behaviour remains an open question.

Much of the difficulty in this regard is the fact that government bureaus and professional organizations do not keep statistics on incidents of racism in schools. Despite a stated commitment to anti-racism initiatives, the B. C. Ministry of Education, for example, does not keep such statistics.³⁴ Nor do teachers’ associations such as the B.C. Teachers’ Federation, even though the Federation publishes materials and teaching guides which aim “to identify and eliminate racism, both overt and institutional, in education.”³⁵ Inquiries to individual school districts reveal similar findings: data on incidents of racism are not maintained.

Nor, indeed, is there much descriptive evidence upon which to assess the efficacy of existing racism education programs in Canada or elsewhere—and what evidence exists has yielded contradictory findings. Canadian researcher Joel Klein, for example, reported that a three-month course on multiculturalism yielded no significant differences in students’ attitudes and, in fact, that ethnic minority students in the class became less tolerant than they were at the start of the course.³⁶ In 1994, a B. C. Teachers’ Federation Task Force on Violence in schools concluded that “about 44 per cent of teachers overall *believe* [italics added] that racism plays a role in the violence that occurs at school.” However, of the roughly 64 per cent of teachers surveyed who had witnessed violent incidents at school, only about 12 per cent reported that the incidents could be attributed to racist/sexist graffiti (other forms of racism were not listed). Moreover, only 4 per cent of teachers who

responded cited “immigration” as a possible reason for increased violence.³⁷ Such statistics do not argue strenuously that racism or ethnicity are factors closely associated with school violence, even in cities such as Vancouver where significant changes in the city's ethnic composition may have produced new racial tensions in recent decades.

Nevertheless, other writers, notably Allister Cumming, Ron MacKay, and Alfred Sakyi, Denise Finazzo, Audrey Lawrence, Allan Melenchuk, Ogochukwu Okoye-Johnson and Anthony Xidis, assert that some positive effects may be found in students exposed to multicultural and anti-racist curricula.³⁸ Such claims, however, should be viewed with caution. For example, Melenchuk's 1989 study does not substantiate a claim of positive effects with any form of empirical data. Furthermore, Okoye-Johnson found intervention to be more effective with 9 to 16 year olds than with children aged 3 to 8.³⁹

Cumming, MacKay and Sakyi also report overall beneficial effects on students who participated in a Canadian exchange program for multicultural, anti-racist education. Their reported benefits, however, deserve closer scrutiny for several reasons. Students who participated in the exchange program were all highly-motivated volunteers, who may have been tolerant and open-minded before taking part in the program. Further, changes in students' pre- and post-program self-ratings proved to be only significant in areas of leadership skills ($p=.007$) and interest in other cultures ($p=.045$). No significant differences were found for ratings of their skills and knowledge on valuing another culture, increasing equality in school, dealing with prejudice and discrimination, applying leadership to the community and addressing prejudice and discrimination in the community.

In addition, in discussing perceived impacts by parents and other teachers, Cumming, MacKay and Sakyi reported that only 38 per cent of parents responded to the 98 mailed-out surveys. Although this number appears insufficient for drawing reliable conclusions, the authors reported that 92.9 per cent (of the 38 per cent of respondents) *felt* that the “program had resulted in more knowledge of other cultures,” 50 per cent *felt* that it had resulted in “improved communication with community groups” and 47.6 per cent

thought that it had led to the “reduction of racism and other kinds of prejudice.”⁴⁰ Given the low response rate (38 per cent of 98), these percentages correspond respectively to the perceptions of only 34, 18 and 17 respondents. Such low figures—based on parental *perceptions*—bring into question the validity and reliability of this study.

Elsewhere, in a critical examination of anti-racist education, Earl Mansfield and John Kehoe challenge the conventional concept of “racism” as ill-conceived because of its reductive nature, which usually centres on stereotypical portrayals of “blacks” as victims and “whites” as oppressors. Mansfield and Kehoe insist that large-scale incidents of violence and oppression in countries such as Bosnia, for instance, are based more on differences in cultural identity and nationalism than on race. They also note that although a few positive results have been reported from studies of anti-racist education programs, many report no change, and in others outcomes have been counterproductive.⁴¹ Some researchers even question the effectiveness of any form of educational intervention. In summarizing her research on ethnicity and schooling, Kogila Moodley, for example, concluded that “noble attempts by dedicated teachers notwithstanding, ethnocentrism and racism reflect individual predispositions and social forces beyond the reach of conventional pedagogy.”⁴²

Can anti-racism/multicultural education bring about changes in students’ attitudes and result in societal reform? Research reviewed here suggests that the answer remains unknown. A more pressing problem is the obvious lack of descriptive information about racist incidents in B.C.’s schools. Without appropriate statistical data, researchers and practitioners can only guess at the nature and severity of racism as an educational issue. Until such documentation exists, advocacy of multicultural education as an antidote for racism will remain no more than a solution in search of a problem.

Multicultural Education and Self-identity

A third assumption running through the theoretical and philosophical literature is that multicultural education programs can promote positive self-identity in minority students who allegedly suffer from lower self-esteem than mainstream, white, Anglo-Saxon youngsters.⁴³ Despite the popularity of this view in multicultural education writings, it is not widely supported in recent research findings outlined below.

After an extensive review of research in 1988, S.O. Iheanacho cautioned that this assumption about multicultural education's effectiveness may be erroneous since it grew mainly out of American studies conducted during the 1950s and 1960s which commonly failed to control for the effects of socio-economic status on self-esteem. Contrary to conventional wisdom, Iheanacho surprisingly found that "more recent literature has consistently maintained that blacks have higher self-esteem than whites" even in cases where black students' academic abilities are lower than those of comparable white students.⁴⁴ Consequently, Iheanacho (1988) concluded that "culture does not significantly influence self-concept as does environment."⁴⁵

Analysis of research undertaken since 1988 shows that approximately 80 per cent of studies indicate that ethnic minority students do *not* suffer a lower sense of self-esteem than non-minority students.⁴⁶ Such findings have prompted several educational critics to accuse educators of depriving ethnic youngsters by focusing on issues of self-worth over academic rigour. As Kay Hymowitz puts it: "Instead of offering disadvantaged children an education that would promote social mobility within American society, they would indoctrinate—it's difficult to avoid this word—they with feelings of self-worth and a belief in pluralism for an imagined new world."⁴⁷

Admittedly, self-esteem is a difficult concept to measure. Alfie Kohn's 1994 critical review of relevant literature outlines three significant obstacles in this regard. Kohn first observes that many measurement scales rely on self-reported statements which "may tell us more about how someone wishes to appear than about his or her "true" state (assuming this

can ever be known).”⁴⁸ Second, Kohn suggests, it may not be possible to draw meaningful generalizations from research findings based on over 200 instruments for measuring self-esteem. Specific instruments, in fact, may be measuring only specific parts of a broader self-esteem construct and, therefore, may not be comparable to each other. Kohn notes finally that statistical results which connect the effects of self-esteem to other factors, such as academic achievement, are typically based on “correlations”—the idea that two phenomena co-exist. Even when positive correlations are determined, Kohn observes, “this offers absolutely no reason to think that higher self-esteem causes academic performance to go up (or that lower self-esteem causes it to go down).”⁴⁹

Given serious methodological difficulties confronting researchers in studying ethnicity and self-esteem, it is difficult to comprehend why some theorists promote multicultural education as a measure to improve self-esteem for minority learners when low self-esteem has not been convincingly demonstrated to be a problem, and when correlations between ethnicity and self-esteem are, at best, murky.

Multicultural education and underachievement

A fourth intellectual assumption found commonly in the literature holds that multicultural education can somehow counter the problem of academic underachievement that besets students from ethnic minority backgrounds. Although much discussion has surrounded high drop-out rates and academic underachievement among black, native and some Hispanic children in the United States⁵⁰—and among aboriginal children in Canada⁵¹—the literature analysis undertaken for this dissertation suggests that the academic underachievement of these and other minorities is grounded in only a small body of empirical research marked by contradictory findings.

Establishing a clear relationship between academic underachievement and ethnicity is problematic for several reasons. To begin with, concepts of race, culture and social class are generally intertwined and difficult to examine as subjects of individual study.⁵² Defining the term “minority ethnic group” is no less problematic. For example, it may be

erroneous to apply the same “ethnic minority” label equally to upper-middle-class immigrant students attending elite private schools, to inner-city Hispanic youngsters, or to children of North America’s colonized aboriginal population, long subjected to oppression and poverty. Research indicates that some minority groups, such as Jewish Canadians, have fared well academically.⁵³ Others, such as indigenous Canadians have not.⁵⁴ Confusing this further is Canadian evidence that shows immigrant populations to have higher levels of education and income than “average Canadians”.⁵⁵

This is not altogether a new finding. As early as the 1920s, for example, British Columbia educators reported on the good behaviour and the outstanding academic achievement of Japanese Canadians in provincial schools.⁵⁶ A recent province-wide assessment of communication skills in British Columbia, found that differences between native speakers of English and students for whom English is a second language (ESL) were “only significant in the case of syntax ... not in organization or fluency of ideas.”⁵⁷ The fact that data on global achievement levels classified according to ethnicity are not routinely collected by government or by individual school districts makes it difficult to assess relationships between cultural or linguistic status and academic achievement.⁵⁸

Minority learners are not monolithic. Not only do they differ in academic performance, but also in the cultural responses they make to their respective social environments. John Ogbu's research in the United States has led him to conclude that multicultural education programs may not necessarily “have an appreciable impact” on minority groups characterized historically by low performance in schools, and that “minority children do not fail in school because of mere cultural/language differences.”⁵⁹ Rather, Ogbu suggests that learners from families of “voluntary” immigrants—those who willingly accept and “add” the dominant culture to their own identity—tend to perform well academically in school settings. However, children from “involuntary” minorities, consisting of refugees and colonized peoples who resist the dominant culture and view it as a threat to their own cultural identity, do not seem to fare well by conventional measures of

school achievement. "Ethnicity," in summary, appears a complex idea to define, and one that has proven difficult to connect to assessments of academic underachievement in meaningful ways.

Multicultural education and social empowerment

One final social and educational assumption running through writings on multicultural education by Canadian and American academics implies that multicultural study contributes to the *social empowerment of all learners*.⁶⁰ This assertion has been generally presented in the literature without reference to research evidence of any kind. Typical of this view are comments by Nicholas Appleton who suggests that multicultural education programs can

help students conceptualize and aspire toward a vision of a better society and acquire the necessary knowledge, understanding, and skills to enable them to move society toward greater equality and freedom, the eradication of degrading poverty and dehumanizing dependency, and the development of meaningful identity for all people.⁶¹

Generally missing in such discussions are details about how multicultural education programs actually work to change specific learner behaviours or abilities. Missing also are careful definitions of what "empowerment" means. Nor can acknowledgment be found in such writings that attempts to measure "empowerment" may be subject to the difficult methodological problems that have confounded efforts to define self-esteem—or multicultural education itself.

Conclusion

Analysis of theoretical and philosophical writings found in the literature on multicultural education revealed five social and educational beliefs common to most discussions. These include notions that multicultural education can combat inequities in educational opportunity, reduce racism, improve low self-esteem, increase academic achievement among minority learners, and lead to the social empowerment of all students, from minority and non-minority backgrounds alike.

As matters stand, there is little compelling quantitative or qualitative evidence upon which to substantiate these five assumptions. Indeed, the vast majority of writings in the field are philosophical, with theorists prescribing what ought to be, rather than what exists. How, then, have these five assumptions become embedded in writings on multicultural education? Perhaps a new research agenda is in order that will move educational discussion away from prescriptive theorizing toward the collection and analysis of descriptive bodies of data derived from historical and school-based research. Until social and educational historians carry out careful analysis of how multicultural education has evolved over time, and how it is related to social traditions and contexts around it, discussions about its character and purpose will remain muddled. Moreover, without adequate historical perspective, it is impossible for writers or practitioners to identify multicultural education's true intellectual foundations, to discern ideas resting at the heart of this educational movement, or to determine the central ideas that should rightfully guide educational policies and their translation into school practices. By examining the historical development of multicultural education policies in B.C., this dissertation attempts to take a small step toward addressing such a new research agenda.

Notes

¹ See J. Banks, Multiethnic Education. Theory and Practice, 3rd. ed. (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1994); J.K. Bernhard, "Multiculturalism in Canadian Teacher Education: A Preliminary Survey" Multiculturalism, 14 (1992): 9-11; J. Friesen, "The Politics of Multiculturalism in the United States and Canada," Multicultural Education Journal, 11 (Spring, 1993): 2-8; R. Ghosh, "Social Change and Education in Canada," in Social Change and Education in Canada, 3rd ed., edited by R. Ghosh and E. Ray (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Canada, 1995), 3-15; H. Giroux, "Living Dangerously: Identity Politics and the New Cultural Racism," in Between Borders—Pedagogy and the Politics of Cultural Studies, edited by H. Giroux and P. McLaren (New York: Routledge, 1994), 29-55; D. Gollnick and P. Chinn, Multicultural Education in a Pluralistic Society, (Toronto: Maxwell Macmillan Canada, 1994); R. Joshée, "The Multicultural Future of Teachers in B.C.," Policy Explorations, 6 (Summer, 1992): 22-29; P. Marshall, "Misconceiving Multicultural Education," The Education Digest, (March, 1995): 57-60; C. Tator and F. Henry, Multicultural Education: Translating Policy into Practice, (Toronto: Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada, 1991).

² See for example, N. Appleton, Cultural Pluralism in Education, (New York: Longman, 1983); J. Banks, Multiethnic Education, 1994; J. Friesen, "Multicultural Education in Canada: From Vision to Treadmill," Multiculturalism, 14 (Spring, 1991): 5-11; R. Ghosh, "New Perspectives on Multiculturalism in Education," McGill Journal of Education, 30 (Fall, 1995): 231-238; R. Joshee, "The Multicultural Future

of Teachers in B.C.," 1992; C. Sleeter & C. Grant, "An Analysis of Multicultural Education in the United States," Harvard Educational Review, 57 (November 1987): 421-444.

³ Any duplicates across indices were counted only once.

⁴ J. Banks, "Multicultural Education: In Search of Definitions and Goals." Paper presented at the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, Institute on Cultural Pluralism. Chicago, Illinois, November 17-19, 1974.

⁵ There is evidence to suggest that the concepts of intercultural and intergroup education are actually the antecedents of contemporary multicultural education. The first mention of intergroup education in the academic literature can be found in the American Educational Research Association's Encyclopedia of Educational Research, Revised Edition, (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1950), 612. According to this account, the literature on intergroup—also referred to as intercultural—education, began during World War II and was "vast," "recent in origin, increasing rapidly, widely disseminated, moralistic and promotional, and above all badly confused in aims and practices. The main focus of this literature is on "democratic human relations," and "full citizen rights for all minority peoples." It was noted that research was considered only secondary to the major goal of 'indoctrination'."

Interestingly, according to the Encyclopedia's 3rd edition, published in 1960, intercultural education originated during World War I to address two conflicting philosophies: assimilation and cultural pluralism. American Educational Research Association, Encyclopedia of Educational Research, 3rd ed., (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1960), 718. During the 1940s the American Bureau for Intercultural Education produced a number of publications for use in public high schools. Workshops and teacher training in "human relations" were offered by the Bureau with support from the American National Conference of Christians and Jews (p. 720). Edition four of the Encyclopedia, published in 1969, made no mention of intergroup or intercultural education. The encyclopedia's first mention of multicultural education appears in the 5th edition, published in 1982. Although the aims and goals of multicultural and intercultural education are almost identical, this edition of the Encyclopedia states that multicultural education emerged in American education during the 1960s and "expanded significantly in the 1970s." H. E. Mitzel, ed. Encyclopedia of Educational Research, 5th ed., (New York: Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1982), 1267. The latest edition of the encyclopedia claims that "multicultural education" is of "recent vintage" having grown out of the civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s. M.C. Alkin, ed. Encyclopedia of Educational Research, 6th ed., (New York: Macmillan Co., 1992) 870.

The connection of intergroup and intercultural education to multicultural education merits further study.

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- ¹⁴ J. Friesen, "The Politics of Multiculturalism in the United States and Canada," Multicultural Education Journal, 11(Winter, 1993), 6. See also C.J. Jaenen, "Multiculturalism: An Historian's Perspective," in Multiculturalism: Perspectives and Reactions. Occasional Paper 86-1, (University of Alberta: Department of Educational Foundations, 1986), 4-17; S. Majhanovich, "Official and Heritage Languages in Canada: How Policies Translate into Practices", in Social Change and Education in Canada, 3rd ed., edited by R. Ghosh (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Canada, 1995), 84-101; S.M. Shapson, "Language Policy and the Education of Majority and Minority Language Students," Bilingualism and Multiculturalism in Canadian Education, (Vancouver: UBC Centre for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction, 1982), 2-10.
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CHAPTER 3
LITERATURE REVIEW:
MINORITY EDUCATION IN B.C., 1872-1945

Introduction

During the 1930s, Anthony Walsh tried to make the story of Christmas meaningful to his First Nations students in the Okanagan region of B.C. A cave was used for a manger, with owls and deer serving as oxen and donkeys. The mother and father knelt before the baby, who was on a papoose board. Walsh also encouraged the students to learn native tales from their parents and to relate them dramatically in class. The children made costumes, masks and elaborate settings for their plays. A few years later, a new teacher replaced Walsh and, finding the children's artwork to be sacrilegious, burnt it all.¹

From this example, one might reasonably conclude that, during the 1930s, the schooling of culturally diverse students in B.C. reflected the personal styles of individual teachers. Did the Ministry of Education have specific policies pertaining to the education of minority learners prior to its commitment to multicultural education in 1981? If so, what were they? The purpose of this chapter is to answer these questions by reviewing the literature on the history of minority group education in British Columbia. The literature is examined in two ways. First, this section presents a topographical description of the North American literature from 1966 to 1999 which deals with minority education and includes historical information as *background*, as a *main focus*, and as an aid to understanding *policy* formation. In addition to this topographical analysis, the historical literature on minority education in British Columbia is summarized in order to discern which provincial policies have dealt with minority education and what factors may have led to the establishment of these policies.

History as background

Various educational historians have noted the predominantly ahistorical nature of contemporary educational scholarship. In an extensive investigation of American public school reform, Stanford historians David Tyack and Larry Cuban argue that in the "rare occasions when reformers do discuss the history of schooling, they often portray the past in politicized, stylized ways as a golden age to be restored or a dismal legacy to be repudiated."² It is not surprising then, that only 6 per cent of the literature on cultural diversity and schooling is historical, despite the fact that both Canada and the United States have been culturally pluralistic since the time of their earliest settlement.³

Furthermore, within the literature which includes history as *background* information, there is little consensus about the historical trajectory of multicultural education. Working from an American perspective, Donna Gollnick and Philip Chinn claim that the current concept is not new, but is a new name for ideas that have existed since the 1920s, when educators and academics began addressing international and intercultural education. They believe that the ideas were fostered by the American Pacifist movement but lost favour amongst intellectuals due to social changes brought about by the Depression and World War II. They also argue that the topic resurfaced with desegregation and the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s.⁴

On the other hand, James Banks states that the

intergroup education movement [of the 1920s] is an important antecedent of the current multicultural education movement but is not an actual root of it. ... The first phase of multicultural education emerged when educators who had interests and specializations in the history and culture of ethnic minority groups initiated individual and institutional actions to incorporate the concepts, information, and theories from ethnic studies into the school and teacher-education curricula.⁵

In contrast, Edwina Vold argues that after World War II African-American soldiers returning to the United States were treated as second-class citizens and that this was not fitting for people who had risked their lives defending American democratic ideals. As a

result, the assertiveness of native and African-American groups began to rise, culminating with demands for equality in the 1960s.⁶

Many Canadian theorists link current initiatives in multicultural education to the 1971 federal policy on multiculturalism,⁷ while others connect the developments in British Columbia to the 1988 Royal Commission on Education.⁸ Outside North America, many educational theorists view increasing interest in the schooling of ethnic minority groups as resulting from large numbers of refugees displaced during the Second World War.⁹

History and policy

A review of the North American academic literature on policies of schooling and cultural diversity published between 1966 and 1999 reveals that only 3 per cent is historical. Within the works published in Canada, policy studies constitute only .6 per cent of the literature on the history of education.¹⁰ This is dismaying, given the strong case for historical approaches to policy study proposed by American historians such as Elisabeth Hansot, David Tyack, and British historian Harold Silver.¹¹ One of the few works which systematically examines educational policies regarding cultural diversity in North America is a chapter by R. K. Giles and Donna Gollnick on American federal and state legislation and policies.¹²

In Canada, there has been almost no work tracing the historical development of cultural diversity policies. An exception is Reva Joshee's doctoral dissertation completed at UBC in 1995. Joshee examined the role that Canadian federal policies played on cultural diversity and education from 1940 to 1971.¹³ Building on the research of historian N.F. Dreisziger and political scientist Leslie Pal,¹⁴ Joshee showed that the federal government played an important role in the education of culturally diverse learners and that this role began, unofficially, during the 1940s, not with the passing of the 1971 federal multicultural policy, as is commonly assumed.¹⁵

Important contributions to the development of educational policies can be found in historical perspectives on educational administration undertaken by Canadian historians

Thomas Fleming and Bruce Curtis, and by political scientist Ronald Manzer.¹⁶ The works of these scholars deal generally with developments in educational administration and not specifically with policies concerning the education of minority learners. Nevertheless, they are valuable in analyzing the administration of policies affecting minority language learners and will be dealt with in more depth in the following section.

History as main focus

Whereas the educational literature can generally be described as ahistorical, it is safe to state that historians have given minority schooling "relatively short shrift."¹⁷ Of the 853 publications on the history of education published from 1980 to 1999, only 4 per cent dealt with minority schooling in British Columbia.¹⁸ Prior to 1980 the number of historical publications dealing with minority schooling in B.C. was negligible. Notable exceptions include F. Henry Johnson's chapter on "Minority Problems" in his 1964 publication of *A History of Public Education in British Columbia*, George Hindle's chapter on the "Educational Problem in British Columbia" in his 1918 book on the *Educational System of British Columbia*, and UBC Professor Mary Ashworth's 1979 book *The Forces Which Shaped Them — A History of the Education of Minority Group Children in British Columbia*.¹⁹

What have these historians reported about the B.C. Department of Education with respect to the schooling of culturally diverse learners prior to 1945? In *A History of Public Education*, Johnson shows that although B.C. succeeded in establishing common schooling, the system did not reflect the plurality of the population and, in fact, met with some friction.²⁰ According to Johnson, prior to 1945 opposition to public education arose from Roman Catholics who ran independent schools and from the Doukhobors. Oddly, Johnson does not deal with incidents involving any other minority students.

The lack of historical scholarship on minority education is surprising, given the multiplicity of nationalities in the schools of B.C. When B.C. joined confederation in 1871, it boasted a population of just over 36,000, of which approximately 25,000 were

native peoples.²¹ Canada's population at this time had reached 3.6 million, with 27,773 new immigrants arriving that year. Writing from Trail, B.C. in 1918, educational historian George Hindle characterized Canada's pacific province as a veritable Tower of Babel.

In this nominally Canadian city of 3,500 inhabitants there are Russians, Poles, Chinese, Japanese and other nationalities too numerous to mention. Trail is by no means unique in the cosmopolitan character of its population. It is simply typical of the confusion of tongues that prevails in small as well as large communities throughout the province.²²

The task facing educators, Hindle wrote, was to "weld together the heterogeneous elements of which the population of the province is composed, giving them as far as possible common sentiments and ideals."²³ Defenders of common schooling wished to minimize cultural differences, perhaps in an attempt to avoid the perceived difficulties faced by governments in eastern Canada which dealt with separate school systems drawn mainly along religious and linguistic lines.²⁴

To the extent that they could, the educational authorities in B.C. did attempt to fuse their disparate charges, hoping to produce a homogeneous population, loyal to the British crown. One vehicle for unifying the heterogeneous groups was the textbooks prescribed for use in the public schools. According to school historian Harro Van Brummelen, from 1872 to 1925, textbooks in B.C. presented an idealization of life as a British colony. "Canada's future was to unfold within a well-defined framework based on a British, Christian heritage."²⁵ Van Brummelen points out, however, that this idealized vision of a unified society was divorced from reality, but understandable, given that educators were faced with a limited choice of books, an unsettled territory marked by poor communication and transportation, threats of American annexation and a pluralistic population with no common notion of a national identity.

Between 1901 and 1945, several incidents involving Japanese, Chinese and Doukhobor students forced the province to acknowledge its pluralism and to develop policies to deal with these conflicts. While several post-1970s historians have focused separately on the group experiences of the Chinese, the Doukhobors and the Japanese²⁶

Mary Ashworth's *The Forces Which Shaped Them* deals with all three, in addition to natives and East Indians. In the book's introduction, Rosemary Brown, MLA, writes that:

The "assimilation" that governments and bureaucrats ruthlessly sought to impose on Doukhobor and Native Indian children was as vigorously withheld from Chinese, Japanese and East Indian children. ... The response of the British Columbia government was to disenfranchise [the latter], to attempt to bar their children from school or to force them into segregated schools, and to deny them access to any but the most menial and lowest paying areas of the labour market. To the Doukhobors and Native Indians, the response of the British Columbia government was to hound and harass the parents, to compel the children to attend school, and to embark on a ruthless and calculated attempt to erode their language and destroy their culture. These policies may appear contradictory to us today but in every instance the government of the day was able to satisfy itself and the community that its actions were in the best interest of British Columbia—thus is the nature of racism. ... [It is] a deliberate political policy legislated by elected representatives and implemented by bureaucrats.²⁷

Brown's accusations are not entirely accurate. For example, East Indian children in B.C. have never been barred from attending public schools. However, it is possible that Brown's misconceptions are based partly on Ashworth's book which includes incidents such as the *Komagatu Maru* under the discussion of discriminatory school practices to which East Indian children were subjected. Furthermore, Ashworth concludes that the children of minority groups have suffered physical and emotional abuse in B.C.'s schools due to their race or their parents' beliefs.²⁸ As the literature review in chapter 2 indicated, Brown and Ashworth are not alone in condemning how the authorities treated minority group children. Critics of public education across North America believe schools to be inequitable institutions that perpetuate the hegemony of the majority over minority learners.²⁹ This revisionist perspective clearly challenges an earlier view of public schooling that held schools to be instruments of social mobility.³⁰ Although revisionism has become well rooted in the academic literature, it is not entirely clear whether, in fact, racism and conflicting parental beliefs can explain the actions of the B.C. Department of Education in dealing with its minority learners from 1872 to 1945

The Chinese

One of the first incidents involving ethnic minority children presented itself in February 1901. White parents from Rock Bay Elementary School in Victoria petitioned the school board for a separate school for Chinese children because they were allegedly “unclean, untidy, depraved and illmannered, and had a demoralizing influence on the white children.”³¹ In response, Frank Eaton, Victoria’s school superintendent, surveyed the teachers. The teachers refuted the complaint and praised the children for their “good behavior and diligence.” Although several school trustees supported the establishment of a separate school, others opposed it. While debating the issue, Trustee Belyea stated that

Chinese children, under our existing law, have the same right to free education as children of any other race, and we, as elected trustees have no power and no right to take action on this petition. I believe, Mr. Chairman, that we must educate these Chinese children and teach them English. If our Anglo-Saxon civilization cannot stand before the effects of educating a hundred or so Chinese, then, Mr. Chairman, it is time this school board were abolished.³²

The trustees saw no reason to refer the matter to the legislature and turned down the parents’ request.

Thwarted but not defeated by the Board’s decision, the parents’ group sought support for their efforts from the Trades and Labour Council—an organization renowned for its opposition to Oriental immigrants, whom it viewed as strikebreakers working for low wages.³³ The Council took up the petitioners’ cause and met with the school trustees in March 1902, requesting separate facilities for the Chinese children. Using the argument that it would alleviate overcrowding—which had become a serious problem—the Council urged the establishment of one ungraded class in a separate school.³⁴ Succumbing to added pressure, the trustees inquired about the legality of such a move from the provincial Education Office. The provincial authorities, in turn, informed the Board that while it had the power to set up an ungraded school, it could not be “based on creed, colour or nationality.”³⁵ Thus, the matter was dropped, temporarily.

When school resumed in September 1902, the issue—which had been simmering in the press—boiled over once again. The Labour Council convened a meeting on the 29th of

October at which time it was proposed that a new school district be established in Chinatown. This would sidestep the law prohibiting a segregated school building within the already established district. In response to the Labour Council's proposal, Victoria City Council resolved to establish a new district in Chinatown and then informed the board of its decision. Again, Superintendent Eaton surveyed his teachers regarding the claims against their Chinese students. As in the previous year, the teachers commented favourably on the youngsters' presence and added that, even the students' lack of fluency in English was not disruptive or problematic to the well-being of other learners.³⁶ However, faced with the prospect of establishing a new school district, the board appeased city council by placing "fifteen junior Chinese pupils in a separate classroom in Rock Bay Elementary School when the new school term began in January 1903, and consigned a few senior Chinese children to other public schools to study with white children."³⁷

By 1907, the year of the "Vancouver Riot" and a North American-wide economic recession, the Victoria School Board complained to the Minister of Education that Asian boys were not "genuine" students, but were only attending school in order to recoup their payment of a \$500 immigration head tax for which *bona fide* students were entitled to reimbursement.³⁸ Many pupils were overaged but placed in junior classes due to their limited English language abilities. Parents thereupon requested that the board bar such "frauds" since they exacerbated the already serious problem of overcrowding. Similar arguments arose in Vancouver. However, as in Victoria, Vancouver school authorities continued to maintain that Asian children were "model pupils and exceedingly apt," "well dressed and cleanly," and gave "practically no trouble to the teaching staff."³⁹

The Victoria School Board asked the province's Education Office to request that Ottawa eliminate the student refund clause from the Immigration Act. Ottawa's replied to B.C. that pupils were entitled to their refund and that the \$258,000 in head tax money transferred to the province in 1903, alone, should be sufficient to defray their schooling costs. The Victoria School Board was stymied only temporarily by this ruling. By 1908,

the board ruled that only native-born Chinese children would be issued permits to attend public schools. The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Society in Victoria immediately responded by placing China-born children in a privately run school and planning for the construction of a larger, all-Chinese school.⁴⁰ The Benevolent Society, as well as Asian parents, continued to fight the ruling.

By the summer of 1908, the Board had found its trump card: it ruled that China-born children could attend public schools if they were able to pass an English examination that would put them on equal linguistic footing with native-born children.⁴¹ This ruling met with general public approval, despite the fact that the educational authorities had repeatedly stated that the language skills of Chinese students in no way compromised the progress of the other English-speaking children.

Debate over the segregation of Asian students in Victoria continued for a number of years, rising and falling depending on the number of students and the general socio-economic conditions. Many Asian-born students spent their first few years in separate classes in which, it was argued, their skills in English would become better developed.⁴² Interestingly, whereas the local board could not win its argument on the basis of the children's race, alleged uncleanness or detriment to other learners, it was able to segregate them by changing the debate to one of concern for the Chinese children. That is, the rhetoric changed from addressing the needs of the non-Chinese to addressing the needs of the Chinese students in order to provide them with "special instruction to fit them for the higher grades."⁴³

Following World War I, life in B.C., as in other parts of the western world, was turbulent. A sluggish economy, anti-foreigner sentiments, the growth of cities, the spread of labour unrest and the increasingly specialized and "scientific" management of society were all factors that reshaped the character of provincial life. Within this unstable social context opposition mounted as Chinese grocers moved out of Oriental sections of town and into white neighbourhoods, where their longer hours and more attractive stores became the

envy of white merchants.⁴⁴ Since the Victoria resolution to segregate junior students until their English skills were up to par, the presence of Chinese students in schools had not been disputed. The controversy resurfaced, however, in January, 1922, when Municipal Inspector George H. Deane of Victoria complained to the board that “[t]here is a danger in these Chinese boys, many of whom cannot speak English, coming from their unsanitary living quarters downtown and mixing with other children with no attempt at segregation.”⁴⁵

When the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association presented the Board with a statement from the city’s health officer attesting to the satisfactory sanitary conditions of the Chinese children’s homes, the board changed its tune and, once again, focused on the students’ language skills, insisting that their presence “retarded the progress of the white pupils.”⁴⁶ Riding on the wave of “age-grade retardation” rhetoric that had begun to flourish in an increasingly efficiency-conscious educational community, the board won its argument to segregate Chinese youngsters from other children. Under Section 46 of the Public Schools Act, school boards could separate children for “educational” purposes. Chinese parents fought these proposals by pointing out that “special classes” for primary children had actually slowed their mastery of English. They boycotted the segregated schools. Nevertheless, a growing nativist backlash, an increasing preoccupation with English fluency—possibly brought on by the First World War⁴⁷—and an educational trend to assess and stream children based on I.Q. scores, all served to disfavour Chinese children. The passing of the exclusionary 1923 Chinese Immigration Act added fuel to the debate.

In the early 1900s the Department of Education had blocked the board, insisting that the schools were non-sectarian and non-racial. Throughout this “second round” of debates over segregation, the Department can be described as “conspicuous by its absence.” It is difficult to plumb the exact motives of the provincial authorities, whose silence appears to indicate that their position had changed.

What reasons have historians attributed for the anti-Chinese sentiments manifested in B.C. during this time? According to University of Ottawa historian Tim Stanley, “[b]y

1925, British Columbia..., had been made into a White supremacist society" with state schooling acting as "one of the chief vehicles for indoctrinating the population of the province in supremacist ideology."⁴⁸ Although not entirely accurate, Stanley states that "Asians for their part were usually segregated within the provincial school system,"⁴⁹ due to the political and social system predicated on the supposed existence and natural dominance of a white "race."⁵⁰

Similarly historian Peter Ward argues that "racism in British Columbia was fundamentally a problem in the social psychology of race relations."⁵¹ Ward has argued that to understand the anti-Asian sentiments of the people of B.C., one needs to look at the pluralistic, segmented nature of the province's society. Pluralism, Ward claims, brought the peoples' awareness of race to the fore and led them to long for an idealized "somatic norm image" founded specifically upon whiteness. Since B.C. was a newly developed society in the early twentieth century, non-Asian people lived in fear that the racially homogeneous society they dreamed of building would never come to pass.⁵²

It has also been argued that opposition to the Chinese was "to a large extent class-based,"⁵³ showing that early opposition to Asians stemmed from labour unions who opposed the low wages for which Chinese labourers were willing to work. University of Victoria's social and political historian Patricia Roy, has demonstrated that B.C.'s opposition to Asians varied over time, with labour organizations voicing the most opposition in the late nineteenth century but with employers and other capitalists joining the anti-Asian chorus by the early twentieth century.⁵⁴ Roy indicates that by the late 1930s, with Chinese immigration essentially at a standstill, opposition came to focus on the Japanese—whose green grocer business licenses had grown in Vancouver from none in 1927 to 21 in 1937.⁵⁵

However, Roy has maintained that "race, that is, in its narrow sense of skin colour and other visible physical characteristics, though present, had never been the sole source of [B.C.'s] antipathy to Asians."⁵⁶ Rather, the "campaign in favour of a 'white man's

province,' though blatantly racist in appearance, was, in fact, a catch phrase for a wide variety of concerns."⁵⁷ Roy attributes part of the province's anti-Asian fears to the fact that until the late 1940s, British Columbia was a fledgling society which lacked maturity and self-confidence socially, economically and politically. She also argues convincingly that Asians served as "pawns" in B.C.'s political game of "Fighting Ottawa."

Although race, class, politics, economics and social psychological tension may all describe the anti-Chinese motives of the B.C. populace, they do not entirely explain the motives of the provincial Department of Education and education officials. What might explain the actions of the provincial Department of Education which opposed segregation on racial or religious grounds, but tolerated it as a means of improving Chinese children's facility in English?

As the post-1918 western world moved from a rural, agriculturally-based society to an urban, industrialized one, faith in science and technology grew, as did a reliance on "scientific" methods to improve workplace efficiency which had begun early in the twentieth century.⁵⁸ Schools did not escape the scrutiny of a public which truly believed in the transformational abilities of science, industry and education. In 1920, B.C.'s provincial government established the Department of Education to manage an increasingly bureaucratic school system which reflected a society that was more and more devoted to producing an efficient and enlightened "democracy."⁵⁹ As early as 1917, the enormous growth of tests, scales, finance formulas, charts and other "school management" tools had led to the appearance of *Educational Research* as a distinct category in the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*.⁶⁰ By 1931, approximately 625 "school surveys" had been conducted across the U.S. measuring everything from the teaching of spelling to the purchase of school supplies.⁶¹

With both elementary and secondary school attendance rates climbing ever higher, education officials faced the dilemma of how best to organize the curriculum. Publication of *The Curriculum* by John Franklin Bobbitt in 1918 provided a scientific approach to

organizing students' learning. According to Bobbitt, curriculum analysis begins by observing man's activities, followed by the delineating habits, skills, values and knowledge that should constitute curricular "objectives." Finally, curriculum designers ought to identify what pupils "should do and experience to achieve the desired results."⁶² This utilitarian view of education as preparation for adult roles and occupations led to the expansion of the school curriculum from one that was largely academic to one that included practical subjects such as occupational training for boys and domestic science or home economics for girls.⁶³

In 1924, at the request of the B.C. Teachers' Federation—established in 1919—the provincial government commissioned J.H. Putman and G.M. Weir to undertake a survey of the B.C. school system. The resulting Putman-Weir Survey was "lengthy, comprehensive and strongly in favour of many new concepts in education," such as the promotion of scientific efficiency, practicality and vocationalism, and testing and measurement."⁶⁴ Reflecting the growing reliance on I.Q. testing at the time, Putman and Weir devoted an entire chapter of their report to "Retardation in the Elementary Schools," which they defined as "less than normal progress in the grades. A pupil is said to be retarded when he has arrived at a point in the school course which he should have reached at an earlier age."⁶⁵

Although I.Q. testing was developed in France by Alfred Binet in 1904, Binet did not view intelligence as a scaleable, unitary entity—such as height.⁶⁶ According to Stephen Jay Gould, biologist and science critic, "the hereditarian theory of I.Q. is a home-grown American product" which was to become the handmaiden of social planners, and in particular, of immigration officials during and after World War I.⁶⁷ According to Gould, the scientist who imported and first used Binet's scale was Goddard, who, in 1918, claimed to have tested random samples of immigrants at Ellis Island. These tests "proved" that 83 per cent of Jews, 80 per cent of Hungarians, 79 per cent of Italians and 87 per cent of Russians were "feeble-minded" and should be barred from immigrating to the U.S.

Although Goddard recanted his arguments in 1928, admitting that the tests were not actually administered and the data were fabricated, it was not possible to halt the forward march of the testing movement. By this time, testing had become a multimillion-dollar industry. Nevertheless, I.Q. testing was not only supported by those who stood to profit financially from test sales. With missionary-like zeal social planners sorted, labeled, excluded or promoted children all in the name of social improvement. In particular, administrators worried about school leavers that might “drift into the ranks of the anti-social or join the army of Bolshevik discontents.”⁶⁸ Given this social climate, it is not surprising to find that the first classes of Special Education were offered in B.C. during the 1917-1918 calendar year, with students’ “mental hygiene” receiving top priority.⁶⁹

In 1925, when Putman and Weir released their report, a substantial section of *Appendix I—The Testing Programme*, was devoted to analyzing the mental abilities of students according to their racial origin. Pages 506-509 dealt explicitly with the “mental capacity of the Japanese and Chinese pupils found in Vancouver public schools,” because I.Q. testing had revealed that “the Japanese are superior to the Chinese and both are greatly superior to the average white population.”⁷⁰ Putman and Weir advised that “from the political and economic standpoints the presence of an industrious, clever, and frugal alien group, capable, so far as mentality is concerned, of competing successfully with the native whites ... constitutes a problem which calls for the highest quality of statesmanship if it is to be solved satisfactorily.”⁷¹

Controversy over the perceived mental superiority of Asians began to rage within educational literature. Peter Sandiford, a psychologist from the University of Toronto who, with the assistance of Ruby Kerr and the staff of the Vancouver Psychological Clinic, had undertaken the testing programme for Putman and Weir, published the results in *The Journal of Educational Psychology* in 1926 and in *Queen's Quarterly* in 1927.⁷² In 1927, J.E. Brown, the Nova Scotian and strong-minded principal of the culturally-diverse Strathcona School in Vancouver addressed the Canadian-Japanese Association in order to

assure them that there was “by no means a racial problem arising in the matter of education.”⁷³ He told the Japanese parents that their children, while somewhat inferior in their knowledge of English at the beginning of their schooling, improved so quickly that there was “no great difference between these children and others who were born in an English-speaking family.” Brown added that they were “above average” in “ability, conduct, health, companionship and music.” Vancouver School Inspector H.H. MacKenzie added to the debate by stating in his annual report that, based on the results of standard intelligence tests administered that year, “our native-born, white children are inferior to none, of whatever race, creed, or colour. The men and women who forced the barriers of the Rocky Mountains were no morons, neither are their children nor their children’s children.”⁷⁴

That same year, Principal Brown engaged Robert Straight—a Vancouver school administrator who would later head the city’s Bureau of Measurements—in order to administer the National Intelligence Test and the Stanford Achievement Examination to the children in his elementary school. In 1928, he reported his findings in *B.C. Teacher*, the professional journal of the B.C. Teachers’ Federation. Unlike the non-verbal tests that Sandiford and Kerr had administered, Straight’s examinations required knowledge of the English language. Assessing everything including reading, arithmetic, reasoning, spelling, height, weight and overall age-grade retardation, Brown concluded “not that the Japanese children are inferior or superior to the white children in ability but that they are laboring under a distinctly greater handicap in learning the English language.”⁷⁵

This view that language impeded immigrant children co-existed with facts showing that they tended to fair well academically. The 1924 *Report of the Public Schools* held that “the children of foreign parents are usually retarded owing to their lack of familiarity with the English language.”⁷⁶ Yet, several pages later it recorded that the Governor-General’s high school examination medal was won by a student of Japanese heritage named Shuichi Enomoto in New Westminster.⁷⁷ But the genie was out of the bottle and concern over the

English language abilities of minority learners was to become a permanent feature of the educational landscape. In 1929 the B.C. summer school programme for teachers offered, for the first time, a course entitled "Teaching English to New Canadians." The course covered "problems which arise from the teaching of adults in night-schools" such as the "organization and selection of suitable subject-matter and special methods of instruction."⁷⁸ The following year, the course content was broadened to include the "methods and procedures that have proved most effective in teaching English to Japanese, Chinese, Doukhobor, and Indian children in the elementary schools," in an attempt to "secure suitable teachers for schools having a large proportion of non-English pupils."⁷⁹

From this analysis, it would be safe to suggest that the actions of the Department of Education with respect to Chinese students may have been motivated largely by ideology. That is, following the spirit of the original School Act the Department believed in one best system of *common schooling* regardless of race or religious creed. Yet, by the early 1920s, Department administrators had become influenced by the "efficiency" rhetoric that was becoming predominant in the educational literature. Administrators came to view non-English-speaking children as an impediment to the smooth functioning of the system and were willing to segregate them in order to maintain efficiency. However, they were not willing to relinquish completely their belief in a "one-size-fits-all" approach to schooling. Instead, segregation of Chinese children simply constituted one of the many accretive reforms that was appended to the public system as officials "tinkered toward Utopia."⁸⁰

Doukhobors

In 1911, B.C.'s Education Office was faced with another dispute surrounding the schooling of minority group children. Several members of the Doukhobor community in the Kootenays withdrew their children from school. This action came in response to the arrest of four Doukhobor men for their failure to register a death with provincial authorities.⁸¹ The Doukhobors had escaped persecution in Russia and settled first in Saskatchewan in 1898 and then in eastern B.C. in 1908. Pacifistic and believing only in the

authority of God, they refused to acknowledge state governments and state-run schools.⁸² They immigrated to Canada *en masse* through an arrangement between Clifford Sifton, Canadian Minister of the Interior and Leo Tolstoy, the celebrated Russian author who took up their plight.⁸³ Their pacifistic, communal way of life was ensured by a federal order-in-council in December, 1898. It guaranteed, in particular, their exemption from military service.⁸⁴

Even though parents withdrew their children from school in order to protest the government's demand that Doukhobors register births, deaths and marriages, they had other concerns regarding their children's schooling. Beginning with the termination of the Boer War in South Africa, schools throughout the British Empire had become increasingly militaristic. As early as 1905, B.C.'s Annual Report of the Public Schools reported that schools in the province had incorporated systematic instruction in drill, rifle shooting and other physical exercises aimed at improving discipline.⁸⁵ In 1910, the B.C. government entered into the Strathcona Trust agreement with the Dominion Government. In bequeathing the trust fund, Lord Strathcona wished 1) to improve the physical and intellectual capabilities of children in order to "inculcate habits of alertness, orderliness and prompt obedience" and 2) to develop patriotism, such that students would come to "realize that the first duty of a free citizen is to be prepared to defend his country."⁸⁶ These goals ran contrary to the pacifistic ideals of the Doukhobors.⁸⁷

In 1912, the provincial government ordered a royal commission to study all matters pertaining to the Doukhobor sect in B.C. In his final report, Commissioner W. Blakemore recommended moderation in dealing with formal schooling. He suggested that "some working arrangement might be made under which Russian teachers could be employed in conjunction with Canadian teachers and the curriculum modified so as to include only elementary subjects."⁸⁸ The report also included a letter from Beulah Clarke, a teacher at Brilliant. She wrote: "My 48 pupils always had clean hands and faces and were neat in their appearance. They were very well behaved, were always courteous and respectful and as far

as I could see had no bad habits.”⁸⁹ Clarke also noted that she had more than enough time upon which to observe the children since many of them arrived early in the morning and did not leave the school until well after dinner time.

Despite the recommendations of commissioner Blake, the provincial government passed the Community Regulation Act of 1914, which imposed school attendance, and the registration of vital statistics under the penalty of fines. Still, the community refused to send its children to school.⁹⁰ However, in 1915, Attorney-General William Bowser assured the Doukhobors that their children would be exempted from military drill and religious instruction. By 1916, the school at Brilliant was reopened and by 1922, there were two government-built schools and nine others built by the Doukhobors in the Kootenay area. From 1916 until the end of World War I, relations between provincial authorities and the Doukhobors remained somewhat harmonious.

The ideal of public schooling was tested again in 1922 when troubles arose within the Doukhobor community. In the early 1920s the Doukhobor community had also become ideologically split. On the one hand were moderates, who accepted public schooling in the areas where their children could retain their language, religion and beliefs. On the other, there had developed an increasingly oppositional faction, known as the Sons of Freedom, who later claimed responsibility for torching nine schools between 1923 and 1925 alone.⁹¹ Concerned over rising costs of schooling, the government had amended the Public Schools Act in 1920, enabling authorities to “force the Community to pay the full cost of the school, including the teacher’s salary” in the event that the school’s enrollment “declined unduly.”⁹² Thus, by 1922, provincial authorities began laying charges against parents who would not send their children to school. Parents refused to pay the fines brought against them and in April 1925, the B.C. Provincial Police and School Inspector P.H. Sheffield proceeded to seize community property. At this point the Doukhobor community paid the fines and sent their children to school.⁹³

During the summer of 1929, however, trouble erupted again. At least six schools, a warehouse and a flour mill were set on fire in opposition to government. In late August that year, Attorney-General Pooley of Simon Fraser Tolmie's newly-elected Conservatives announced his intention "to sequester a number of their younger children by proper court action under the Neglected Children's Act and place them under such bodies as Children's Aid societies for education."⁹⁴ Although all the children were released from custody shortly thereafter, controversy between government and the Freedomites would continue.

In 1931, the Dominion Government amended the Criminal Code to make public nudity an indictable offense with a maximum sentence of three years in jail.⁹⁵ This change was aimed directly at the Doukhobor Freedomites of B.C. who frequently stripped in public as a symbol of their innocence and opposition to government policy. In May and June 1932, approximately 600 Doukhobor men and women were jailed on Piers Island, north of the Saanich Peninsula on charges of vandalism, arson, bombings and nudity. The 365 children arrested with their parents were dispersed among orphanages, foster homes and industrial boarding schools. Educational reports of the "better progress" made in the schools of the Doukhobor community due to the imprisonment of the Freedomites masked a dismal reality far from the public gaze.⁹⁶ Retrospective accounts of the children's experiences indicate that although the younger children seem to have coped fairly well, older boys and girls were the victims of "unreasonably harsh and even cruel mistreatment."⁹⁷ As punishment for disobeying the authorities the Doukhobor children were "struck by straps and blackboard pointers on their hands, arms, shoulders, legs and heads. Girls who refused to pick up a pencil had it forced into their hands sometimes point first so that it penetrated the skin." One girl later told about seeing girls faint from abuse and recalled her own tears, as well.⁹⁸

By mid-1933, Doukhobor children were returned to their communities, scarred and embittered. Some scholars studying their experiences have attributed their harsh treatment to a "highly centralized education system run by an ultra-conservative government," which

prevented the community from exercising any control over the schools.⁹⁹ Researchers have also noted that, at that time, B.C. was the only province in Canada without provision “to accommodate the educational wishes of minorities.”¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, as McLaren has pointed out, it is unlikely the Doukhobors would have taken the initiative to establish and operate their own schools, given their fundamental opposition to the idea of formal schooling.¹⁰¹ Others have placed the blame on the Freedomites themselves who they have described as “zealous”¹⁰² and “militant.”¹⁰³

It is possible that the actions of provincial authorities simply reflected the social conditions and prevailing ideology of the time. Due to the Depression, nationwide immigration plummeted from 164,993 in 1929 to 11,643 in 1936¹⁰⁴ with some 28,000 people deported between 1930 and 1935. Opposition from society over an “unassimilable,” non-English-speaking *collectivity* fundamentally opposed to the authority of any nation-state may have been the by-product of economic Depression, and fears over labour group militancy fanned by Fascist and Communist ideologies. According to legal historian J.P. McLaren, “[i]n contention in this long-running dispute were two diametrically opposed views of the state, that of the Doukhobors which was highly critical and anarchic, and that of the dominant society which was accepting and instrumentalist.”¹⁰⁵

Indeed, by the mid-1930s anti-Communist rhetoric had permeated many aspects of life in B.C. In his 1935-36 annual report, school inspector F.A. Jewett, reported that Nelson area schools had made “no great progress” in “Canadianizing” the Doukhobors. Their persistence “in maintaining their identity as such and in resisting Canadian influence is as strong as ever ... For many generations they have followed a leader and think in *communistic* terms [italics added].”¹⁰⁶ Indeed, the authorities' perception of Doukhobors as a “communistic” collectivity posed a direct threat to the political and economic ideology which lay at the foundation of B.C.'s societal status quo. A question which merits further study, but is beyond the scope of this dissertation, is: What was the role—if any—of the

provincial Department of Education in dealing with Doukhobor education prior to World War II?

The Japanese

World War II helped to fan the flames of B.C.'s long-standing animosity against Japanese-Canadians. After the bombing of Pearl Harbour in December 1941, Canada officially declared war against Japan. By January 1942, anti-Japanese hysteria was sweeping the province. The Nanaimo City Council threatened to move independently against the Japanese "unless the Federal Government ordered them into custody."¹⁰⁷ Groups, such as the Native Sons voted in favour of the immediate internment of all people of Japanese ancestry and several chain letters were circulated with such slogans as "Help yourselves. Intern the Japs. Ottawa is a long way from the Coast."¹⁰⁸ These hostilities represented the culmination of years of anti-Japanese sentiments, mainly from commercial interests and labour groups in B.C., as well as the newly developed anxiety brought about by Japan's military victories early in the war.¹⁰⁹ In the face of severe popular pressure, the federal government moved the first 100 men of Japanese ancestry from coastal areas to work camps in the province's interior on February 24, 1942.¹¹⁰

At first there were to be no women or children and the men were assigned "to work on completing the Jasper-Prince George Highway, a road considered vital to British Columbia's defense."¹¹¹ However, over the next few months, events would unfold rapidly, culminating in the evacuation of some 23,000 people of Japanese descent from the coast of B.C. As a first step, a British Columbia Security Commission (BCSC) was established by the Dominion Government and was granted the power to remove any person of Japanese origin from his home. Next, Japanese evacuees from coastal points outside Greater Vancouver were transported to Hastings Exhibition Park in Vancouver before being sent to abandoned mining towns and other interior areas.¹¹² By war's end, their properties and belongings had been confiscated and sold below market value without their

consent or recompense. Some 6,000 Japanese Canadians were “repatriated” to Japan with most of the rest scattered throughout Canada. Few remained in B.C.

One of the most damaging results of the evacuation was on the children of Japanese ancestry. When the federal government announced the “evacuation,” school children of Japanese heritage totaled just over 5,000.¹¹³ They had earned themselves reputations as intelligent, hardworking, well-behaved, and of above-average ability—provided they had mastered the English language.¹¹⁴ Reports indicated that Japanese Canadians were active in every aspect of school life and that they mixed well with other children.¹¹⁵ Teachers spoke fondly of them and, in 1938, as anti-Japanese sentiments increased, the B.C. Teachers’ Federation defended them, condemning anti-Japanese policies as dangerous and un-Christian.¹¹⁶

When the evacuation was announced, teachers and administrators working closely with Japanese pupils sought to protect their academic status. In April 1942, A.R. MacNeill, Principal of Richmond High School sent a letter to S.J. Willis, provincial Superintendent of Education, stating his concern over the rumoured removal of the Japanese students. He inquired as to the proper procedures regarding students qualifying for university entrance and argued that if the students were evacuated they should be given correspondence courses free-of-charge for the remainder of the term to maintain their academic studies.¹¹⁷

Unfortunately, provincial authorities were not as supportive as educators within the system. The provincial government felt that because the evacuation was orchestrated by the federal government, the province was no longer accountable for educating children of Japanese ancestry.¹¹⁸ This was partly because many interior schools did not have the physical capacity to accommodate the Japanese children, although small numbers of children were “squeezed in” where possible.¹¹⁹ When the provincial government forfeited its responsibilities, Roman Catholic, Anglican and United Church groups stepped in to establish high school and kindergarten facilities.¹²⁰

Civil servants also appeared to be sympathetic to the Japanese evacuees.¹²¹ Initially, the BCSC agreed to educate only elementary pupils up to grade 8; "[h]igh school students were left to fend for themselves through correspondence courses—at their own expense."¹²² Yet a letter to High School Correspondence Branch Director Edith Lucas from School Superintendent S. J. Willis indicates that as early as April 1942, the BCSC was considering correspondence education for schooling high school students.¹²³ A newspaper article in the *Vancouver Daily Province* on June 15, 1942 confirms plans for correspondence courses to "be made available to high school students under supervisors, with regular hours of study."¹²⁴ By February 1943 Lucas and Cleo Booth of the BCSC's Department of Education corresponded at length regarding arrangements for end-of-year high school examinations for the evacuees.¹²⁵

In keeping with official government policy, the Correspondence Branch staff initially "refused to check children's answer papers, though it eventually provided one complete set of answers which the BCSC then mimeographed and distributed to its teachers."¹²⁶ However, letters between Anna Miller, Director of Elementary Correspondence and the BCSC indicate that by July 1942 marking support was provided for lessons in Literature, Language, Health, Social Studies, Grammar, and General Science, which the Branch sold to the BCSC.¹²⁷ Although on several occasions, Miller informed the evacuee supervisors that course materials and supplies could not be sent, this was usually due to supply shortages in the Branch.¹²⁸

Other educational administrators were also willing to lend assistance in the evacuees' education, although their aid appears somewhat limited by today's standards. In a letter to Miller in October 1942, the BCSC indicated that 2,418 elementary school students had benefited from Correspondence lessons at a total cost to the Commission of \$3,344.45.¹²⁹ On October 6, J.A. Tyrwhitt of the BCSC wrote to Miller asking for approximately 1,020 copies of *New Canadian Arithmetic*, Books I and II since these were no longer prescribed by the Ministry and were not available from the Textbook Branch.¹³⁰

Since Correspondence lessons were based on the old texts, Miller appealed to H. N. MacCorkindale, superintendent of the Vancouver Schools, to supply the Branch with any surplus copies.¹³¹ Nine days later superintendent MacCorkindale had provided Miller with 1,020 texts which were then sent on to the BCSC.¹³² Other assistance was extended to the evacuees by the faculty of the Vancouver Normal School who held annual Summer Schools at New Denver for the BCSC school teachers.¹³³

Nevertheless, these bits of archival evidence are not entirely contradictory, for the "official" provincial government policy was not to educate the evacuees and not to permit them to enroll in correspondence courses.¹³⁴ Clearly, the Department of Education was caught in a dilemma. Although the policy of the elected politicians was to deny any educational support for the evacuees—based possibly on a lack of resources, blatant racism or political games—educators such as Lucas, Miller and MacCorkindale saw fit to contravene the decrees of their political masters. In a letter to Dr. Lucas, Harry Shibuya, supervisor at Alpine Lodge, Cascade B.C. stated that Mr. J.A. Tyrwhitt of the Securities Commission had "acquainted" him with the effort Lucas had "exerted on behalf of the Canadians of Japanese parentage, in the matter of their education." He thanked her for her "sense of justice and fair-play" which she showed on "behalf of the unfortunate children of evacuees."¹³⁵

Despite the activities of the Correspondence Branch, the Department of Education remained generally silent on the issue with only a few parenthetical comments in school reports to explain decreasing enrollments after the evacuation.¹³⁶ By April 1946, the Security Commission had withdrawn its support from Japanese schooling and the last students had left the evacuation centres. Two years later, the question of how to integrate the Japanese who had not left the province was commented on by only one school official—the inspector for Slocan, Joe Chell.¹³⁷ Although Inspector Chell described the situation as a "severe strain" at Slocan City and New Denver, the Department made no other official comments.¹³⁸

It is unlikely that the Japanese-Canadian children would have been evacuated from the coast of B.C. and denied provincial schooling had Canada not been at war with Japan. Nevertheless, contrary to Rosemary Brown's contention that racism was a political policy implemented by educational bureaucrats, the Department's actions examined here do not appear to be motivated by racism.

Conclusion

Whereas educational literature has been described as predominantly ahistorical, historical literature has tended to give education short shrift. Only 6 per cent of North American literature on minority schooling undertaken between 1966 and 1999 is historical. On the other hand, only 4 per cent of Canadian historical literature published from 1980 to 1999 deals with minority schooling in B.C. Worse still, is the finding that less than 1 per cent of Canadian educational literature published from 1966 to 1999 is devoted to the history of policies affecting minority group learners. Despite the fact that several historians have suggested a greater role for historians, educational policy studies tend not to incorporate historical perspectives.

However, historical evidence appears to contradict B.C. MLA Rosemary Brown's conclusion that racism was "a deliberate political policy legislated by elected representatives and implemented by bureaucrats."¹³⁹ In the case of Chinese children, historians have clearly shown that the public—and some politicians—feared and opposed Asians for a variety of reasons, including class conflict, economic competition, race, social psychology, and political expedience. Nevertheless, the educational bureaucracy did not always follow the dictates of elected representatives or the public at large. The Department of Education refused to segregate China-born children based on the public's claims of delinquency, uncleanliness, creed, colour or nationality. Instead, it capitulated to political pressure only when the public argued for Chinese segregation on the basis of the China-born children's perceived deficiency in the English language. Segregation based on linguistic inadequacy sat well with an educational administration which, by the 1920s, had become cognizant of

efficiency principles underpinning public and business administration. According to historians of educational administration Roald Campbell, Thomas Fleming, Jackson Newell and John Bennion, the

business emphasis in school operations, and indeed the tendency of school leaders to emulate the administrative practices of industrialists and business people, helped produce a climate in which decisions about educational matters were, at times, made not always on the basis of pupil need or pedagogical value, but on the basis of cost and efficiency.¹⁴⁰

With respect to Doukhobor children, their parents' refusal to send them to school conflicted directly with the educational administration's efficient management of a public school system of which one of the main goals was to "weld together the heterogeneous elements" of the province. That is, the government viewed the Doukhobors as a challenge to the principles of what political scientist Ronald Manzer has referred to as political liberalism.

Manzer believes that political ideology is one of the key determinants of public policies—including school policies. As such, public schooling in Canada can be divided into several distinct eras, each reflecting the dominant political focus of the day. According to Manzer, the "emergence together of public schools, responsible legislatures, professional police, and custodial prisons in the period from the 1840s to the 1880s is not a coincidence."¹⁴¹ Indeed, public schools were initially promoted to provide "civic education" in order to maintain social order. Public order, according to political liberalism, is based on "representative government, the rule of law, individual responsibility, and retributive punishment."¹⁴²

By the turn of the century, Manzer asserts, the focus of the Canadian state had shifted from nation-building to industrial expansion. As a result, in addition to civic education, the public school mandate was enlarged to meet the demands of "economic liberalism;"—the needs of the "capitalist market economy comprising free, impersonal private markets in which work and rewards are allocated in response to individual

choice."¹⁴³ Based on the ideologies underpinning political and economic liberalism, B.C.'s dual public school mandate collided head-on with the Doukhobors, who lived collectively and believed only in the authority of God.

Prior to the World War II evacuation, Japanese students had earned reputations as model students. They were top academic achievers as well as integral parts of the social fabric of school life. It is unlikely that their education would have been so compromised had Canada not been at war with Japan. Nevertheless, this analysis has indicated that the actions of educators such as Lucas, Miller and MacCorkindale contrasted with the province's "official" policy established by elected politicians. This provides counter-evidence to Rosemary Brown's assertion that racism was an official political policy implemented by bureaucrats.

Yet, it was not only the Japanese-Canadians who were viewed admirably by educators who worked closest to them. Indeed, in the cases where educators were consulted, those who worked closely with *all* of the minority learners discussed in this chapter spoke fondly of them. The positive testimonials and actions of educators contrast markedly with the sentiments of the general public and some politicians. Thus, it is not entirely accurate to conflate the actions of public school administrators and educators with those of the public and politicians—as does Rosemary Brown.

Notes

¹ R. Mole, "Season's Greetings from British Columbia's past—Christmas celebrations in B.C. from the 1880s to the 1930s," Sound Heritage Series, No. 29, (Victoria: B.C. Ministry of Provincial Secretary and Government Services, 1980), 3. Walsh was born in England to an Irish father and an English mother. From 1930-1942 he operated the Inkameep Indian Day school and also worked with native children in Vernon and Oliver. Oddly, his life and successes with native children have been largely ignored by educational historians, although a collection of his life works is available at the B.C. Archives. For information on another teacher who worked successfully with native children, see Gerry Andrews, Métis Outpost: Memoirs of the First Schoolmaster at the Métis Settlement of Kelly Lake, B.C., 1923-1925, (Victoria, B.C.: Author) 1985. In particular, details of the activities and lessons Andrews undertook with his pupils can be found on pages 27, 35-36, 125 and 135.

² D. Tyack and L. Cuban, Tinkering Toward Utopia—A Century of Public School Reform, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1995), 6. See also T. Fleming, "Management by Consensus: Democratic Administration and Human Relations, 1929-1954," (Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Oregon, Oregon, 1982).

³ The literature reviewed in this section was generated from the Education Index and ERIC using the following descriptors: multicultural education, minority education, ethnic minorities, cultural minorities, minority group schooling, history, and policy.

⁴ D. Gollnick and P. Chinn, Multicultural Education in a Pluralistic Society, (Toronto: Maxwell Macmillan Canada, 1994).

⁵ Banks, "Multicultural Education: Historical Development, Dimensions and Practice", 1995, 10.

⁶ E. Vold, "The Evolution of Multicultural Education: a Socio-Political Perspective," in Multicultural Education—A Sourcebook, edited by P. Ramsey, E.B. Vold and L.R. Williams, (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1989), 6.

⁷ See for example J. Friesen, "Multicultural Education in Canada: From Vision to Treadmill." Multiculturalism, 14 (Winter, 1991): 5-11; J. Friesen, "The Politics of Multiculturalism in the United States and Canada," Multicultural Education Journal, 11. (Spring 1993): 2-8; M. McAndrew, "Ethnicity, Multiculturalism and Multicultural Education in Canada," 1995; K. McLeod, "Multiculturalism and Multicultural Education in Canada: Human Rights and Human Rights Education," 1992; V. Masemann and J. Cummins, Education and Linguistic Pluralism: Country Surveys: Canada—For the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1985; Moodley, "Multicultural Education in Canada: Historical Development and Current Status," 1995; L.W. Roberts and R.A. Clifton, "Should Education Focus on Multiculturalism?" in Crosscurrents—Contemporary Canadian Educational Issues, edited by L.W. Roberts and R.A. Clifton (Toronto: Nelson Canada, 1995), 250-253.

⁸ Moodley, "Multicultural Education in Canada: Historical Development and Current Status," (1995) 806. Manzer, Public Schools and Political Ideas: Canadian Educational Policy in Historical Perspective, 1994, 217.

⁹ For an account of the United Kingdom, see P. Figueroa, "Multicultural Education in the United Kingdom: Historical Development and Current Status." In Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education, edited by J. Banks and C.M. Banks (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1995), 778-800. For Australia, see R. Allan and B. Hill, "Multicultural Education in Australia: Historical Developments and Current Status," in Handbook, 763-777. For Germany, see G. Hoff, "Multicultural Education in Germany: Historical Development and Current Status," in Handbook, 1995, 821-838.

¹⁰ Paul Axelrod, "Historical Writing and Canadian Education from the 1970s to the 1990s," History of Education Quarterly, 36 (Spring 1996): 19-38. .

¹¹ Hansot and Tyack, "A Usable Past: Using History in Educational Policy" 1982; Silver, "Policy Problems in Time;" 1994; Stearns, History and Public Policy, 1978.

¹² R.H. Giles and D.M. Gollnick, "Ethnic/Cultural Diversity as Reflected in Federal and State Educational Legislation and Policies," in Pluralism and the American Teacher: Issues and Case Studies, edited by F. Klassen and D.M. Gollnick. (Washington, D.C.: American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 1977), 115-160.

¹³ R. Joshee, "Federal Policies on Cultural Diversity and Education, 1940-1971," (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., 1995).

¹⁴ N.F. Dreisziger, "The Rise of a Bureaucracy for Multiculturalism: The Origins of the Nationalities Branch, 1939-1941," in On Guard for Thee: War, Ethnicity and the Canadian State, 1939-1945, edited by N. Hillmer, B. Kordan and L. Luciuk (Ottawa: Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War, Department of National Defense, 1988), 1-30. Pal, Interests of State—The Politics of Language, Multiculturalism and Feminism, 1993.

¹⁵ Joshée, "Federal Policies on Cultural Diversity and Education, 1940-1971," 1995.

¹⁶ See for example, B. Curtis, True Government by Choice Men? Inspection, Education, and State Formation in Canada West, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992) ; T. Fleming, "'Our Boys in the Field": School Inspectors, Superintendents, and the Changing Character of School Leadership in British Columbia," in Schools in the West—Essays in Canadian Educational History, edited by N. M. Sheehan, J.D. Wilson, D.C. Jones (Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1986) 285-304; T. Fleming, "The Imperial Age and After: Patterns of British Columbia School Leadership and the Institution of the Superintendency, 1849-1988," BC Studies, 81 (Spring, 1989): 50-76; T. Fleming, "Canadian School Policy Liberal and Post-liberal Eras: Historical Perspectives on the Changing Social Context of Schooling, 1846-1990," Journal of Education Policy, 6 (1991) 183-199; R. Manzer, Public Policies and Political Development in Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985) and R. Manzer, Public Schools and Political Ideas: Canadian Educational Policy in Historical Perspective, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994).

¹⁷ Although this expression is borrowed from B.C. social and political historian Patricia Roy's article on Vancouver's history (see "A Half Century of the Writing of Vancouver's History," BC Studies, 69/70 (Spring/Summer, 1986): 319) I believe that it applies equally well to the historical literature on minority education in B.C. Canadian Education: A History, edited by J.D. Wilson, Robert M. Stamp and Louis-Philippe Audet in 1970, contained no mention at all of minority schooling in British Columbia. Nor did Education in Canada: An Interpretation, edited by E. Brian Titley and Peter J. Miller in 1982. For a discussion about historians' preoccupation with writing "grand narratives" of nationalism while neglecting the "multiple, even contradictory, identities that shape people's lives" see University of Ottawa historian Tim Stanley, "The Struggle for History: Historical Narratives and Anti-racist Pedagogy," Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 19, (1998): 41-52.

¹⁸ See Paul Axelrod, "Historical Writing and Canadian Education from the 1970s to the 1990s," History of Education Quarterly, 36(1) (Spring 1996): 19-38; Martin Bailey, Russell Wodell and William Bruneau, "Bibliography: History of Education in Canada, 1980-1999," Historical Studies in Education, 11 (1999): 212-82.

¹⁹ F. Henry Johnson, A History of Public Education in British Columbia, (Vancouver, University of British Columbia, 1964); George Hindle, The Educational System of British Columbia—An Appreciative and Critical Estimate of the Educational System of the Mountain Province, (Trail, B.C.: Trail Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd., 1918) and Mary Ashworth, The Forces Which Shaped Them—A History of the Education of Minority Group Children in British Columbia, (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1979).

²⁰ Johnson, A History of Public Education, 1964, 137.

²¹ Province of B.C., Immigration to British Columbia: Facts and Figures, (Victoria: Immigration Policy Branch, 1991), Table G2. Ten years later, in 1881, the total population was recorded at 49,459. The province consisted of 25,661 natives, 7,297 English and 16,501 other nationalities including German, Irish, Italian, Jewish, Russian, Polish, Scandinavian, Scotch, Spanish, Portuguese, Swiss, Welsh, African, Chinese, Dutch and French. Census of Canada, 1880-81, Volume 1 (Ottawa: MacLean Roger and Co., 1882). For a description of the population diversity in late nineteenth century B.C., see J. Barman "Families vs. Schools: Children of Aboriginal Descent in British Columbia Classrooms of the Late Nineteenth Century," in Family Matters: Papers in Post-Confederation Canadian Family History, (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 1998),74.

²² G. Hindle, The Educational System of British Columbia—An Appreciative and Critical Estimate of the Educational System of the Mountain Province, (Trail, B.C.: Trail Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd., 1918), 16.

²³ *Ibid.*, 20.

²⁴ Johnson, History of Public Education, 133.

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- ²⁵ H. Van Brummelen, "Shifting Perspectives: Early British Columbia Textbooks from 1872 to 1925," BC Studies, 60 (Winter, 1983-84): 24.
- ²⁶ A substantial literature is also beginning to form describing the experiences of native peoples in residential schools. However, since these schools were under federal jurisdiction, they will not be discussed here. For historical material relating to native schooling, see Axelrod, "Historical Writing and Canadian Education from the 1970s to the 1990s," 1996 and Bailey et al., "Bibliography: History of Education in Canada, 1980-1999," 1999.
- ²⁷ R. Brown. "Introduction", in Ashworth, The Forces Which Shaped Them, 1979, i-iv.
- ²⁸ Ashworth, The Forces Which Shaped Them, 1979, 199.
- ²⁹ See S. Bowles and H. Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America, (New York: Basic Books, 1976); J. Cummins, Bilingualism and Special Education: Issues in Assessment and Pedagogy, (Clevedon: Multilingual matters, 1984); J. Cummins, "Empowering Minority Students: A Framework for Intervention," Harvard Educational Review, 56 (February 1986): 18-36; F. Erickson and G. Mohatt, "Cultural Organization of Participation Structures in Two Classrooms of Indian Students", in Doing the Ethnography of Schooling, edited by G. Spindler (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1982); S.B. Heath, "Questioning at Home and at School: A Comparative Study," in Spindler, Doing the Ethnography of Schooling, 1982; W. Labov, Language in the Inner City, (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1973); D.B. Tyack, "Constructing Difference: Historical Reflections on Schooling and Social Diversity," Teachers College Record, 95 (Fall 1993): 9-34.
- ³⁰ Hansot and Tyack, "A Usable Past: Using History in Educational Policy," (1982), 3; A. Prentice, The School Promoters, (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1977), 61.
- ³¹ D.C. Lai, "The Issue of Discrimination in Education in Victoria, 1901-1923," Canadian Ethnic Studies, XIX (March 1987), 49.
- ³² Ashworth, The Forces Which Shaped Them, (1979) 55.
- ³³ Ibid., p. 58. Also Lai, "The Issue of Discrimination in Education in Victoria, 1901-1923," (1987), 48.
- ³⁴ T. Dunn, "The Rise of Mass Public Schooling in British Columbia, 1900-1929", in Schooling and Society in 20th Century British Columbia, edited by J.D. Wilson and D.C. Jones (Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1980), 25. See also Ashworth, The Forces Which Shaped Them, 1979, 59. According to Ashworth and Dunn, class sizes ranged from the high 50s to the high 60s.
- ³⁵ Lai, "The Issue of Discrimination in Education in Victoria, 1901-1923," (1987), 49.
- ³⁶ Ashworth, The Forces Which Shaped Them, 62.
- ³⁷ Lai, "The Issue of Discrimination in Education in Victoria, 1901-1923," 49.
- ³⁸ Ashworth, The Forces Which Shaped Them, 64-69. Lai, "The Issue of Discrimination in Education in Victoria, 1901-1923", 50- 53.
- ³⁹ Ashworth, The Forces Which Shaped Them, 66.
- ⁴⁰ Lai, "The Issue of Discrimination in Education in Victoria, 1901-1923", 52.
- ⁴¹ Ibid. 53. Ashworth, The Forces Which Shaped Them, 70 and 72.

⁴² See "White Supremacy and the Rhetoric of Educational Indoctrination: A Canadian Case Study," in Children, Teachers and Schools in the History of British Columbia, edited by J. Barman, N. Sutherland and J. D. Wilson, (Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1995) 41.

⁴⁴ P. Roy, "The Oriental "Menace" in British Columbia", in Historical Essays on British Columbia, edited by J. Friesen and H.K. Ralston (Ottawa: McLelland and Stewart, 1976), 243-255.

⁴⁵ Ashworth, The Forces Which Shaped Them, 75.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 76. Lai, "The Issue of Discrimination in Education in Victoria, 1901-1923," 57

⁴⁷ According to the 1920 Report of the Public Schools of B.C. of Albert Sullivan, Inspector of High Schools, post-World War I troop demobilization was postponed given that there were about 300 men in his division alone who "could neither read nor write." He wrote that it "was therefore resolved by the G.O.'s commanding corps, divisions, and brigades that, no matter how illiterate a man may have been when he joined the Canadian Corps, he should not return to be a Canadian citizen without having had an opportunity to read and write the English language." By the end of December, 1918, "thirty educational officers were working in brigades and battalions, and seventy-two instructors were appointed in units." "Six thousand men in the division heard lectures on "Agriculture," "Mining," "Waterloo," and "The history of Belgium". As well, classes were offered in reading, writing, arithmetic, and French. Sullivan wrote that "[t]his scheme of educational training had as its main "objective" the raising of the standard of Canadian citizenship. It was organized and carried into effect by officers and men who had fought in the forward area. Other reports contain the stories of their victories in battle; this report contains an outline of their first triumph after war in the arts of peace." Annual Report of the Public Schools of British Columbia, (1919-1920), C17-C19.

⁴⁸ Stanley, "White Supremacy and the Rhetoric of Educational Indoctrination: A Canadian Case Study," 39.

⁴⁹ Stanley "White Supremacy," 41.

⁵⁰ Stanley, "White Supremacy, Chinese Schooling and School Segregation in Victoria: The Case of the Chinese Students' Strike, 1922-1923," Historical Studies in Education, 2 (1990): 287.

⁵¹ W. P. Ward, White Canada Forever, 2nd ed. (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), ix.

⁵² Ward, White Canada Forever, 169.

⁵³ Stanley, "White Supremacy, Chinese Schooling and School Segregation in Victoria," 291.

⁵⁴ P. Roy, A White Man's Province: British Columbia Politicians and Chinese and Japanese Immigrants, 1858-1914, (Vancouver: University of B.C. Press, 1989), xiii.

⁵⁵ P. Roy, "Protecting Their Pocketbooks and Preserving Their Race," in Cities in the West: Papers of the Western Canada Urban History Conference of Winnipeg, October, 1974, (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975), 125.

⁵⁶ Roy, White Man's Province, 267.

⁵⁷ Roy, White Man's Province, 267.

⁵⁸ See R. Campbell, T. Fleming, L.J. Newell, and J.W. Bennion, A History of Thought and Practice in Educational Administration, (New York: Teachers College Press, 1987), 23.

⁵⁹ Prior to 1920, central control of the system rested with the Council of Public Instruction, consisting of politicians and the Superintendent, who was provided with 3 inspectors. In 1920, the Education Office became a department of the civil service, headed by a superintendent who was responsible to the Minister of

Education. The inspectorship numbered 22 people who were required annually to submit teacher reports in triplicate to the teacher, school board and the Superintendent of Education. Johnson, A History of Public Education in British Columbia, 1964, 92. See also T. Fleming, "Letters from Headquarters: Alexander Robinson and the British Columbia Education Office, 1899-1919," Journal of Educational Administration and Foundations, 10 (1995): 11-38; T. Fleming and T. Toutant, "Redefining the Time of Transition—A History of Junior High and Middle School Movements in British Columbia," Education Canada, (Fall, 1995): 30-37.

⁶⁰ E.C. Lagemann, "Contested Terrain: A History of Education Research in the United States, 1890-1990," Educational Researcher, 26 (December 1997), 7.

⁶¹ See also L.A. Cremin, The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961); T. Fleming, "'Our Boys in the Field': School Inspectors, Superintendents, and the Changing Character of School Leadership in British Columbia", in Schools in the West. Essays in Canadian Educational History, edited by N.M. Sheehan, J.D. Wilson, D.C. Jones (Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1986), 285-304.

⁶² F. Bobbitt, "Scientific Method in Curriculum-Making," The Curriculum Studies Reader, edited by D.J. Flinders and S.J. Thornton (New York: Routledge, 1997), 11.

⁶³ Barman, The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia, Revised ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 227.

⁶⁴ J. Mann, "G.M. Weir and H.B. King: Progressive Education or Education for the Progressive State?" in Schooling and Society in 20th Century British Columbia, edited by J.D. Wilson and D.C. Jones (Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1980), 95.

⁶⁵ J.H. Putman and G.M. Weir, Survey of the School System, (Victoria, B.C.: Charles F. Banfield, 1925), 246.

⁶⁶ R.J. Sternberg, Metaphors of Mind—Conceptions of the Nature of Intelligence, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 76.

⁶⁷ S.J. Gould, The Mismeasure of Man, (New York: Norton, 1996), 187.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 210. One social reformer of the time claimed that "the bolsheviks of today are mainly the neglected children of yesterday." See J. Barman, West Beyond the West, 226.

⁶⁹ Annual Report of the Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia, 1917-1918, D42 and Annual Report of the Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia, 1918-1919, A38.

⁷⁰ Putman and Weir, Survey of the School System, 508. For a detailed assessment of the Survey's focus on Japanese students, see H.K. Hutchison, Dimensions of Ethnic Education: The Japanese in British Columbia, 1880-1940, (Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, University of Victoria, 1972).

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² P. Sandiford and R. Kerr, "Intelligence of Chinese and Japanese Children," The Journal of Educational Psychology, (September, 1926): 361-367; P. Sandiford, "The Inheritance of Talent Among Canadians," Queen's Quarterly, 35 (January, 1927): 2-19.

⁷³ J. E. Brown, A Few Facts About Japanese School Children in Canada, (Vancouver, B.C.: Canadian-Japanese Association, 1927), 2.

⁷⁴ Annual Report of the Public Schools of British Columbia, 1926-27, M33-34.

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- ⁷⁵ J.E. Brown, "Japanese School Children," B.C. Teacher, (June 1928), 10.
- ⁷⁶ Report of the Public Schools of British Columbia, 1923-1924, T27.
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, T50.
- ⁷⁸ Report of the Public Schools of British Columbia, 1928-1929, R58.
- ⁷⁹ Report of the Public Schools of British Columbia, 1929-1930, Q25. Although it is beyond the scope of this dissertation, an important question remains unanswered. Why did concern over the English language abilities of new Canadians erupt during the 1920s? It has been noted by applied linguists such as H.H. Stern and A. Howatt that very little scholarship has been devoted to analyzing the historical development of language teaching/learning. Most researchers—perhaps erroneously—attribute its rising importance in Canada to developments during World War II.
- ⁸⁰ This expression is borrowed from D. Tyack and L. Cuban, Tinkering Toward Utopia—A Century of Public School Reform, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995). Tyack and Cuban outline the reasons why large-scale school reforms fail and changes to the system have essentially been small and accretive.
- ⁸¹ J.P.S. McLaren, "'New Canadians' or 'Slaves of Satan'? The Law and the Education of Doukhobor Children, 1911-1935," in Children, Teachers and Schools in the History of B.C., edited by J. Barman, N. Sutherland and J.D. Wilson (Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1995), 147-160.
- ⁸² M. Ashworth, "Projecting the Past into the Future: A Look at ESL for Children in Canada," in Beyond Multicultural Education, edited by K.A. Moodley (Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1992), 120.
- ⁸³ J.E. Lyons, "Toil and a Peaceful Life: Peter V. Veregin and Doukhobor Education," Communal Societies, 11 (1991), 78.
- ⁸⁴ Report of the British Columbia Commission into All Matters Pertaining to the Doukhobor Sect in B.C., (Victoria, 1913), Appendix X. See also Johnson, A History of Public Education in British Columbia, 1964, 138-147.
- ⁸⁵ Annual Report of the Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia, 1905-1906, A48.
- ⁸⁶ Annual Report of the Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia, 1910-1911, A58.
- ⁸⁷ Lyons, "Toil and a Peaceful Life," 86-87.
- ⁸⁸ Report of the British Columbia Commission Into All Matters Pertaining to the Doukhobor Sect in B.C., 182.
- ⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, Appended to report.
- ⁹⁰ McLaren, "'New Canadians' or 'Slaves of Satan'?" 149. Ashworth, The Forces Which Shaped Them, 142.
- ⁹¹ Johnson, A History of Public Education in British Columbia; McLaren, "'New Canadians' or 'Slaves of Satan'?" 150.
- ⁹² Ashworth, The Forces Which Shaped Them, 143.
- ⁹³ McLaren, "'New Canadians' or 'Slaves of Satan'?" 150.

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- ⁹⁴ Ashworth, The Forces Which Shaped Them, 148; McLaren, "'New Canadians' or 'Slaves of Satan'?" 151.
- ⁹⁵ McLaren, "'New Canadians' or 'Slaves of Satan'?" 152.
- ⁹⁶ Annual Report of the Public Schools of B.C., 1932-1933, M38.
- ⁹⁷ Ashworth, The Forces Which Shaped Them, 153.
- ⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 151.
- ⁹⁹ E.P. Reid, "Doukhobors in Canada", Unpublished doctoral dissertation, McGill University, 1932, cited in Ashworth, The Forces Which Shaped Them, 155.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰¹ McLaren, "'New Canadians' or 'Slaves of Satan'?" 155.
- ¹⁰² Lyons, "Toil and a Peaceful Life," 90.
- ¹⁰³ Ashworth, Forces Which Shaped Them, 171.
- ¹⁰⁴ Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Citizenship and Immigration Statistics, 1995, Table G2, Immigration by Calendar Year, 1853-1995.
- ¹⁰⁵ McLaren, "'New Canadians' or 'Slaves of Satan'?" 154.
- ¹⁰⁶ Annual Report of the Public Schools of B.C., 1935-36, H47-48.
- ¹⁰⁷ British Columbia Archives. Weekly General Intelligence Report No. 53, 2nd to 8th of January, 1942, Defense Records, File HQ 6-0-7.
- ¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁹ Ward, "British Columbia and the Japanese Evacuation", 298. See also P. Roy, "B.C.'s Fear of Asians," in A History of British Columbia—Selected Readings, edited by P. Roy (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, Ltd., 1989), 291.
- ¹¹⁰ "Plan to Move 100 More Japs Every 2 Days," The Vancouver Daily Province, 24 February 1942, 8.
- ¹¹¹ "Advance Party of Japanese Leaves Vancouver for Jasper," The Vancouver Sun, 24 February 1942, 17.
- ¹¹² T. Berger, "The Banished Japanese Canadians," in Ethnic Canada, edited by Leo Driedger (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1987), 387. See also N. Kelly and M. Trebilcock, The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 294. Entire Japanese Community Will Take Over Ghost Town," The Vancouver Daily Province, 12 June 1942, 5.
- ¹¹³ Hutchison, Dimensions of Ethnic Education: The Japanese in British Columbia, 1880-1940, 1972.
- ¹¹⁴ See Ashworth, The Forces Which Shaped Them, 1979. J. Dahlie, "The Japanese in B.C.: Lost Opportunity? Some Aspects of the Education of Minorities," BC Studies, 8 (Winter 1970-71): 3-16. P. Roy, "'Due to Their Keenness': The Education of Japanese Canadian Children in the British Columbia Interior Housing Settlements During World War Two," in Children, Teachers and Schools in the History of British Columbia, edited by J. Barman, N. Sutherland and J.D. Wilson (Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises, Ltd., 1995), 375-392.

¹¹⁵ In addition, see P.L. Smith, Come Give a Cheer! One Hundred Years of Victoria High School, 1876-1976, (Vancouver: Evergreen Press, 1976), 103. See also, "A Lesson in Brotherhood: Children of 31 Nations Mix Happily in Strathcona School," Vancouver Daily Province, 22 January 1940, 20.

¹¹⁶ "Isn't It About Time That We Spoke Up?" Editorial, The B.C. Teacher, 18, (October, 1938): 287.

¹¹⁷ MacNeill to Willis. BCA High School Correspondence, 1942-1951. File: Japanese GR1219.

¹¹⁸ K. Adachi, The Enemy That Never Was, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Inc., 1991) 263-265; Roy et al., Mutual Hostages, 131; Roy, "Due to Their Keeness," 375.

¹¹⁹ A. Glanville, Schools of the Boundary: 1891-1991, (Merritt, B.C.: Sonotek Publishing Ltd., 1991) 87. See also Willis to Tyrwhitt. Correspondence Courses. BCA GR1219. "Special Grade Schools Planned for Jap Children at B.C. Points," The Vancouver Daily Province, 15 June 1942, 5. A severe teacher shortage in B.C. due to the war also prevented the government from hiring extra Caucasian teachers in the interior settlements. See Roy, "Due to Their Keeness," 379.

¹²⁰ Dahlie, "The Japanese in B.C.: Lost Opportunity?" 1970-71, 13. Glanville, Schools of the Boundary: 1891-1991, 86-89.

¹²¹ See Roy, "Due to Their Keeness," 376.

¹²² Ken Adachi, The Enemy That Never Was, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Inc., 1991) 263-264.

¹²³ Willis to Lucas, April 12, 1942, BCA GR1219, Correspondence Courses.

¹²⁴ "Special Grade Schools Planned for Jap Children at BC Points," The Vancouver Daily Province, 15 June 1942, 5.

¹²⁵ Booth to Lucas, 1 February 1943, Correspondence Courses. BCA file GR1219. Other letters exist in the file as well.

¹²⁶ P. Roy, J.L. Granatstein, M. Iino and H. Takamura, Mutual Hostages: Canadians and Japanese During the Second World War, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 132.

¹²⁷ Miller to McRae, 29 July 1942; Miller to Tyrwhitt, 6 August 1942; Miller to McRae, 6 August 1942. Correspondence Courses. BCA file GR1219.

¹²⁸ See Unsigned letter to Tyrwhitt, 9 October 1942, in which it is stated that compasses had become too scarce to supply drawing sets. Correspondence Courses. BCA file GR1219.

¹²⁹ Tyrwhitt to Miller, 22 October 1942. Correspondence Courses, BCA file GR1219.

¹³⁰ Tyrwhitt to Miller, 6 October 1942. Correspondence Courses, BCA file GR1219.

¹³¹ Miller to MacCorkindale, 6 October 1942. Correspondence Courses, BCA file GR1219.

¹³² MacCorkindale to Miller, 15 October 1942. Correspondence Courses, BCA file GR1219.

¹³³ Roy, "'Due to Their Keeness': The Education of Japanese Canadian Children in the British Columbia Interior Housing Settlements During World War Two," 1995, 379.

¹³⁴ Willis to Tyrwhitt, 6 October 1942; Miller to Tyrwhitt, 19 October, 1942 and Miller to Ovans, General Secretary of the B.C.T.F., 20 February 1945. Correspondence Courses. BCA file GR1219

¹³⁵ Shibuya to Lucas, 10 November 1942. Correspondence Courses, BCA file GR1219.

¹³⁶ Annual Report of the Public Schools of B.C., 1943-44, B61; Annual Report of the Public Schools of B.C., 1944-45, Y69. See also Dahlie, "The Japanese in B.C.: Lost Opportunity?" 13.

¹³⁷ Dahlie, "The Japanese in B.C.: Lost Opportunity?", 13. Annual Report of the Public Schools of B.C., 1947-48, JJ81.

¹³⁸ Although Chell did not elaborate on what he meant by "strain," it can be assumed that he was not referring to racial relations. The war had caused general strain throughout the education system due to shortages of resources and teachers, financial hardship and the resulting overcrowded classrooms.

¹³⁹ Brown, in Ashworth, The Forces Which Shaped Them, ii.

¹⁴⁰ R. Campbell, T. Fleming, J. Newell and J. Bennion, A History of Thought and Practice in Educational Administration (New York: Teachers College Press, 1987), 39.

¹⁴¹ Manzer, Public Policies and Political Development in Canada, 118

¹⁴² Ronald Manzer, Public Schools and Political Ideas: Canadian Educational Policy in Historical Perspective, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994),

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*; Manzer, Public Schools and Political Ideas, 14. See also the work of educational historian Thomas Fleming who has described the period of school leadership from 1849 to 1958 as the Imperial Age of School Administration. See "The Imperial Age and After: Patterns of British Columbia School Leadership and the Institution of the Superintendency, 1849-1988," BC Studies, 81, (Spring 1989): 50-76 and "Canadian School Policy in Liberal and Post-Liberal Eras: Historical Perspectives on the Changing Social Context of Schooling, 1846-1990," Journal of Education Policy, 6 (1991): 183-199.

CHAPTER 4

NATIVE EDUCATION IN B.C., 1950 to 1981.

Introduction

All school authorities should recognize that special and remedial programs are required for the education of Indian children, whether under integrated or other auspices.¹

This quote from the recommendations of H.B. Hawthorn's 1966 report, *Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada*, reflects a sentiment that was beginning to permeate the educational establishment as well as society at large. That is, during the 1960s, educators and social scientists began to believe that contemporary educational structures were not adequate to ensure equal educational opportunities for all children and that special measures ought to be implemented to accommodate the needs of children outside of the cultural mainstream.²

Prior to 1951, very few native children attended the provincially administered public schools of B.C. Most natives who were educated were segregated in residential and day schools under the jurisdiction of the federal government. As early as 1950, the government of British Columbia had been complying with federal directives that sought to dismantle the residential school system and put native children into the provincial mainstream.³ However, by the time Education Minister Brian Smith announced his government's commitment to multicultural education in 1981, native groups across the country had declared the integration experiment a failure and were demanding total control over their children's education.

What prompted such opposition from native groups? What initiatives and policies regarding native education did the provincial government implement from 1950 to 1981? The purpose of this chapter is to examine native education in B.C.'s provincial school system from 1950 to 1981, by examining developments in the provincial Department of Education.

Native Indian Students

Several post-World War II developments prompted social changes which erupted in the 1960s throughout western nations. Post-war nationalist sentiments led to the emergence of previously colonized peoples as free nations—such as India, Pakistan, and Algeria.⁴ As well, in 1948, after atrocious human rights violations during the war, the United Nations published the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, which declared the right of all people to enjoy equal opportunities for education. From 1948 to 1960, the annual reports of the public schools of B.C. increased coverage of citizenship education, particularly for new Canadians.⁵ New research in the social sciences had begun to conclude that factors in children's backgrounds—such as socio-economic status and ethnicity—might affect their chances of benefiting fully from their schooling.⁶ Thus, by the 1960s several countries throughout the western world were attempting to address the needs of "socially and culturally disadvantaged learners."⁷ In B.C., as elsewhere, this concern was not restricted to cultural or linguistic minorities. Instead, social service advocates requested specialized programs for any children who had "adjustment" difficulties "caused by deficiencies in their home environments."⁸

In Canada, one of the most glaring examples of inequality of opportunity resided among native peoples. Following a strong Indian contribution to the war effort, veterans' organizations, churches and citizen groups across the country called for a royal commission to investigate the mistreatment of natives who, isolated from society through the reserve system, did not even possess the right to vote.⁹ It soon became evident to the federal government that the Indian population was not declining but growing—from approximately 75,000 in 1867 to 136,000 in 1951. As a result, their integration into the national economy was becoming a significant policy issue.¹⁰ Although the government did not appoint a commission, it struck a joint committee of the Senate and House of Commons in 1946 to examine the issue of native integration.¹¹ The committee was critical of the Indian Act, the collection of federal legislation pertaining to native people, and urged its revision, including

the abolition of outdated sections. It also recommended that Indians be transferred from wards of the state to full citizens and that native children be assimilated into society through schooling with non-natives.¹²

Changes to the Indian Act in 1951 legalized federal-provincial agreements on native education. Provincial educational authorities faced the difficulties of addressing native children's needs within a highly centralized, "common" school system, the values of which reflected a western political democracy built on a capitalist economic framework. At first, educators believed that equality of educational opportunity for native children could be an attainable goal. Indeed, in 1955, approximately one-third of B.C.'s native children were enrolled in public schools. By 1970, three-quarters of B.C.'s 13,000 native pupils were attending public schools, with 38,837 enrolled across the country from kindergarten to grade 13.¹³ Within a few years of integration, however, authorities faced a second issue: ensuring equality of educational *outcomes* for Indian children. By 1958, newspaper headlines were proclaiming "Elusive Indian Pupils Battle White Teachers" and "More Attend Schools But None Ever Excel." B.C. native children's truancy and drop-out rates were high at 55 per cent and their achievement rates were low. "They start well" said one principal, "but there seems to be a fadeout at age 16 or 17, when they get big and strong enough to work."¹⁴

Initially, critics planted the reasons for failure on the children and their families:

Indians had no tradition of continued hard work, or long-range planning. Indians were hunters, fishermen, harvesters of roots and berries. They worked hard by fits and starts in the season, laid up a winter's food supply, then enjoyed themselves with dancing, feasting, gambling and social ritual. They worked co-operatively. They had no clocks. In the more remote parts of B.C. some parents spirit their children away to the woods rather than let them go to school ... many Indian householders are indifferent to schooling and some of those who are enthusiastic for education in theory make no attempt in practice to provide an atmosphere for study or urge their children on to greater effort. An Indian student may return to a home where his father and mother went only as far as Grade 4 There is nobody who can discuss his school work with him; no place to study. The radio

and television set are blaring. In fact, nobody in the house seems to care whether he goes to school or not.¹⁵

Indians, however, rejected this reasoning and, supported by the growing research of cultural anthropologists, put the blame squarely on the school system itself. Natives argued that, historically, native children had been raised in families where non-verbal communication is valued. Natives and anthropologists claimed that mainstream teachers both talk a great deal and encourage verbosity in their students. As well, native children, it was charged, are not raised to compete with one another, but rather come from a cooperative social structure. Corporal punishment had not traditionally been an acceptable form of discipline for natives, and yet it was an integral part of public school management. The curriculum was criticized for not reflecting the reality of native children, as were the biases of white teachers, the scarcity of native teachers and the lack of Indian representation on local school boards.¹⁶

The federal Indian Affairs Branch commissioned two significant research projects in 1954 and in 1964 to be undertaken by UBC anthropologist Harry B. Hawthorn and his colleagues, Cyril Belshaw and Stuart Jamieson.¹⁷ The researchers' 1958 publication *The Indians of British Columbia* drew attention to the high rate of age-grade retardation and drop-out among native children. They noted that two-thirds of the teachers they surveyed painted bleak pictures of their work with natives, emphasizing their failure. The authors reported that the "Indian child has to learn in school some things which the white child learned at home, such as standard English, a different concept of time, and different social relationships."¹⁸ They recommended that teachers working with Indians should 1) have a knowledge of elementary linguistics, anthropology, sociology and psychology; 2) be aware of issues in contemporary Indian life and 3) understand the community in which they are employed.

Such findings led many to conclude that native world views were considerably at odds with the Eurocentric vision at the heart of B.C.'s public school system. For nearly a

century, B.C. educators had focused on developing children's skills and intellect, implicitly embracing the commonly-held Western notion that these can evolve separately from a child's cultural and personal experiences. Anthropologists viewed education as being "synonymous with enculturation or the process by which an individual learns his own culture."¹⁹ From this perspective, the human mind cannot develop separately from the personal and cultural context in which a child lives. For natives, learning traditionally took place through observation and hands-on skill development necessary to undertake a specific social role, such as hunter, gatherer, mother, father, or chief.

In 1966, Hawthorn and his colleagues produced a second report, *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada*. This report further elaborated differences between middle-class whites and natives. Aboriginal life expectancy was lower than for whites while infant mortality and suicide rates were higher. National per capita income was five times that of natives. The report also blamed Indian children's failure in school on disparities in housing, clothing, food, playthings, learning styles, use of language, methods of discipline and opportunities for making decisions. As in the earlier report, Hawthorn advised that the system should change: that teachers be better trained, that better programs be designed, that Indians receive language instruction in one of Canada's official languages, that materials reflect native lives and contributions to Canada and that native parents become more involved. According to Hawthorn, "educational programs should take into account the obvious differences in background of the Indian student and also the often less obvious differences in values and motivations."²⁰

The federal government responded to this report with a seven-point policy regarding Indian education:

- 1) A complete education for every Indian child for whom the government has responsibility, according to his needs and ability.
- 2) Close collaboration with the provinces to provide education for Indian children in provincial schools, colleges and universities; the transfer of federal schools in reserve communities to public school boards where the Indian community agrees to the transfer; provincial inspection of Indian schools which remain as federal

schools.

3) Fuller participation by Indian parents in school affairs through consultation between parents, band councils and reserve community school committees; the participation of Indian people on the established school boards where Indian children are a significant part of the school population in provincial established school districts.

4) School curriculum in federal schools is to be that of the province in which the Indian schools are situated. Curricula will be modified only where this is necessary to meet the special needs of the pupils.

5) Residential schools will be used only for those primary school pupils for whom they are an absolute necessity. They will operate under the full control of the Department under regulations established in close consultation with the churches who operate them.

6) All federal schools will operate at the provincial standards applicable in their locality.

7) The educational program will be closely co-ordinated with the Development Directorate of the Branch to ensure that the needs of the rapidly developing community are adequately met.²¹

Notably, these recommendations did not address the underlying conflict of how children from largely non-literate, traditional societies in which the social group is valued over the individual, property ownership is communal and education is viewed as enculturation can integrate into a system that places supreme value on individuals over the social group, the right to own and sell property, and which separates intellectual growth from social and emotional development. Furthermore, whereas the federal policy platform clearly spoke to amending bureaucratic structures, it only permitted existing curricula to be modified in special cases where "necessary to meet the special needs of the pupils" (point number 4). Federal authorities proved unable to implement the research findings.

Despite political inaction, rhetoric escalated. A focus on educating the "whole child" began to take hold in educational discourse. For example, in 1959/60, the B.C. Superintendent of Education wrote that the school system was primarily an "agency for intellectual training."²² The following year, he wrote that the primary and secondary aims of education were the "maximum development of the individual and effective citizenship in a society... The efficiency of our schools, then, should be measured not only in terms of

academic knowledge and skills, but also by their ability to produce competent citizens for our country."²³

By the late 1960s, social scientists throughout North America began to adopt this anthropological perspective and harshly criticized public schools claiming, for example, that "the public school offers education to the Indian and non-Indians but it fails to meet the differing needs of all minorities."²⁴ By the early 1970s, educators as well as social scientists began to argue that children's intellectual development was not possible in isolation from a their social development. Critics called for a broader mandate for public schools, emphasizing social as well as intellectual development.²⁵ As B.C. native leader Chief Dan George put it:

we want an equal opportunity to succeed in life...
but we cannot succeed on your terms... we cannot
raise ourselves on your norms. We need specialized
help in education... specialized help in the formative years...
special courses in English. We need guidance counselling...
we need equal job opportunities for graduates, otherwise
our students will lose courage and ask what is the use of it all.²⁶

From 1966, when Hawthorn published the second report, to 1973, over thirty articles appeared in the province's four main daily newspapers (*The Vancouver Sun*, *The Province*, *The Times* and *The Colonist*) lamenting the deplorable state of Indian education. It was reported, for example, that "in reading these students are two or three years below the average grade levels of their non-Indian counterparts."²⁷ Many writers offered quick solutions and most proposed changes to the system in the form of programs to teach Indians to "take pride in their accomplishments" and to teach racial tolerance to non-Indians. Some blamed the failure of native children on teachers who were "ignorant of Indian students' backgrounds." Others blamed the curriculum. Many parents and critics alike continued to request greater parental involvement in educational decision-making, while at the same time expressing frustration at the "foreign" environment that Indian children face in most classrooms.²⁸ Still others accused Indian parents of not wanting their children to be educated since they themselves were uneducated. Finally, a few saw the

situation as insoluble, arguing that the Indian child faces two conflicting pressures: "one to ignore non-Indian society, the other to accept it," resulting in an impossible learning situation.²⁹

Criticisms were followed by increased financing and expanded educational programs fueled by the federal government. In 1970 alone, the Department of Indian Affairs paid \$5.25 million to B.C. for Indian education. In 1968, B.C. Premier W.A.C. Bennett had announced the establishment of the First Citizens Fund, allotting \$25 million for generating—amongst other things—\$1.2 million for scholarships for native students.³⁰ By 1970, The First Citizens' Fund Committee appointed a special consultant to the Department of Education "to work on curriculum and instructional problems related to the education of Indian children in public schools."³¹

Specialized programs for aboriginal students began to appear. At Craigflower Elementary School in Victoria, parents from the Songhees reserve hired tutors to teach approximately 25 children their native history, myths and crafts. Other initiatives included consultation with native groups regarding the improvement of curricula and textbooks, in-service preparation for teachers of native students, and the preparation of specialized teaching material. Indian Studies programs and Indian Resource Centres were begun at various community colleges and universities in order to address the needs of Indian students who, it was argued, learn best "in groups, are informal, non-competitive and motivated differently from non-Indian children."³² From 1973 to 1974 alone B.C. spent over \$1.2 million to hire special teachers, teacher-aides and "home-school coordinators" for native children in the public system.³³

During this time, much of the discussion over native schooling was guided by passion and conviction. In 1972, NDP premier Dave Barrett appointed Frank Calder, a B.C. Nishga, as a cabinet minister—the first native to hold such a post. Addressing the legislative assembly, Calder stated that an "effort should be made now to preserve the cultural identity of the aboriginal people" of B.C.³⁴ He believed that by sanctioning the

teaching of aboriginal languages, the Department of Education "would go a long way towards re-establishing a sense of pride in aboriginal ancestry and the resulting feeling of dignity and self-worth which were an inherent part of the Indian people before the arrival of the European." As the 1970s evolved, however, no one appeared to be interested in commenting favourably on progress that had been made since the demise of federally-run schools. Nor, did it appear that the students themselves in British Columbia were consulted in any systematically researched way regarding their reasons for dropping out or the areas in which the children excelled or had interests.³⁵

Also missing from the discourse of the time were investigations into links between dropout (cited at 94 per cent in 1970³⁶) and non-school related factors, such as discrimination in hiring policies, lack of employment opportunities, poor living facilities, and extreme poverty linked to the nature of individual reserves including their location, size and quality of land. The reality was that a graduation certificate did not provide the promise of a better life for many Indian children, particularly if they chose to stay close to their families on reserves where unemployment was high and economic opportunities low, due to the paternalistic system of governance that had developed over the years through the policies and legislation of the Department of Indian Affairs. Indeed, research in the U.S. indicated that Indians living in urban centres in Minnesota had greater educational achievement than those living on reserves in the southwest.³⁷

The lack of systematic inquiry into native schooling in B.C. during the early 1970s is noteworthy. Discussion on native failure appeared to reflect critics' personal and professional views rather than analysis and synthesis of available data from across research fields. Every expert seemingly held a different answer. For example, anthropologists such as Hawthorn and his team blamed the differing socialization and social orientations of Indian students versus non-white students. University of Victoria anthropologist Barbara Lane reportedly stated that the native culture is primarily a "silent" society and that the

"average Indian child is not encouraged by his parents to develop a sort of verbal diarrhoea, as is the case among whites."³⁸

Linguists, on the other hand, claimed the source of difficulty was linguistic and advocated programs to teach natives English as a second language. When these programs failed to produce positive results, linguists—such as Bernard Spolsky working with the Navajo in New Mexico—began to promote Bilingual Education, in which children would first be taught in their native language and then in English. In Spolsky's words, the "striking disparity between the language of the pupils and of the teachers is clearly basic to the failure of Navajo education. Bilingual education has become a pressing need for Navajo schools; without it, Navajo students are doomed to inferior education."³⁹

Working from a psychological perspective, social psychologists began to investigate the notion of self-concept and its possible impact on Indian students' academic achievement. Using self-concept scales and correlational statistics, growing evidence was mounted to indicate that Indian students' measures of self-concept were lower than non-Indians. Psychologists concluded that self-esteem was a good predictor of academic success.⁴⁰ In a bizarre twist of logic, self-concept transformed from a predictor to a "cause" responsible for the academic failure of native Indians. As discussed in chapter two, "self-esteem" is a difficult concept to define and there are a multitude of instruments available for its measurement—many of which do not account for the high correlation between family socio-economic status and self-concept. Furthermore, a more significant problem with the findings of this research is that simple correlative analyses cannot be used to attribute causation—they can only indicate that two phenomena co-exist; in this case, low aboriginal self-concept and low academic achievement.⁴¹

In all cases, however, the scholars' pronouncements revealed their own middle-class orientations and their own inadequate conceptions of the reality of the "average" white child—if indeed such a child ever existed. One critic, writing in 1973, surely had no idea how many—if not most—of Canada's children lived when he claimed that the Indian child

is at a disadvantage for he cannot function in the "white child's world of color TV, trips to the ski slopes, ballet lessons, library books and weekends at the summer cottage."⁴²

Equally out of touch with reality was the claim that "unlike many middle-class children, the average Indian youngster does not come to school already equipped with a knowledge of the alphabet, or with rudimentary reading skills."⁴³ Amid the academic debate, native groups increasingly asserted themselves and in 1973, they began demanding total control of their children's schooling.

One of the key events which helped to propel native groups toward educational self-governance occurred in June 1969, when Jean Chrétien, federal Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, tabled before the House of Commons *A Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy*—commonly referred to as the "White Paper." In it, the Liberal government promised to work towards equalizing native rights by eliminating their special status and providing only those services enjoyed by the rest of Canadians.⁴⁴ The paper proposed that the Indian Act be repealed, that the Department of Indian Affairs be dismantled, that the provinces assume responsibility for Indians and that the control of reserves fall directly into the hands of their occupants.⁴⁵

Native groups across the country responded with vehement opposition. In particular, they were opposed to the provinces assuming responsibility for their affairs as this would require them to negotiate with more than ten governments, as opposed to one. They also rejected the idea of Indian control of Indian lands lest private ownership result in private sales and eventually lead to the dissolution of their culture.⁴⁶ In December 1969, Harold Cardinal, president of the Indian Association of Alberta published his book *The Unjust Society*, a scathing attack on the assimilationist policies of the Canadian government. Cardinal was particularly critical of residential schooling, stating, in sum, that "the child went to school an Indian. The young man emerged a nothing."⁴⁷

In 1971, the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood published *Wahbung Our Tomorrows* which argued that education was essential to improving social and economic conditions for

native peoples. It further stressed that education is a holistic undertaking, including not only the school itself, but the "social, cultural and economic fabric of communities":

The history of education up to the present day reflects a definition of education in terms of schooling, a definition that reflects a very narrow approach to the entire question... In developing new methods of response and community involvement it is imperative that we, both Indians and Government, recognize that economic, social and educational development are synonymous and thus must be dealt with as a total approach rather than in parts.⁴⁸

The report also called for greater parental involvement in the education of their children. The federal government quickly retracted its proposals.

In the fall of 1972, George Wilson, president of the B.C. Native Indian Teachers' Association presented a proposal for a Native Indian Teacher Education Program to the provincial Department of Education, in an attempt to train more teachers and teachers' aides of native heritage. As in the past, the provincial authorities refused the request stating that it constituted racial discrimination and would break with the mandate of "common" public schooling.⁴⁹ Emboldened by the wave of civil rights activism which began to sweep North America throughout the 1960s, native groups persisted in their demands. By 1973, the National Indian Brotherhood—later the Assembly of First Nations—issued its historic policy statement, entitled *Indian Control Over Indian Education*. This document, consisting of papers and reports from a workshop held in June 1972, would signal a turning point as it called for transferring educational control directly into the hands of native parents:⁵⁰

integration in the past twenty years has simply meant the closing down of Indian schools and transferring Indian students to schools away from their Reserves, often against the wishes of the Indian parents. The acceleration with which this program has developed has not taken into account the fact that neither Indian parents and children, nor the white community: parents, children, and schools, were prepared for integration, or able to cope with the many problems which were created... Indian children will continue to be strangers in Canadian classrooms until the curriculum recognizes Indian customs and values, Indian languages, and the contributions which the Indian people have made to Canadian history....

We must, therefore, reclaim our right to direct the education of our children.⁵¹

When Dave Barrett's New Democratic Party took office in B.C. in August 1972, Eileen Dailly, a former school trustee, became education minister. Dailly concurred with the critics of education who had become more vociferous in North America throughout the 1960s. She felt that B.C.'s system was outmoded and needed to become more responsive to the needs of its students. In her 1975 address to the annual conference of the B.C. Teachers' Federation, she vowed that she had "no intention of swinging the pendulum back."⁵² Dailly declared that teachers, administrators and government were "in the centre of the struggle for control of public education" and were "faced with the dilemma of maintaining a common public school system in a diverse, pluralistic society." Dailly and her advisors were particularly concerned about native education. Assuring natives that no decisions would be made without their input, Dailly appointed George Wilson, a native, to the newly-created position of Director of Indian Education in 1972.⁵³

Throughout Dailly's tenure, the efforts of the provincial government in the area of native education greatly expanded. Many of Dailly's initiatives were prompted by developments in other parts of the country. In 1973, the federal government consented to the Brotherhood's request for greater control over native education—although band-run reserve schools did not begin to appear on the Canadian landscape until the early 1980s.⁵⁴ In September 1973 the Supreme court of the Northwest Territories ruled that Indians had aboriginal rights to the western section of the Territories and that they had the right to propose a land claim. This landmark ruling helped to mobilize native groups across the country. This same year, Dailly announced that by 1975, the Nishga of B.C. would be granted their own, native-controlled school district.⁵⁵ This announcement followed a Supreme Court stalemate over Nishga land claims. A split ruling over the case "tossed the ball into the politicians' court" and led Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau to state that perhaps natives had more "legal" rights than he had earlier believed.⁵⁶

In 1974, the B.C. Department of Education struck a Minister's Committee on Indian Education, which included representatives from the Department, the Union of Indian Chiefs, the B.C. Native Indian Teachers Association, the B.C. School Trustees Association, and the Children's Aid Society in Vancouver.⁵⁷ Supplementary funding for native education increased almost six-fold from \$131,000 in 1971-72 to \$742,000 in 1974.⁵⁸ In November 1974, the provincial government granted UBC \$150,000 to begin the Native Indian Teacher Education Program (NITEP) so that Indian teachers could "serve as role models to their own people and help bridge the cultural gap no matter where" they taught.⁵⁹ Unfortunately, of the sixty students who entered the program, only fourteen continued on to their third year by 1976.

Greater success was achieved at Mount Currie Community School near Pemberton when, in 1973, an elected, all-native board took over from the federal Department of Indian Affairs. In July 1974, Simon Fraser University set up a native teacher education program at the school. Of the eight students who began the program, all obtained their teaching certificates. UBC's Mary Ashworth has attributed Mount Currie's success to several features that were absent from the UBC program. Chief among them was the fact that the Mount Currie program was delivered on the native reserve. As a result, students avoided travel expenses and the logistical difficulties of maintaining families while studying away from the reserve. As well, Mount Currie's program focused specifically on "native culture and the local situation."⁶⁰

In 1975, by an order-in-council, the B.C. government established the Nishga School District in the Nass Valley, comprising the villages of New Aiyansh, Greenville and Kincolith. The new district's school board consisted entirely of native members. In their *Declaration*, the Nishga stated that "Indians should be regarded as Citizens-Plus; in addition to the normal rights and duties of citizenship, Indians possess certain rights as charter members of the Canadian Community."⁶¹ In that same year, \$22,800 was awarded to the

B.C. Native Indian Teachers Association to support a number of teacher development programs.

As the NDP government gave way to the incoming Social Credit party, other ministries began to enlist resources from the Education Ministry. In 1976, Kitimat Village Chief Councilor H. Maitland wrote to Allan Williams, Labour and Indian Affairs Minister, proposing the "establishment of a Trade Training school to serve the geographic areas of Kitimat, Terrace, Prince Rupert, the Queen Charlottes, Hazelton and the Nass Valley."⁶² Recognizing the difficulties experienced by industry in attracting skilled tradesmen to the region and the high levels of native unemployment, Williams forwarded Maitland's letter to Patrick McGeer, the Social Credit Minister of Education who succeeded Eileen Dailly in 1975. McGeer recommended that the Kitimat council draft a proposal to Northwest College and have the college submit the funding request to the government "by the usual procedure."⁶³

The line between educational and social services blurred further at this time. In December 1976, Saul Arbess succeeded George Wilson to become the director of Indian Education within what was now the provincial Ministry of Education. Arbess implemented various new programs including one in Dawson Creek which was aimed at keeping native children in school until at least grade 10. By serving children a "substantial breakfast before regular classes," Arbess hoped to increase the classroom attention span of native children. Arbess also argued that "identity is the most severe problem of native children because they are not fully accepted by the white community."⁶⁴ Funding for native special programs increased to \$1,564,000 in 1976.⁶⁵ In 1977, funding increased a further forty per cent to \$2,224,600.

The education ministry increasingly coordinated and delivered a range of services outside of public schooling throughout the 1970s. In January, 1979, for example, Don Assu, Manager of the Campbell River Indian Band Office asked Hugh Curtis, Minister of Provincial Secretary and Government Services, for funding for a native languages and

cultural studies program for the Cape Mudge Museum.⁶⁶ Curtis's ministry was responsible for the administration of the First Citizens' Fund, established first in 1968 by an earlier Social Credit government. Curtis replied that the Band's request was "worthwhile" but should be directed to the Ministry of Education for "further consideration."⁶⁷ On March 26, 1979, Education Minister Patrick McGeer approved Assu's request and advised him to apply directly to Saul Arbess or the local school district.

In September 1979, the Bella Bella Band Council asked Allan Williams, Minister of Labour, for an assessment of job training needs to stabilize socio-economic development in Bella Coola, Ocean Falls, Owikeeno, Kiasoo and Bella Bella.⁶⁸ Because the request required the establishment of training facilities Williams forwarded the request to McGeer, who passed it on to Andy Soles, Assistant Deputy Minister of Education, Post-Secondary Department. On November 9, 1979, Soles replied to the council that a meeting was being planned between North Island College and Ministry officials to discuss the request.⁶⁹

However, some evidence suggests that these added responsibilities were not always willingly embraced by the government's educational bureaucrats who were responsible for administering policies and funding. In July, 1978, Deputy Minister Walter Hardwick, wrote to Randy Bouchard refusing further support for his B.C. Indian Language Project which had been awarded \$25,000 annually over the previous five years. According to Hardwick, Bouchard's program had incurred additional costs above its revenues and was indebted to the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Provincial Secretary, in addition to the Ministry of Education. Hardwick advised Bouchard that "the project employing two full-time researchers" had to be "wound down." He wrote: "the best I can offer are my good offices in exploring the ways and means of closing down the project without major debts and thus allowing you to continue, perhaps on a part-time basis, without a cloud over your head."⁷⁰ Despite Hardwick's position, further support was found for Bouchard, as evidenced in a ministry news release dated December 8, 1978. It was announced that the

British Columbia Indian Language Project [had] received

a \$15,000 grant from the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology to help the society in its work to save the language and cultural heritage of British Columbia Indians from extinction.⁷¹

One year later, Hardwick's position on educational programs and services for natives had changed to reflect the views of McGeer and the Socred government. In January 1979, Hardwick outlined a *Policy Statement on Indian Education* for the Minister. In it, Hardwick emphasized the Ministry's concern with native underachievement and drop-out. The statement was intended to represent the Ministry's reaffirmation of "its commitment to achieving parity for native Indian children in the public schools" and a clarification of "areas of initiative and emphasis in the provincial Indian Education program."⁷² Item 3 of the *Policy Statement* set out the Ministry's commitment to equality "through regular and special needs education programs."⁷³ In item 9, the Ministry's position was clearly shifting to accept greater responsibility for social roles that had previously been the responsibility of the family and the community:

The Ministry encourages the preservation of native languages through the use of the public schools to teach these languages as electives and, where a native language is the language of dominance for a significant group of native children in an area, the Ministry encourages the development and implementation of bilingual literacy programs, thereby allowing a student to become proficient in two languages.⁷⁴

Although the bureaucracy's views were beginning to reflect those of Patrick McGeer, change occurred with the appointment of a new minister. In 1980, the Indian Languages Project required funding to publish the translations of nineteenth century work relating to Indian languages. Newly-appointed Education Minister Brian Smith, agreed that the project was valuable, but declined to finance it.⁷⁵ Instead, Smith's ministry advised the Project managers to seek funding through an Anthropology Department in one of B.C.'s universities. Government sentiment changed again, in the fall of 1980, when Smith toured the province in order "to determine what the people of this province wanted in their education system."⁷⁶ Smith visited various schools where he observed classes and spoke

with students and educators. As well, he held forty-one public forums where he listened to the concerns of the public as well as trustees and other organizations. When he published his report in 1981, he vowed to establish a "Provincial Curriculum Resource Centre" to promote the sharing of curricular materials tailored for native Indian students. Smith was impressed with the Nishga district where he "watched students mastering the Nishga dialect" and he promised to produce "a number of curriculum documents" to help "teachers to adapt their teaching strategies to the needs of Native Indian children."⁷⁷

But all was not well between the B.C. government and the province's Aboriginal leaders. In 1981, the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs (UBCIC) had issued a policy statement calling for the "non-recognition of the public schools as an alternative for the education of Indian children."⁷⁸ Instead, the UBCIC supported "exclusively" the concept of Indian-controlled schools. In March, the Ministry of Education's Special Programs Branch contacted the Schools Policy committee and requested a response to the UBCIC's statement. The Branch's letter felt that the "public school option must be clear and strong to counteract this separation and the withdrawal of native Indian children from the public schools." In response to this request, the Ministry's policy committee provided more money to Indian education in order to address native children's needs. An additional \$330,000 was allotted for changes in curriculum development, program implementation, learning assessment, special programs, publication services, facilities services, in-service training and data services.

Conclusion

Altogether, from 1974 to 1981, the Ministry of Education increased its program offerings and funding for native education from \$742,000 to well over \$2 million yearly. Despite this, native children continued to underperform academically and to drop out at a greater rate than non-native children. During this time of enormous program expansion, no one seemed interested in determining native perspectives from inside the school system. No attempt was made to gather data from native children or their parents in B.C. Indeed, the

research that was undertaken tended to reflect the preconceived views of the investigators themselves. In addition, there did not appear to be a willingness on the part of the government to deviate from structures and curricula which characterized its "one-size-fits-all" vision of common schooling. Instead, while under McGeer's direction, much of the Ministry's focus was on adult training initiatives and on promoting social and cultural development within native communities. By the early 1980s, native parents and advocacy groups had lost confidence in the public system and demanded total control over their children's education.

Notes

¹ Recommendations of the 1966 Hawthorn Report: *Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada*, cited in "Indian Schooling Full of Problems". The Province, Thursday, 19 April 1969, 37.

² This educational ideology is well illustrated by the rise of compensatory programs such as "Headstart" in the U.S.

³ "Prepared to Admit Indian Children into Education System of Province," Colonist, 16 March, 1950, 7. "B.C. Schools Will Open to Indians," Sun, 13 September 1950, 2.

⁴ T. Howarth, Twentieth Century History, (Harlow, U.K.: Longman Group, 1979), 279-285. T. Cairns, The Twentieth Century, (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 115-120.

⁵ Annual Reports of the Public Schools of British Columbia, 1948-1960.

⁶ James S. Coleman, Equality of Educational Opportunity, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1966); Leo Fernig, "Failure in School and the Social Background of Students," B.C. Teacher, 53 (1973): 82-83; E.W. Gordon, "Characteristics of Socially Disadvantaged Children," Review of Educational Research, 35 (1965): 377-388.

⁷ Some researchers have linked these changes in North America to American desegregation following the 1954 ruling in Brown versus the Board of Education. Others, however, have taken a more cynical view, linking changes to the Cold War and the USSR's launching of SPUTNIK in 1957. For contemporary arguments citing the economic costs of minority underachievement, see J.S. Catterall, "On the Social Costs of Dropping Out of School," High School Journal, 71 (1987): 19-30. R.W. Rumberger. "High School Dropouts: A Review of Issues and Evidence." Review of Educational Research, 57 (1987): 101-121; R.W. Rumberger and J.D. Willms, "The Impact of Racial and Ethnic Segregation on the Achievement Gap in California High Schools," Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 14 (Winter, 1992): 377-396.

⁸ "Education Program Urged for the Culturally-Deprived," The Vancouver Province, 29 May 1968, 27.

⁹ J.L. Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy," in Sweet Promises—A Reader of Indian-White Relations in Canada, edited by J.R. Miller. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 139. See also, J. Barman, The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia, Revised Edition, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 307. For information on

the disappointment felt by native servicemen after World War II, see BCA MS2629, Files of Anthony Walsh, 1939-1988.

¹⁰ F. Henry Johnson, A History of Education in British Columbia, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1965), 12. Amended manuscript in UBC Special Collections.

¹¹ In this same year, Canada passed its own Citizenship Act, for the first time, declaring its citizens to be separate from Britain and democratic citizenship permeated social discourse. See Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock, The Making of the Mosaic—A History of Canadian Immigration Policy, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 314

¹² Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation," 139.

¹³ Indian & Northern Affairs, Canada, The Canadian Indian—Statistics, (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs, 1973) 50; Indian and Northern Affairs, Canada, The Canadian Indian—A Brief Outline, (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs, 1973); Barman, The West Beyond the West, 308.

¹⁴ "Elusive Indian Pupils Battle White Teachers," Colonist, 3 October 1958, 2.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ John W. Friesen, "Some Philosophical Bases of Indian Educational Wants," The Journal of Education, 17 (April, 1971): 56-70. See also "Too Much Teacher Talk Blamed for 'Dull' Students," The Province, August 5, 1966, 21; and "Indian Dropouts Blamed on Whites," The Vancouver Sun, 14 August, 1968, 15.

¹⁷ After the war, Indian Affairs was placed under the federal Department of Citizenship and Immigration. Due to citizenship concerns that were raised during the war, the federal government came to focus on citizenship development. It is likely that the integration of native people into full Canadian citizenry arose at this time.

¹⁸ Ashworth, The Forces Which Shaped Them, 36.

¹⁹ D. Gordon Ruby, An Observation: Historical Review of Indian Education, (Glendale, Arizona: Glendale Community College, 1974), 4.

²⁰ Summary of the Hawthorn Report in "Indian Schooling Full of Problems," The Province, 10 April, 1969, 37.

²¹ Mary Ashworth, The Forces Which Shaped Them, 40. See also BCA GR 151 Department of Education, 1962 - 1968: Box 17, File 6. Letter of Arthur Laing, Canadian Superintendent General of Indian Affairs to L.R. Peterson, B.C. Department of Education.

²² Annual Report of the Public Schools of B.C., 1959/60, X33

²³ Annual Report of the Public Schools of B.C., 1960/61, Z33. See also "UNESCO's Achievements" in B.C. Teacher, 46, 1966, 88 and the entire volume 47 of B.C. Teacher.

²⁴ "Indian Dropouts Blamed on Whites," The Vancouver Sun, 14 March, 1968, 15. See also "The Needs of Students Are Not Being Met—Dailly's White Paper," B.C. Teachers' Federation Newsletter, 13, (April 1974), 6.

²⁵ C. Linklater, "Indian Education: The World As It Was, The World As It Is; The World As We Want It To Be." Address presented at the first conference on Teacher Education Programs for Native People (University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon. October 1973).

- ²⁶ Chief Dan George, cited in Ashworth, The Forces Which Shaped Them, 1979, 42.
- ²⁷ "Indian Students Lag in English," The Vancouver Sun, 13 June 1969, 16.
- ²⁸ "Steal Identity, Destroy Man," Daily Colonist, 21 January 1970, 22; "Indian Control of Schools Urged as Delegates Cite Government Failure," The Vancouver Sun, 28 May 1970, 10; "Schools Criticized," Daily Colonist, 1 November 1970 23; "Special Education for Indians Urged," The Vancouver Sun, 10 May, 1970 31; "Indians in Schools 'Need Understanding,'" The Vancouver Sun, 10 December 1971, 25.
- ²⁹ Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Canada, Indian Education In Canada, (Toronto: Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Canada, Education Division, 1973); "System Seen Hurting Indians in Schools," The Times, 3 November 1971, 31; "Why Young Indians Give Up," The Vancouver Sun, 25 May 1970, 11; "Indian School Dropout Casualties 90%," The Times, 22 September 1971, 3; "Teachers Urged to Study Indians," The Vancouver Sun, 17 May 1972, 17; "Education System Must Change," The Vancouver Sun, 8 November 1972, 19; "Schools Fail, Not Indians Claims Former Principal," The Times, 8 November 1972, 24; "System Blamed for Indians' Failure," The Colonist, 21 September 1973, 20.
- ³⁰ Ashworth, The Forces Which Shaped Them, 1979, 51.
- ³¹ Annual Report of the Public Schools of British Columbia, 1969-1970, G51.
- ³² "Indian School Dropout Casualties 90%," The Times, 22 September 1971, 3.
- ³³ Johnson, A History of Education in British Columbia—amended manuscript, 269.
- ³⁴ Debates of the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia, 15 July 1973, 461.
- ³⁵ Even the research of Hawthorn and his colleagues ignored the native children. Instead, the researchers interviewed teachers and administrators in the system. Other data were taken from the records of the Indian Affairs Branch and studies which had been undertaken in the United States. No school visits were made. It would not be an exaggeration to say that there was no clear picture of the situation in B.C. from the perspective of natives themselves. According to the 1958 report, Hawthorn's team believed that "from these local and comparative sources we can draw up a list of considerations outlining some of the special conditions in Indian schooling and setting out some general principles for the operation of these schools." See H.B. Hawthorn et al., The Indians of B.C., (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958), 296.
- ³⁶ "Indian Control of Schools Urged as Delegates Cite Gov't Failure," The Vancouver Sun, 28 May 1970, 10.
- ³⁷ W.T. Stanbury. "The Education Gap: Urban Indians in British Columbia," BC Studies, no. 19, (Autumn, 1973), 49.
- ³⁸ "How Our Schools Are Teaching Indians to Become Failures," The Vancouver Sun, 17 March 1973, 6.
- ³⁹ Bernard Spolsky, Advances in Navajo Bilingual Education, 1969-72, (Albuquerque, New Mexico: American Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1973), 1.
- ⁴⁰ M. Abdel-Mawgood. and G. Hatch, The Self-Concept of Academic Ability Among American Indian Students: A Research Report, (Ellensburg, Washington: Central Washington State College, 1973). See also A. R. Metcalf, Effects of Boarding School on Navajo Maternal Attitudes and Behavior, (Bethesda, Maryland: National Institute of Mental Health, 1972).
- ⁴¹ For current critiques of studies regarding self-esteem see J. Kahne, "The Politics of Self-esteem," American Educational Research Journal, 33 (Spring, 1996): 3-22 and A. Kohn, "The Truth About Self-

esteem," Phi Delta Kappan (December 1994): 272-283. Interestingly, cross-national studies indicate that self-esteem is a much stronger factor in student achievement in North America than in non-North American jurisdictions. See for example, John Modell, Desire to Learn- A Comparative View of Schooling in Children's Lives, (Princeton, N.J.: Center for the Assessment of Educational Progress, ETS, 1993) and Curtis McKnight et al., The Underachieving Curriculum: Assessing U.S. School Mathematics, (Champaign, ILL: Stipes Publishing Co., 1987).

⁴² "How Our Schools Are Teaching Indians to Become Failures," The Vancouver Sun, 17 March 1973, 6.

⁴³ Ibid. The assertion that middle class children learn the alphabet and rudimentary reading skills leads to an important question regarding the mandate of western education systems. Historically, many children could not even speak English—let alone read or write it—upon their arrival at school. However, it appears that the role of the teacher included teaching the English language. By the early 1970s, "teaching English" was no longer the job of the regular classroom teacher and was increasingly turned over to specialist teachers of English as a second language. Reasons for the rise of an "English specialist" will be discussed in subsequent chapters of this dissertation.

⁴⁴ J.L. Granatstein et al. Twentieth Century Canada, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1986), 397. See also Barman, The West Beyond the West, 311.

⁴⁵ Barman, The West Beyond the West, 311; Barman, Hébert and McCaskill, Indian Education in Canada. Volume 1: The Legacy, 15; J. Friesen, Rediscovering the First Nations of Canada, (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Limited, 1997), 231; Katherine Graham, Public Policy and Aboriginal Peoples. Volume 1: Soliloquy and Dialogue: Overview of Major Trends in Public Policy Relating to Aboriginal Peoples, (Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services of Canada, 1996), 273.

⁴⁶ Friesen, Rediscovering the First Nations of Canada, 231; Tobias. "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation," 1991, 141.

⁴⁷ H. Cardinal, The Unjust Society, (Edmonton, AB: M.G. Hurtig Publishers, 1969) 87.

⁴⁸ Graham, Public Policy and Aboriginal Peoples, 278.

⁴⁹ Ashworth, The Forces Which Shaped Them, 45.

⁵⁰ Ibid.; Haig-Brown, Resistance and Renewal—Surviving the Indian Residential Schools, 120.

⁵¹ National Indian Brotherhood, Indian Control of Indian Education, cited in Ashworth, The Forces Which Shaped Them, 1979, 43-44.

⁵² An address by the Honourable Eileen Dailly, Minister of Education, to the B.C.T.F. Vancouver, B.C., 31 March, 1975. B.C. Archives (BCA), GR1561. Files of Andy Soles, B.C. Ministry of Education.

⁵³ Ashworth, The Forces Which Shaped Them, 51; Annual Report of the Public Schools, 1976-77, 21.

⁵⁴ Haig-Brown, Resistance and Renewal, 120.

⁵⁵ Annual Report of the Public schools of British Columbia, 1973/4, D39. See also Debates of the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia, 14 January, 1973, 428.

⁵⁶ D. Sanders, "The Nishga Case," BC Studies, 19 (Autumn 1973) 18.

⁵⁷ Briefing notes for Seth Halton, 29 August, 1974. BCA GR1561, Files of Andy Soles, Box 4. See also, Ashworth, The Forces Which Shaped Them, 51.

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- ⁵⁸ Debates of the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia, 20 February 1974, 349.
- ⁵⁹ Dailly to Madson, President, British Columbia School Trustees Association (B.C.S.T.A.) in response to B.C.S.T.A. Recommendations for Indian Education, 30 July 1974. Files of the B.C.S.T.A. #G-3-4.
- ⁶⁰ Ashworth, The Forces Which Shaped Them, 50.
- ⁶¹ The Nishga People, Citizens—Plus, 1975. In BCA G81-056—Education Minister, 1975-1979. File: Indian education.
- ⁶² Maitland to Williams, 23 April 1976. BCA G81-056—Education Minister, 1975-1979. File: Indian Education.
- ⁶³ McGeer to Maitland, 26 July 1976. BCA G81-056—Education Minister, 1975-1979. There is no archival documentation indicating what transpired from this point on.
- ⁶⁴ "To Feed Native Children," The News, 1 December 1976. BCA G81-056—Education Minister, 1975-1979.
- ⁶⁵ Annual Report of the Public Schools of B.C., 1976-77, 21.
- ⁶⁶ Assu to Curtis, 22 January 1979. BCA G87-041, Municipal Affairs, 1977-1979.
- ⁶⁷ Curtis to Assu, 16 February 1979. BCA G87-041, Municipal Affairs, 1977-1979.
- ⁶⁸ Bella Bella Band Council to Williams, 10 September 1979. BCA G81-056—Education Minister, 1975-1979. File: Indian Education.
- ⁶⁹ Soles to Bella Bella Band Council, 8 November 1979. BCA G81-056—Education Minister, 1975-1979.
- ⁷⁰ Hardwick to Bouchard, 6 July 1978. BCA G81-056—Education Minister, 1975-1979.
- ⁷¹ B.C. Ministry of Education, News Release, 8 December 1978. BCA G81-056—Education Minister, 1975-1979.
- ⁷² Hardwick to McGeer, 9 January 1979. BCA G81-056—Education Minister, 1975-1979.
- ⁷³ Ibid.
- ⁷⁴ Ibid.
- ⁷⁵ B.C. Ministry of Education, Deputies' Committee: Agendas and Minutes from Meetings, 9 January 1980. BCA 1768 - File: Indian Languages Project.
- ⁷⁶ Province of British Columbia, Education: A Report from the Minister, (Victoria, B.C.: B.C. Ministry of Education, 1981), 2.
- ⁷⁷ Ibid., 24.
- ⁷⁸ B.C. Ministry of Education, Deputies' Committee: Agendas and Minutes from Meetings, 30 March 1981. BCA 1768 - File: Schools Policy Committee Meetings - Minutes.

CHAPTER 5

FRENCH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE, 1945-1981.

Introduction

For over half of the twentieth century, French language instruction in British Columbia, as elsewhere throughout the world, focused primarily on reading and writing, with particular emphasis on developing students' grammar and translation skills.¹ Foreign languages were for reading and writing—not communicating orally. In addition, Parisian French, not the dialects used in Quebec, provided the linguistic standard for instruction. By the time B.C.'s Education Minister Brian Smith committed his government to multicultural education in 1981, the focus of French language instruction had shifted to oral communication, using Québécois as the linguistic standard. Prompted by the findings of Smith's 1980 provincial tour, the Social Credit government issued comprehensive policy statements not only on core French second language programs, but also on programme-cadre de français and French Immersion—two programs in which French served as the language of instruction.² In his report, Smith also committed the government to producing resource books for Secondary French, Programme-Cadre and French Immersion. How did French instruction shift in B.C. from a focus on "foreign language" reading and writing to a focus on oral communication, using French as the vehicle for instruction? The purpose of this chapter is to answer this question.

Effects of World War II on Foreign Language Instruction

World War II has been described as a "watershed" for language instruction in North America.³ The need to train servicemen to speak fluently a variety of world languages presented great challenges to those involved with traditional approaches to language instruction. Between 1941 and 1945, the success of American Army language programs aimed at verbal fluency permanently changed the course of language instruction across North America.⁴

The pedagogical focus on oral language fluency continued to expand after the war, as well, due to refugee migration and growing opportunities for trade, travel and cultural exchange. With the establishment of independent nation states in place of former European colonies, the United Nations and its sub-organizations—such as UNESCO—recognized and granted official status to a multitude of native languages in countries throughout Asia and Africa.⁵ By the 1960s, public interest had been captivated by the prospect of developing new ways of language teaching, resulting in a language teaching "revolution" in the minds of many educators. Nevertheless, the effects of this movement did not affect the teaching of French in B.C. until much later, when the theoretical revolution in language teaching coalesced with the effects of Canada's 1969 Official Languages Act.⁶

The Official Languages Act

Following the Great Depression of the 1930s, the Canadian government began to assume a more active role in the lives of its people. This involvement "reflected a growing public opinion that the state must provide for those unable to provide for themselves."⁷ During World War II, Ottawa temporarily took control of taxation in order to marshal all possible resources behind the war effort. By the mid 1960s, the federal government had established the Canada Pension Plan, Family Allowances, Universal Hospital Insurance and the Bill of Rights. Expansion of the federal welfare state was problematic in that it encroached on provincial autonomy, given that, constitutionally, health, welfare, culture and education lay within the jurisdiction of the provinces. Some provinces, such as British Columbia, welcomed these incursions since Ottawa provided much needed financial support for economic expansion. The most vocal opposition came from Quebec. Under the leadership of Maurice Duplessis and his Union Nationale party, Quebecers favoured parsimonious government spending and insisted on the division of federal and provincial jurisdictions that had been established under the constitution.

After Duplessis' death in 1959, Quebec society was ripe for social change. In 1962, André Laurendeau published editorials in *Le Devoir* calling for a royal commission on

bilingualism and biculturalism to assess the "participation of French Canadians in the Confederation, and, in particular, in the federal civil service and related government agencies."⁸ Laurendeau's editorials fanned the flames of nationalist sentiment and prompted a favourable response from Lester B. Pearson, leader of the federal opposition. In parliament in December 1962, he called for a comprehensive inquiry to address the equality of the French and English languages.

After he came to power in 1963, Pearson appointed a Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (the B and B Commission) with a mandate "to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races."⁹ The Commission, which continued its inquiry until 1971, published its first report in 1967. It recommended that all Canadians should have the right to use either English or French when dealing with the federal civil service.

In 1968, Pierre Trudeau, Canada's bilingual, bicultural Justice Minister from Quebec, was elected Prime Minister having campaigned for the establishment of a "just society." On October 17, 1968, in response to the recommendations of the B and B Commission, Prime Minister Trudeau introduced in parliament, the Official Languages Act. The Act stipulated that English and French were to enjoy equal status in the federal civil service, Crown agencies, and federal courts.

Changes to French Language Instruction

Initially, British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan refused to recognize the official status of French.¹⁰ When the Ministry of Transport advised its tenants at Victoria International Airport to comply with the Official Languages Act by providing services in French when requested, for example, there was great commotion.¹¹ In particular, many employees had "various amounts of high school French but no speaking ability." This finding led to a redirection in second language instruction in B.C. from a focus on

students' written grammar and translation skills to an emphasis on aural-oral skills and increased popularity for "Audiolingualism" as a method of instruction.¹²

Provincial educational administrators endorsed some federal language initiatives, but rejected others. As early as 1964—one year after the appointment of the B and B commission—the federal Secretary of State had implemented the *Young Voyageur Programme* as a means of strengthening Canadian unity.¹³ This exchange program allowed children from one province to billet with a family in another province for approximately seven days during the summer. In addition, in 1971, British Columbia willingly became "a participating Province in the Summer Bursary Programme instituted by the Government of Canada for immersion study of the Second Official Language."¹⁴

British Columbia's government, headed by W.A.C. Bennett and the Social Credit party, were less accommodating in 1970 when the Secretary of State made funds available for "minority language education or second language education" within the public school system. When a parent-teacher association in the Coquitlam district applied for \$600,000 for French programs, they were blocked by provincial authorities.¹⁵ Why did the provincial government support the implementation of *Young Voyageur* and the *Summer Bursary Programme*, but not federal funding for French language instruction? One likely explanation is that the *Voyageur* and *Bursary* programmes took place *outside* of the public system, during the summer months. Funding for language instruction was earmarked for use *within* the K to 12 system and signaled an encroachment on the province's constitutional jurisdiction over education.

Conferment of legal jurisdiction did not appear to trouble Dave Barrett's New Democratic Party (NDP) when it came into power in British Columbia in 1972. That year, education minister Eileen Dailly welcomed federal funding for French language instruction and opened the door to greater federal involvement in the schooling of children in British Columbia. In the legislature, Dailly attacked the Socred's reluctance to accept federal funding for French:

I'm sure that everyone in this room, particularly those who are parents and have seen their children struggle through some of our language programmes, would want to see all our children develop facility in languages—particularly in our second official language. You know, federal funds have been available for some time to help with the teaching of French in the public schools of this province. And yet, Mr. Speaker, it would appear that these funds, which were provided by Canada specifically for the teaching of French, were not used by the former government for this purpose. They were put to consolidated revenue. You know, I think this was a shameful, shameful thing to do, Mr. Speaker, and I want to tell you right now that these funds are in the hands of the Department of Education and are going to be used for the purpose of French teaching.¹⁶

In 1973, under the direction of Dailly, the provincial department of education increased its efforts to teach French with "emphasis on its conversational aspect,"¹⁷ by allocating money for the purchase of audio-visual materials, workshops and an exchange programme between 25 teachers of French in British Columbia and 25 teachers of English in Quebec. In 1974, the Ministry of Education further increased its support for French language programming, workshops, and conferences. The 1974-75 Annual Report noted that "a remarkable 100 per cent increase occurred in this area of Special Projects Grants with the amount of \$900,000 being awarded in this [French] Program."¹⁸ During the following year, the provincial government distributed \$1,048,700 to 62 school districts for French language support grants. This figure rose to \$1,670,000 for 69 districts by 1976.

The impetus to increase funding and resource development for French language instruction originated in various quarters during the 1970s. Following the 1969 passage of the Official Languages Act the Secretary of State's office actively solicited collaboration from the provinces and offered them additional levels of funding for language instruction annually. In 1972, Secretary of State, Gerard Pelletier proposed that the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC) co-ordinate a federal-provincial committee on language research. In 1974, the CMEC announced the production of two series of ten radio programs, one of which focused on the cultural life of French Canada.¹⁹ This initiative followed the March 1974 federal-provincial agreement on funding minority language

programs in elementary and secondary schools. Under this agreement, the federal government agreed to pay \$80 million from 1974 to 1979 for minority language instruction for Francophone youngsters learning English or Anglophone students studying French.²⁰ Immigrant children, who spoke neither English nor French, were ineligible for federal funding if they were learning an official language for the first time.

In March 1975, the Secretary of State funded the "Federal-Provincial Conference on Bilingualism in Education," held at Victoria's Empress Hotel, a site possibly chosen to accelerate B.C.'s response to official bilingualism. The conference opened with a reception and dinner for provincial officials in the hotel's Georgian Lounge. In the *Opening Remarks*, Assistant Under-Secretary of State Peter Roberts discussed funding formulae, special projects, training centres, bursaries and study fellowships that the federal government offered.²¹ André Boudreau of Laval University spoke on second language training and Robert Gardner of the University of Western Ontario gave an address on *Attitudes and Motivations of Second Language Learners*. Nine months later, on December 17, 1975, the Commissioner of Official Languages, Keith Spicer, presented the provinces with a teaching kit called "Oh! Canada" which they hoped would "help make second language learning a happy and useful experience."²²

In 1977, with federal government help, provincial funding for French language instruction rose from just over \$1.5 million to \$2,193,528. In addition, bursaries totaling \$321,224 were awarded to second language teachers and \$1,395,733 was devoted to 35 different district projects. Among these projects was the "continuation of the pilot project of two four-week French Immersion programs for 80 grade 10 and 11 students."²³ Although the province had offered limited Immersion classes—enrolling 83 students at the primary level—since 1971, it did not provide secondary immersion programs. Nor did B.C. provide instruction in French for students whose mother tongue was French.²⁴

The B.C. government faced heavy political pressure to provide "core" French services for native speakers of French. In November, 1976, Quebec voters elected as their

new government the separatist Parti Québécois (PQ), led by René Levesque. A long-time advocate of Quebec's political and cultural autonomy, Levesque promoted the idea of "sovereignty association" which would grant Quebec political sovereignty over domestic and foreign affairs but would maintain Quebec's economic association with the rest of Canada. In 1976 also, Keith Spicer urged Patrick McGeer, Socred Minister of Education to collaborate to "create a climate in Canada for viewing languages as a resource and as an opportunity rather than an obstacle to understanding."²⁵ Spicer outlined a plan for federal-provincial action and stated that such an initiative "could prove of crucial timeliness and of fundamental advantage to our youth and our country."

In addition, political pressure arose within B.C. In January, 1977, Liberal MLA Gordon Gibson addressed the provincial legislature stressing his concern over Levesque's election. Urging Premier Bennett and the Socred government to take action for Canadian unity, he said

if it is possible for anyone to convince the citizens [of Quebec] they should leave Confederation, it is this man, René Levesque. It is not something to be taken lightly and I hope that the Premier's mind has come around to this way of thinking now, and that he will tell this House that separatism is an important problem and propose what British Columbia can do help in keeping our country together.²⁶

Levesque's election in Quebec gave urgency to the debate over French language instruction. In May, 1977, Deputy Minister Hardwick informed McGeer that "the chemistry of the debate with respect to French language appears to have changed."²⁷ Hardwick thereupon recommended that the provincial government draft a French language policy and, then, appeal to the Secretary of State for financial assistance—despite the fact that in B.C. "only 1.7% of the population [had] French as a mother tongue and only .5% [used] it as the language of the home."²⁸ Editorials in The Province indicated that parents were "wild about French" fearing that their children would be "left behind in a modern world with only one language."²⁹ Parents also requested that the province include French

as a mandatory core curriculum subject. Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau reportedly stated that, without French, the government of B.C. was denying its citizens opportunities to work for the federal civil service and for crown corporations. In addition, Trudeau believed that all Canadians were "under the obligation to make a contribution to the preservation of a united Canada."³⁰

McGeer was aware of and impressed by national unity concerns. On July 19, 1977, he issued a press release inviting larger school districts to establish French immersion programs for secondary school students wishing to become fluently bilingual.³¹ McGeer hoped such programs would help "B.C. residents find their place on the national scene and be linguistically equipped to make that great federal contribution" that would be required "in the future."³² On July 28, 1977, McGeer asked Hardwick to prepare the necessary background information for a French Language Policy that would assist B.C. in bargaining over Levesque's request for guaranteed access to French language education for Francophones around the country.³³

With the perceived support from the public and from within the civil service, the B.C. government continued its efforts to promote national unity through French language instruction. On August 4, 1977, McGeer presented cabinet with a three-page "French Language Policy" which recommended that "British Columbia should declare that French language instruction is prescribed as part of the provincial education curriculum."³⁴ Nine days later, Premier William Bennett proposed a new "core curriculum" which allowed for instruction in French from grades 1 to 12 where requested by "more than 10 and up to 25 students in a class in any school district".³⁵ Bennett took this proposal to the 18th Annual Premiers' Conference in St. Andrews, New Brunswick, on August 18th, where the provincial premiers issued a "Statement of Language." The premiers promised to make their best effort to

- 1) provide educational instruction in English or French where numbers warrant
- 2) review the state of minority language education in each province
- 3) make a declaration of policy and programs to be adopted by

the province.³⁶

Three days later, the B.C. education ministry's administrative services superintendent, Les Canty advised McGeer that Vancouver's French language channel would be televising a series of programs which could be used in French immersion classes.³⁷ In order to indicate ministry support for the project, the CMEC arranged for McGeer to sign an introductory letter for the teacher's kits prepared by the Provincial Educational Media Centre (PEMC). In the meantime, Quebec passed its controversial Charter of the French Language—Bill 101—on August 26, 1977.³⁸ The new law obliged all children in Quebec to attend a French school, unless one of their parents had attended an English primary school in the province.

Quebec's controversial language law did not deter the B.C. education ministry from expanding its French language initiatives. On January 13, 1978, B.C. education official John Ewing announced a study "to evaluate the demand for elementary school education in French."³⁹ Three days later, the CEMC met in Victoria and agreed to compile a report on the state of French and English minority language education by February 1. At the same time, the provincial government announced its willingness to fund French language programs for Francophone children and to prepare core curriculum materials for the programme-cadre de français.⁴⁰ Approximately 500 students in 14 districts were expected to enroll in the program. As well as preparing curricula and materials for the new program, the Ministry increased French language funding over the year. Seventy-two districts received a total of \$1,247,310 for French language support. An additional \$1,732,816 was paid to 42 special projects involving districts and colleges. Participation in French immersion programs jumped by over 50% from 1,256 students in 1977-78 to 1,978 in the following year.⁴¹

Programme-cadre soon became the focus of the education ministry's efforts. Curricula and materials were prepared by Nick Ardanaz, formerly a second language program co-ordinator for the Baldwin-Cartier School Board in Quebec, who became a

contract employee with B.C.'s education ministry.⁴² By September 1978, Ardanaz was appointed Director of a newly-formed French Language Services Branch.⁴³

In February 1978, the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada, issued a language rights pact, in which they "recognized the right of French and English minority language groups to educate their children in their own language."⁴⁴ As a result, B.C. felt obligated to honour its stated commitment to a core French curriculum. On September 5, 1978, McGeer announced the approval of the French core curriculum designed by Ardanaz. It was to be implemented in September 1979 where 10 or more children could "understand French sufficiently well to receive instruction."⁴⁵

In September 1979, approximately 230 students enrolled in the programme-cadre de français. That same year, enrollment in early immersion programmes jumped to 3,088—an increase of 1,100 students over the previous year—and 103 students in 4 districts enrolled in late immersion, beginning in grade 6.⁴⁶ Ministerial resource teams produced resource books for elementary French as a second language (FSL) teachers as well as reading and literature guides. Additional resources followed with the French "Idea Box" being produced in October of 1979 and distributed to all district FSL co-ordinators.⁴⁷ By the time Brian Smith made his commitment to multiculturalism in June 1981, programme-cadre enrollment totaled 659.⁴⁸ Participation in immersion programmes reached 4,692 students, while over 200,000 students studied French as part of their regular program.

In addition to national and provincial political forces, other groups pressured the ministry to implement additional French language programs. The files of Patrick McGeer contain approximately 40 letters sent between 1976 to 1979 from organizations and individuals requesting money and services or offering their expertise in drafting curricula. For example, La société francophone de Victoria, held a public meeting in October 1978 on implementing French in schools and invited McGeer, French program co-ordinators in the Victoria, Sooke and Saanich districts, instructors at the University of Victoria and

Camosun College, as well as the Directrice of Ecole Brodeur and Victoria School Trustees.⁴⁹ La société had received \$5,814 from the Secretary of State in 1976 alone and 200 French books from the Arts Council of Canada. It held a library of over 1200 books and newspapers and claimed to sponsor social activities and festivals to promote French in Victoria.⁵⁰

Despite the pro-French stance taken by the Ministry of Education under Eileen Dailly and Patrick McGeer, provincial politicians were not always united in their views about French language programs. For example, in 1979, Jack Heinrich, MLA for Prince George North informed McGeer of his opposition to French language instruction. Apparently, a group of parents in Heinrich's riding were "desirous of taking advantage of a program permitting instruction in the French Language."⁵¹ Heinrich refused the parents' request on the grounds that there was not even sufficient ministry funding to cover the transportation costs of students desiring schooling in English. Heinrich added that the basic policy concept regarding French was "questionable" and that, although it may be "politically acceptable to create programs appealing to special-interest groups ... such programs obviously cause a great deal of grief for rural MLA's." Such opposition did little to slow the rapid expansion of French instruction or to redirect the course that B.C.'s public schooling was taking into 1980s.

Conclusion

Early twentieth-century foreign language instruction in British Columbia focused on reading and writing, with particular emphasis on grammar and translation skills.⁵² However, by the time B.C.'s Education Minister Brian Smith committed his government to multicultural education in 1981, the focus of French language instruction had shifted to oral communication, using Quebecois as the linguistic standard. What brought about this shift? Between 1941 and 1945, the need to train North American servicemen to communicate fluently in a variety of languages led to the development of many successful armed forces programs, using oral-aural methods of instruction. By the 1960s, a language teaching

"revolution" had taken root in education, as well as in the minds of the general public, in search of new methods of language instruction.

The death of Maurice Duplessis in 1959 marked the end of Quebec's conservative, inward-looking political regime and opened the door to social change. André Laurendeau's editorials in *Le Devoir* served to ignite nationalist flames in the province and helped lead to the establishment of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. In response to the B and B Commission's 1967 report, Trudeau's federal government mandated English and French as co-official languages, in 1969, making it official policy to "recognize that each citizen has the right to use the official language of his or her choice in dealing with the Federal Government and as a medium for working within the federal administration."⁵³ Thus, growing pedagogical interest in new language teaching approaches combined with Canada's Official Languages Act, to permanently change the direction of French language instruction in schools across the country. Ironically, Quebec's resistance to Ottawa's usurpation of provincial powers in health and welfare was dealt with by acceding to greater federal influence in the area of education in all provinces.

Events leading to the implementation of French programs in B.C. provide support for policy scholars who have maintained that all levels of government as well as pressure groups at local, provincial and municipal levels influence curriculum policies.⁵⁴ The pressures are more overt in some cases than in others. From 1970 to 1978, federal payments to the provinces for French language instruction increased more than four-fold from \$50 million to \$210 million.⁵⁵ This led to the development of French Immersion and programme-cadre, in addition to other initiatives in curriculum and resource development. The genesis of "Canadian Parents for French" (CPF) constitutes a less visible example of federal government influence. According to educational policy researcher Robert O'Reilly, Keith Spicer invited a group of 30 interested parents to a conference in 1977. This group evolved into the CPF, "a national pressure group with local and provincial organizations that encourages opportunities for learning French," and is supported by the Secretary of

State.⁵⁶ Given that only 1.7% of B.C.'s population had French as a mother tongue and only .5% used it as the language of the home, it is safe to say that political concerns over national unity were the principal forces which shaped the course of French language instruction in B.C. throughout the 1970s and into the early 1980s.

Notes

¹ See H.H. Stern, Fundamental Concepts of Language Teaching, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1986), 98-108. For a sample French high school examination, see Annual Report of the Public Schools of B.C., 1914-15, cclxxxii.

² Province of British Columbia, Education—A Report from the Minister, (Victoria: Province of B.C., 1981) 20-21.

³ P.D. Stevens, "Language Teaching," in Current Trends in Linguistics, Volume 3: Theoretical Foundations, edited by T.A. Sebeok (The Hague: Mouton, 1972), 702-32 .

⁴ Stern, Fundamental Concepts of Language Teaching, 102-3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 103.

⁶ Although a shift from Parisian French to Quebecois French is evident in textbooks and curricula in B.C. during the early 1970s, the impetus for such change may actually have begun during World War II. The Annual Report of the Schools of B.C. for 1940-41, page D40, expresses the view that, due to the war, European influence in modern languages would considerably decline. It states that despite this, "French will, however, continue to be important in Canada because of our three and a half million French-speaking fellow-Canadians. We should examine the possibility of drawing upon the literary productions of French Canada for the materials of study now that the world of Moliere is ceasing to have any meaning or reality for us."

⁷ Barman, The West Beyond the West, 1995, 297. The first major federal social program was Unemployment Insurance in 1940.

⁸ National Archives of Canada. RG 33/80. Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. TR 262. See also Roger Riendeau, A Brief History of Canada, (New York: Facts on File, 2000), 256 and J.L. Granatstein et al., Twentieth Century Canada, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1986).

⁹ Government of Canada, Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Volume 1. (Ottawa: Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1967), 3.

¹⁰ See "3 West Provinces Holdouts on Language," Victoria Daily Times, 17 June 1971, 3; "West Drives Lewis to Despair," The Vancouver Sun, 16 June 1971, 40; "Trudeau's Aim 'to Split Canada on Bilingualism,'" Vancouver Sun, 19 March 1973, 6 and "No Language of Love in Victoria," The Province, 7 February 1974, 29.

¹¹ "No Language of Love in Victoria," The Province, 7 February 1974, 29.

¹² H.H. Stern, Fundamental Concepts of Language Teaching, 4th ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1986).

¹³ Annual Report of the Public Schools of British Columbia, 1964/65, D60.

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- ¹⁴ Annual Report of the Public Schools of British Columbia, 1971-72, D53.
- ¹⁵ BCA Add.MSS. #1928, Box I, File 1. Files of David Barrett, NDP, leader of the opposition. News release by the Secretary of State: 9 September 1970 and Correspondence: 7 February 1972. Neither the news release nor newspaper articles regarding the story indicate whether or not the PTA consisted primarily of French parents. It is likely that some of them were, given that the francophone settlement of Maillardville was within the Coquitlam district.
- ¹⁶ Debates of the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia, 14 February 1973, 427.
- ¹⁷ Annual Report of the Public Schools of British Columbia, 1972-73, E10.
- ¹⁸ Annual Report of the Public Schools of B.C., 1974-75, 21.
- ¹⁹ News release, 28 May, 1974. BCA G81-056. Minister of Education, 1975-1979: Files of Eileen Dailly. It seems that the files of Eileen Dailly were combined with those of McGeer. However, Dailly's files were not well labeled and were not in any apparent order. They appear randomly throughout McGeer's files.
- ²⁰ Secretary of State brochure on funding minority second language learning from kindergarten to grade 12. BCA 1561—Files of Andy Soles. File: Bilingualism.
- ²¹ Notes on the Federal-Provincial Conference on Bilingualism in Education, Victoria, B.C. 10-12 March 1975. BCA 1561—Files of Andy Soles. File: Bilingualism.
- ²² Press release from Commissioner of Official Languages, 17 December 1975. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979. File: French.
- ²³ Annual Report of the Public Schools, 1977-78, 21.
- ²⁴ Annual Report of the Public Schools, 1972-73, E10.
- ²⁵ Spicer to McGeer, 6 August 1976. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979. File: Languages.
- ²⁶ Debates of the Legislative Assembly, 18 January 1977, 80.
- ²⁷ Hardwick, Deputy Minister of Education to McGeer, Minister of Education, 19 May, 1977 BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979. File: French.
- ²⁸ Ibid.
- ²⁹ "Needed—a Language Bill for B.C.: Parents Are Wild About French - and So is the Federal Government. But Victoria Says Ho Hum," The Province, 5 May 1977, 2.
- ³⁰ "With a French Accent," The Province, 5 May 1977, 2.
- ³¹ News Release, 19 July 1977. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979. File: French.
- ³² Debates of the Legislative Assembly, 20 July 1977, 3859.
- ³³ Ibid. "Is Schooling Key to Quebec Question?" New Westminster Columbian, 30 July 1977, 1. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979. File: French.
- ³⁴ McGeer to Cabinet, 4 August 1977, BCA G81-056 - Minister of Education, 1975-1979. File: French.

- ³⁵ "Core Plan 'Will Interest Levesque,'" The Vancouver Sun, 13 August 1977, 2. BCA G81—056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979. File: French. "Instruction in French Promised by McGeer," Education Today, 4 (September, 1977), 1.
- ³⁶ *Statement of Language*, Premiers Conference in Saint Andrews, New Brunswick, 19 August 1977. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979. File: French.
- ³⁷ Canty to McGeer, 22 August 1977. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979. File: French. "Television Series Planned for Use with French," Education Today, 4 (December, 1977), 2.
- ³⁸ Riendeau, A Brief History of Canada, 274 and J.L. Granatstein et al., Twentieth-Century Canada, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson), 1986, 403.
- ³⁹ New Release, 13 January 1978. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979. File: French.
- ⁴⁰ "Canadian Education Ministers Meeting in B.C." Education Today, 4 (January, 1978) 1 and "Province to Finance French Language Core," Education Today, 4 (January, 1978) 1.
- ⁴¹ Annual Report of the Public Schools, 1978-79, 27.
- ⁴² Ardanaz had been a second language consultant for the Vancouver School Board from 1975 to 1976.
- ⁴³ Memorandum of Evan Wolfe, Chairman of Treasury Board, to Patrick McGeer, 16 March 1978. See also Circular of the Schools Department, Ministry of Education, to the school districts of the province, 7 June 1978 and News Release re: appointment of Nick Ardanaz, Ministry of Education, 5 September 1978. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979. File: French. As well, see announcement in the Files of the Société francophone de Victoria. BCA Add.MSS 2713. Box 1.
- ⁴⁴ "Language Rights Pact Follows Premiers' Meeting," Education Today, 4 (March 1978), 8.
- ⁴⁵ News release: "French Core Curriculum Approved," BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979. File: French.
- ⁴⁶ Annual Report of the Public Schools, 1979-80, 28.
- ⁴⁷ "French Specialists Design Unique "Idea Box"," Education Today, 6 (October, 1979), 3.
- ⁴⁸ Annual Report of the Public Schools, 1980-81, 29.
- ⁴⁹ La société francophone de Victoria, 12 octobre 1978. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979. File: French.
- ⁵⁰ Secretary of State from R. Bérubé, 1 décembre 1977. See also letter of la société to Claude Perron, 17 avril 1979. BCA Add. MSS. 2713. La société francophone de Victoria. Oddly, when a Lambrick Park High School student wrote to the société requesting information about France the request was turned down. La société francophone to Lambrick Park student, 27 December, 1978. BCA Add. MSS. 2713. La société francophone de Victoria.
- ⁵¹ Jack Heinrich to Patrick McGeer, 17 September 1979. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979. File: Heinrich.
- ⁵² See Stern, Fundamental Concepts of Language Teaching, 98-108.
- ⁵³ Keith Spicer, Notes for a speech by Keith Spicer, Commissioner of Official Languages, in Bilingualism, Biculturalism and Education, Proceedings from the Conference at College Universitaire Saint-Jean, the University of Alberta, edited by Stephen T. Carey. (14-16 September 1973) 6.

⁵⁴ See for example L.W. Downey, Policy Analysis in Education, (Calgary, Detselig Enterprises, Ltd., 1988) and J.T. Thompson, Policymaking in American Education: A Framework for Analysis, (Englewood Cliffs N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1976).

⁵⁵ Robert O'Reilly, "Policy and Policy Actors," in Social Change and Education in Canada, 3rd ed., edited by R. Ghosh and D. Ray. (Toronto: Harcourt, Brace Canada, 1995), 143.

⁵⁶ Ibid. See also, Pat Webster, CPF Chairperson to Patrick McGeer, 12 May 1977. BCA G81-056 Minister of Education, 1975-1979. File: French. Interestingly, the CPF is described on its website as being founded by "a group of 35 parents who wanted all young Canadians to have the opportunity to learn and use the French language." CPF is a registered charity which aims to create an "environment supportive of French second language education;" provides "volunteer training and development;" and provides information and resources about French second language learning." For more information see www.cpf.ca.

CHAPTER 6

ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE, 1948 - 1981

Introduction

We recommend that special instruction in the appropriate official language be provided for children who enter the public school system with an inadequate knowledge of [English or French]
(Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1967)¹

When the Canadian government passed the 1969 Official Languages Act, it committed itself only partially to the B and B Commission's recommendation regarding second language instruction for minority children. Ottawa agreed to fund Canadian Francophones learning English and Canadian Anglophones learning French, arguing that "official bilingualism" would improve national unity. However, the federal government refused to fund specialized language instruction for immigrant children on the grounds that public education falls under provincial jurisdiction.

Despite Ottawa's intentions, by the mid-1970s ESL instruction had taken root in many public schools across the country. In B.C., some districts had offered specialized language instruction for non-English-speaking children since the early 1900s—particularly for Chinese children in the elementary grades. In general, however, prior to the 1970s B.C.'s education officials had discouraged specialized language instruction, insisting that "common" schooling was the best way to forge a common and unified citizenry. By 1981, when Brian Smith announced his government's commitment to multicultural education, the province was spending \$7 million annually for specialized ESL programmes and an additional \$6.9 million for educating refugee children. That year, the Ministry's Curriculum Development Branch had also developed an ESL Kit for K to 12 teachers and administrators.

What brought about the policy shift in ESL instruction? The purpose of this chapter is to examine the forces which led to the development and expansion of ESL programmes in B.C.'s public schools.

Background

The roots of ESL instruction in B.C.'s public schools can be traced as far back as 1908 when Chinese-speaking elementary school children in some districts received specialized language instruction before entering mainstream classrooms. In 1924, the Department of Education's Correspondence Branch began offering night-school instruction in English to adult immigrants. Growing public awareness of citizenship issues brought on by World War II prompted Edith Lucas, B.C.'s High School Correspondence Branch director—and an immigrant herself—to compile specialized instructional materials for acculturating and teaching English to adult immigrants in 1948.² Lucas's materials soon attracted the attention of public school teachers whose classrooms had received considerable numbers of non-English-speaking immigrants after the war. Upon individual request, Lucas provided public school teachers with materials free of charge.³

In 1957, the Vancouver School Board launched special ESL classes for Hungarian children, teens and adults fleeing Hungary after its failed anti-Communist revolution. Many materials for these classes were provided by the Canadian Secretary of State; however, in 1956-57 alone the B.C. Correspondence Branch supplied 1,200 courses of "English for New Canadians" and "Preparation for Citizenship" to Hungarian refugee centres.⁴ By 1960/61, when the influx had long subsided, the provincial Department of Education continued funding 10 teachers working with 156 children in the Vancouver school district.⁵ However, the provincial education department's support for ESL classes was intermittent and inconsistent, mainly in response to districts' requests—in particular in Vancouver.

Vancouver's demand for increased ESL services expanded throughout the 1960s. In 1967, UBC invited London professor Val Elliot to offer a course on "Teaching English as a Second Language."⁶ The Vancouver school district quickly engaged UBC's newly-trained ESL teachers, adding 4 secondary and 3 elementary classes to their district in 1968, for a total of 28 ESL classes.⁷ Although the number of ESL classes expanded almost three-fold from 1961 to 1968, the outcomes of these programs were seldom monitored.⁸ For

example, in 1969 the Vancouver School Board introduced a language assistance program at Britannia High School for non-English-speaking students, most of whom were Chinese. The program's results were reportedly "encouraging" and teachers saw great change in their students. It was claimed that students "showed more awareness that they had a problem and more readiness to seek assistance."⁹ Oddly, it was not reported whether the students' skills in English had improved.

During the early 1970s, provision of ESL services continued to accelerate. In 1972, over 100 teachers enrolled in UBC's ESL methodology course, now taught by Mary Ashworth.¹⁰ That same year, B.C.'s education department approved 52 New Canadian classes. By 1975, ministry course approvals more than tripled to 189.¹¹

Immigration

What prompted increases in ESL services throughout the 1960s and 1970s? Although, some ESL advocates have argued that immigration triggered the need for ESL services,¹² provincial immigration levels, in fact, declined from 1966 to 1971, as did overall student enrollment in Vancouver from 75,383 in 1969 to 73,599 in 1971.¹³ The number of B.C.'s school-aged immigrants peaked at 8,014 in 1974 and then steadily decreased to 2,695 in 1978.

Regardless of the actual figures, during the mid-1960s, citizens of B.C. had become anxious over immigration. In the 1965-66 Annual Report of the Public Schools, C.B. Conway, Director of the Division of Tests and Standards sounded the alarm bell with his analysis of post-war elementary school enrollment and the subsequent financial burden to the taxpayer. According to Conway, births in B.C. had risen from 26,000 in 1948 to 40,000 in 1959.¹⁴ His statistics showed that from 1945 to 1966 elementary populations increased just under 200 per cent, while junior and senior high school populations grew by 218 per cent and 325 per cent respectively.¹⁵ Although Conway indicated that most of the increases resulted from the postwar baby boom and inter-provincial migration, the general public perception was that immigration was responsible for the growth.¹⁶

By the mid-1960s, immigration had become an important policy issue for the federal government. Post-war economic expansion had created a severe shortage of skilled labourers in Canada. In 1966, Pearson's government announced two key changes to immigration. First, immigration was shuffled from the Citizenship and Immigration department to a newly-formed Department of Manpower and Immigration, with Citizenship functions placed under the Secretary of State's jurisdiction. These moves reflected the federal government's desire to connect immigration to labour-market needs so that "manpower development programs could play an important role in training workers" for Canada's expanding economy.¹⁷

The second significant modification to Canadian immigration was the implementation of the "Points system." Traditionally, Canada's main immigrant sources included Northern and Western European countries, and the United States. However, by the mid-1960s, European immigration slowed considerably since their national economies, shattered by World War II, had begun to recover. The Canadian government realized that it would have to seek workers from non-traditional sources—such as Asia—to supplement its labour pool. To attract Asian immigrants the government needed to modify the 1952 Immigration Act, which included racial restrictions no longer defensible in light of Canada's post-war support for fundamental human rights.¹⁸ In 1967, Ottawa introduced an objective nine-point scale for judging the suitability of potential immigrants and formally eliminated discriminatory immigration regulations.

Although the 1967 changes to immigration increased the labour pool, there were also negative consequences. The 1967 Act permitted visitors to apply for immigrant status while in Canada. If rejected, applicants could lodge an appeal with a newly-established Immigration Appeal Board. By 1971, one third of Canada's immigrants had applied while visiting. The following year, the number of appeals had grown well beyond the Immigration Department's capacity and it was estimated that someone could conceivably spend up to 20 years in Canada awaiting an appeal outcome.¹⁹ The federal government was

forced to deal with a political crisis that had become foremost in the minds of many Canadians.²⁰ On November 3rd 1972, the federal government revoked Section 34 of the Act, thereby ending a visitor's right to apply for immigration while in Canada.

Nevertheless, it was not only systemic changes to immigration that prompted public outcry throughout the late 1960s and early 1970s. Increased Asian immigration meant that greater numbers of non-white immigrants soon began arriving in Canada. In 1966, approximately 60 per cent of Canada's immigrants had originated in English-speaking countries such as the U.S., Australia and the U.K. Indeed, in 1971-72, the U.S. was the largest source country due to draft-dodgers and opponents of the war in Vietnam.²¹ By 1976, however, the number of English-speaking immigrants to Canada had dropped to 35 per cent.²² Canada accepted 12,000 Czechoslovakian refugees in 1968, just over 200 Tibetans in 1970-71, 7,000 East Indians from Uganda in 1972 and approximately 7,000 Chileans in 1973.²³ More important than the numbers, however, was the fact that Canadians generally *believed* that the number of non-English-speaking immigrants had rapidly expanded since the 1960s, especially in large urban centres such as Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver, where immigrants tended to settle. With unemployment reaching 10 per cent in 1974,²⁴ —triggered in part by the 1973 oil crisis—and a stagnating national economy, Canadians reacted negatively to both refugees and "visible minorities."

Were immigration figures the impetus for increased ESL services in B.C.'s schools? A linear growth in immigration from 1948 to 1981 would bear this out. However, immigration figures did not rise exponentially. Nevertheless, ESL promoters claimed that immigration had grown exponentially. For example, Mary Ashworth argued that "in 1974 alone, approximately 6,500 children aged 0-19 years arrived in British Columbia from either non-English speaking countries or from the West Indies".²⁵ The source of this statistic is not entirely clear. According to Statistics Canada, the total immigrants to B.C. aged 5 to 19 from all source countries in 1974 was 8,014 of whom 35.9 per cent spoke neither English nor French.²⁶ The actual number of non-English-speaking children arriving

in B.C.'s schools in 1974 more closely approximates 2,400, when the 19-year-old cohort is deducted and the remainder is multiplied by 36 per cent. Interestingly, Statistics Canada figures place the total number of 5 to 19 year old immigrants to B.C at approximately 6,500 for 1973, as well. Indeed, immigration rose and fell into the late 70s, while the demand for ESL materials and services grew exponentially. Thus, immigration totals alone were not directly responsible for the expansion of ESL services.

The situation was further complicated by the fact that Canada was experiencing an increase in its "international student" population. Throughout the 1960s, in response to the baby boom and increased demands for skilled labour, the federal government helped to build post-secondary institutions—in particular, junior colleges.²⁷ By the early 1970s, however, demographic changes resulted in fewer Canadian students entering post-secondary institutions. It was argued that Canada had "more training institutions than it need[ed] to accommodate its own students" and "should consider selling this expertise to foreign governments" who possessed the "money and the students but not the facilities" to educate them.²⁸

In the early 1970s, as part of its foreign policy, the Trudeau government established economic contacts with countries which had been previously disfavoured—such as Cuba and China.²⁹ In 1973, J. Allan Rix, Director of the newly-formed, Ottawa-based Canadian Bureau for International Education, stated that "international education should aim at bridging the gap between the more developed and the less developed countries or regions of the world, thus working towards equality among nations of the world, not just paper equality but practical equality."³⁰

Soon after, the first international students to benefit from Trudeau's policy began arriving in Canada. In 1974, and again in 1975, the CMEC raised the issue of escalating costs facing provinces with foreign elementary and secondary pupils.³¹ However, no concrete action was taken, despite the fact Alberta provided provincial education ministers with a report which it had prepared on the matter. Part of the difficulty was that no system

was in place through which provincial education officials could track the number of foreign students entering B.C.'s public schools. According to CMEC records, elementary and secondary population of international students in British Columbia more than doubled from 711 in 1973 to 1,663 in 1975.³² Over half these students were from Hong Kong, Malaysia and other southeast Asian countries. This fact rendered them highly "visible" to B.C. educators. But more than this, many or all may have been in need of English language instruction, and many, if not most, would have ended up in Vancouver where their parents could undertake post-secondary training at the available colleges or universities.

Colleges and universities were vocal in their concerns over the impact of international students on their campuses, since it was here that most overseas students arrived. Statistics Canada figures indicate that the number of full-time international students in Canada more than doubled from 19,150 in 1970 to 42,436 in 1975. Of the 42,436 studying in Canada in 1975, fewer than 8,000 were of elementary or secondary age, with approximately 2,000 in B.C.'s public school system and almost 4,000 enrolled in the post-secondary level.³³ In December 1976, B.C.'s post-secondary institutions pressured the provincial government to administer English language placement tests at the grade 12 level, in order to identify "students who [were] competent to take regular post-secondary English courses, those who require[d] supplementary instruction in composition, and those who require[d] instruction in the use of English as their second language."³⁴ Indeed, in 1975 alone, British Columbia received 4,186 immigrants aged 20 to 24, in addition to 971 college-bound foreign students and 1,219 university-level overseas students.³⁵

In 1977, the B.C. government began administering the English language placement test, which consisted of a 500-word essay as well as a section with sentences for error-identification. Half the latter section included "error patterns typical of people who have learned English as their second language."³⁶ Administration of the first test indicated that over 40 per cent of the students scored less than 50 per cent on the composition section.³⁷ Considering the exam was requested by post-secondary institutions and fewer than 10 per

cent of B.C.'s high school graduates attended post-secondary institutions at that time, it seems curious that the government chose to administer the examination to all high school students. Clearly, this latest responsibility reflected the ever-expanding mandate of B.C.'s public schools that had begun in the late 1960s.

In short, the impact of immigration levels alone may not have prompted the expansion of ESL services in B.C.'s public schools. However, Ottawa's immigration and foreign aid policies also appear to have been contributing factors. As the next section of this chapter illustrates, immigration and manpower policies were also "indirectly" significant in the development of ESL in B.C.'s public schools.

Political Forces

Political forces in the form of special interest lobby groups exerted tremendous pressure on the B.C. government to address the ESL "crisis." In 1968, federal NDP MP Harold Winch established the Vancouver Immigrant Services Society (ISS) of B.C., a non-profit organization staffed by volunteers which provided support for immigrants and refugees.³⁸ Among the society's services were English language training, airport reception and transportation for immigrants and refugees, housing, financial aid, and food, as well as social events and bus tours.

The society, however "private" in appearance, was almost entirely supported by federal and provincial government agencies. In 1974, for example, the ISS received \$51,300 in government operating grants: \$33,800 came from federal Manpower and Immigration, \$7,500 from the Secretary of State and \$10,000 from the B.C. Provincial Secretary.³⁹ According to the society's 1974 accounts, only \$343.49 was collected in donations and \$152.00 received in membership dues.⁴⁰ The society's Board of Directors included UBC professors Mary Ashworth and Patricia Wakefield, activists themselves in promoting ESL.

Between 1974 and 1977 the ISS sent 11 requests to B.C.'s provincial secretary for additional funding. In June 1974, ISS vice-president Winch requested more money from

Provincial Secretary Ernest Hall to expand services for mothers and tots under the age of five, as well as for policy development and administrative support.⁴¹ On July 3, 1974, Laurie Wallace, Deputy Provincial Secretary forwarded Winch's letter to John Meredith, Superintendent of Educational Programmes at the Department of Education and asked for "comments and recommendations as to the Department of Education assuming responsibility for the on-going administration of this program of providing English language training to immigrants in British Columbia."⁴²

On July 10, 1974, Meredith replied that the "Department of Education is assuming, or is under the impression that it is assuming, full responsibility for providing language training programmes through colleges, schools and adult education authorities."⁴³ Meredith apparently saw no reason for the society to provide services and grants to school boards and college councils for language training, since they could already obtain funds for this purpose from the Department of Education. He also stated that it was beyond the public schools mandate to deal with pre-kindergarten children and recommended Winch contact the provincial human resources department "since they are in the Day Care Centre business." Despite his protestations, however, Meredith asked Wallace for more information in order to determine "whether or not there [was] need to or possibilities of expanding the educational services needed."

In response to Meredith's comments, Winch told Wallace that the "local level authorities are either ignorant of certain needs in the English Language Training field" or were "unwilling to take advantage of resources provided under the responsibility of the Department of Education."⁴⁴ Winch challenged Meredith's claim that pre-kindergarten services were beyond the mandate of the education department by stating it was "a matter of education, not day care," and expressed a desire "to enlarge on this aspect of the matter." In response, Meredith arranged a meeting between the education department and the ISS where the issues were discussed and where Meredith reiterated the department's stance. Meredith also informed the ISS that the VSB had changed its ESL policy and now provided

specialized language instruction for children under the age of nine. This, Meredith concluded, "should result in Boards and College Councils being able to respond more extensively to demands for language training classes."⁴⁵ Discussion between the ISS and the Department over the matter thereafter ceased.

However, the ISS continued to interlope into public education, when in October 1974, the ISS expanded its activities to include special classes for East Indian immigrants allegedly encountering racism in Surrey's schools. At the time, the MLA for Surrey was Ernest Hall, whose office had been funding the association since its inception.⁴⁶ That same year, the provincial secretary's office produced a pamphlet on behalf of the ISS called "Welcome to British Columbia - Suggestions for Immigrants." The pamphlet listed employment centres, human resources offices, and information regarding medical care and education. Oddly, it was only in English. In April the following year, the society set up two adult ESL "Moms and Tots" programs, at the request of the Surrey school board.⁴⁷

After 1975, funding to the ISS increased as rapidly as its requests. English language training costs jumped from \$22,520 in 1974 to \$29,731.50 in 1975, despite a decrease in immigration to B.C. from 33,481 to 29,272 people.⁴⁸ With immigration rates declining again in 1976 and 1977, funding requests from the society continued to escalate. In 1976, salary costs had reached \$49,669 with English language training requiring \$66,902. The federal government was now providing \$72,000 and contributions from the B.C. government totaled \$64,110, yearly. The public works department covered heating and lighting, leading to total federal government payments in the amount of \$144,966. In 1977, the total provincial contribution was \$87,600. By 1981, when Brian Smith announced the government's commitment to multiculturalism, the education ministry had allocated \$101,000 in funding to the Immigrant Services Society for that fiscal year alone.⁴⁹

The federal government, which under Robert Andras, Minister of Manpower and Immigration, funded the ISS, also had a significant say in the administration of the society. For example, on April 29, 1974, Wade Stoneman, president of the ISS reported that in

keeping with your suggestions, and the recommendations from the Pacific Region of the Department of Manpower and Immigration, the society has embarked on a program of expansion into eight centres in the province, designated by Manpower and Immigration as areas which are receiving a high percentage of immigrants.⁵⁰

On September 20, 1974, the Minister of Manpower and Immigration issued a press release indicating that an additional \$90,000,000 had been allocated to the 1974-75 Local Initiatives Program, one of the manpower programs under which funding was provided to the ISS.⁵¹ In March, 1975, ISS vice-president Winch wrote to Wallace to discuss the possibility of expanding into Surrey, Burnaby, Williams Lake and Quesnel - as *advised* by the Manpower and Immigration Department.⁵²

On February 17, 1975, the ISS opened a second office in Vancouver on Main Street, funded jointly by the City of Vancouver, the federal Department of Manpower and Immigration and B.C.'s Human Resources Ministry. The new centre's purpose was "to help in resolving the problems of immigrants, to provide interpretation of cultures," to "assist in dispelling tensions between differing races and groups" and to "act as a coordinating agency for various organizations, activities and communities throughout the Lower Mainland."⁵³ In a letter to Wallace, Winch commented that "there was some eyebrow lifting and rather pertinent questions" about the society when some Vancouver newspapers reported that the provincial recreation department "was making a financial grant of \$10,000 to the Indo-Canadian Friendship Society of B.C., to do in Vancouver South exactly what the Main Street office was designed to accomplish." According to Winch a question had "been raised as to who is speaking and acting on behalf of the Provincial Government in the endeavor to resolve immigrant tensions and problems." Winch appeared to believe that the ISS was in the best position to deal with East Indian immigrant settlement, but that this "would require additional manpower assistance from the provincial

government through the availability of family and child welfare counselors" conversant in "one or more of the East Indian languages." Although the new centre was already being funded through the human resources ministry, Winch claimed that the heavy workload would require further commitment from the provincial secretary.

Other events suggest that the ISS was virtually a government agency operated at arms-length. At the ISS retirement ceremony for Winch in 1976, B.C. Human Resources Minister Grace McCarthy, paid tribute to Winch as "a great public servant." McCarthy noted that she and Winch had often worked collaboratively for the "welfare of the province" and she conveyed the appreciation for Winch's work from the premier and cabinet. In closing, she pledged herself to the ideal of welcoming newcomers to the province and to a "more aggressive approach and more assistance from the Provincial Government" in partnership with the federal government.⁵⁴ McCarthy's tribute was significant in that she, a Socred, and Winch, who was NDP, were at opposite ends of the political spectrum. In the same year, McCarthy's ministry provided the ISS—upon whose board McCarthy sat—with an additional \$18,000 in funding. While thanking McCarthy for funding and for her address at Winch's retirement, ISS president Wade Stoneman offered the advisory services of the society in matters concerning immigrant settlement.⁵⁵ McCarthy forwarded this letter to education minister McGeer and asked his advice on striking a provincial committee to deal with labour and immigration issues.⁵⁶

The ISS was not the only agency to advance the cause of new immigrants. The Canadian Council of Christians and Jews (CCCJ) actively solicited the government during the 1970s. The Council was first established in Toronto in 1947 by Rabbi Feinberg of the Holy Blossom Temple, Reverend David McClelland of Timothy Eaton United Church and Father Nunan of the Jesuit Order as well as several lay persons. Spurred by gross human rights abrogations during World War II, these individuals wished to "promote justice, amity, understanding and co-operation among Protestants, Catholics and Jews" with a view to establishing "a social order in which the religious ideals of brotherhood and justice

should become the standards of human relationship."⁵⁷ Two of the council's programs were based in B.C.: Camp Brotherhood, a summer camp for 15 to 20 year olds and the International Student Exchange for 18 to 21 year olds

Initially, the CCCJ's correspondence with the provincial government consisted purely of information and advertising.⁵⁸ By 1970, however, the council had received a \$2,500 provincial grant.⁵⁹ As well, an increasing number of provincial politicians came to sit on its national and regional boards of directors or on committees. Several of them were in receipt of CCCJ correspondence through their legislative offices.⁶⁰ Listed among the directors for the Pacific Region CCCJ was Wade Stoneman, president of the ISS, UBC professor Joseph Katz (later appointed to the B.C. Human Rights Commission) and Faye Leung of Pender Island Realty and Insurance who, 20 years later was involved in a political scandal with Socred Premier Bill Vander Zalm, who himself was listed as a CCCJ board member in 1976.⁶¹ Enlisting the support of politicians reflected the CCCJ's belief that by attracting the "top ten percent of the population" good results "would trickle down" throughout the rest of Canadian society.⁶² In July, 1976, the CCCJ's first president Reverend Richard Jones expressed great pleasure to B.C. Premier Bill Bennett when the "Council involved thirteen students whose parents work[ed] with [the B.C.] government in our Exchange of visits with Quebec students."⁶³

In general, the civil service resisted external attempts to shape government policy in education during this time. However, strong support for the CCCJ came from Patrick McGeer's executive assistant James Bennett. Beginning in March 1976, Charles Paris, Executive Director of the Pacific Region CCCJ began corresponding with Bennett.⁶⁴ In July 1976, Paris visited Bennett to discuss the services provided by the CCCJ. Soon after, Bennett contacted Joe Phillipson, Associate Deputy Minister of Education, requesting \$25,000 to help Paris and his resource team to continue delivering workshops on immigrant settlement around the lower mainland.⁶⁵ Phillipson responded by contacting Vancouver superintendent Dante Lupini, and inquiring about the Vancouver board's

satisfaction with Paris's work. While waiting for a reply from Phillipson, Bennett took the initiative and wrote to Paris for information regarding the possibility of establishing an advisory committee of government departments to deal with the "repercussion of Federal Immigration policies in B.C."⁶⁶ The letterhead upon which Paris replied to Bennett listed Grace McCarthy and Dante Lupini among the members of the CCCJ's regional board. Bennett also sought funding for Paris and advised McCarthy that an immigration advisory committee would receive the Education Minister's support, in light of the alleged enormity of the immigration problem in Vancouver. Bennett also requested approximately \$20,000 in additional funding from McCarthy's ministry for Paris and his team.⁶⁷

Lupini replied to Phillipson that the "Vancouver School Board [was] in concurrence with [Paris's] efforts" and that the district's assistant superintendent Alf Clinton "was working closely with Paris."⁶⁸ Lupini also informed Phillipson of Paris's multicultural resource team, jointly sponsored by the CCCJ and the ISS. Among the seven members of the team's Advisory Board were UBC Professor Mary Ashworth, Alf Clinton of the VSB, and Wade Stoneman of the ISS. Lupini advised that other funding for the resource team had been acquired through the federal Manpower and Immigration Department, the Secretary of State, the Department of Education and the Social Planning Department of the City of Vancouver.

On September 29, 1976, Phillipson informed Bennett that Paris's proposal for in-service training was a "laudable one and deserving of every assistance we can give" and he promised to seek sources for more funding.⁶⁹ In the meantime, McCarthy informed McGeer that Paris should *not* receive additional funding since the Council was already receiving \$3,500 in funding from her human resources ministry, which was also funding the ISS to a total of \$72,000.⁷⁰ On March 15, 1977, Walter Hardwick informed Vancouver Superintendent Lupini that the education ministry would not extend any more funding to the VSB for Paris's services.⁷¹

The CCCJ thereupon ceased requests for funding ESL and citizenship workshops, but tried a new approach by initiating a national "multicultural" conference in Winnipeg on April 18-21, 1977, to which it invited members of the provincial ministry of education.⁷² The government sent only Joe Phillipson to the conference. Phillipson's notes on the conference indicate its goals were "to avoid racist problems" and to "have a united Canada".⁷³ He also noted that the CCCJ felt that government, industry, education, churches and the established Canadian population had to be "more sensitive to the problems of the immigrant to Canada." The CCCJ continued to lobby the provincial government, now, however, under the banner of multiculturalism.

Next to the ISS and the CCCJ, one of the most vocal advocates for increased services for immigrant children was the Vancouver School Board (VSB). Vancouver was one of B.C.'s first districts to take advantage of Ottawa's "language training" funds offered by Manpower and Immigration. In 1971, the Vancouver school trustees noted a "high proportion of East Indian children" in schools close to the Sikh Temple in South Vancouver.⁷⁴ Using federal "Opportunity for Youth" funds, the VSB launched a summer program to improve the children's English skills, to help their parents become familiar with the city and to encourage the immigrants to socialize with Canadian children. In reality, although 14 per cent of the children at Sir Walter Moberly School were reportedly of East Indian descent, "forty per cent had been born in Canada." A further 38 per cent of the students attending the program were of Japanese, Chinese, Greek and Portuguese descent—some of whom were also likely born in Canada. The program's perceived success led to its continuation the following year under the VSB's full control. Nevertheless, during the second year the teacher had to leave the program for personal reasons. According to UBC's Ashworth, "with discrimination against East Indians on the increase the wisdom of segregating these children from the Caucasian children was questioned and the class was in time disbanded and no final report issued."⁷⁵

In 1972-73, Vancouver's overall school enrollment dipped again to 70,788 and continued to decline until 1976. However, the number of immigrants to B.C. aged 5 to 19 jumped from 4,636 in 1972 to 6,565 in 1973. Under education superintendent Dante Lupini, formerly of the Montreal Catholic School Commission, the VSB established a bilingual class for 20 5-year-old East Indian students in 1972-73.⁷⁶ These students constituted a small portion of over 60,000 Asians expelled from Uganda by Idi Amin in the fall of 1972, in addition to those born in Canada and those who immigrated from elsewhere.⁷⁷ One of the district's few ESL program evaluations indicated that over the year the students had made "significant gains in social growth, oral expression, printing skills, reading ability and arithmetic skills." Ten children made enough progress to be moved into the mainstream classroom. No significant differences were found, however, in reading comprehension and vocabulary development."⁷⁸

In that same year, children in special ESL programs at Templeton and Britannia high schools were also assessed. Here the results indicated that the experimental groups outperformed the control group in oral and written English, comprehension and vocabulary, but not in listening.⁷⁹ Unfortunately, numerical results went unreported so it remains unknown whether the outcome differences between experimental and control groups were statistically significant and what the magnitude of the differences were.

Vancouver's ESL program received its desired financial support in the 1973-74 school year, when the provincial NDP government had made English a compulsory part of the Grade 12 scholarship exams for the first time. After 27.6 per cent of candidates failed, the VSB struck a task force to seek explanations for this poor showing.⁸⁰ Its survey indicated that of 66,667 children in the Vancouver public system, 18,855 (or 28.3 per cent) spoke English as a second language. As well, the 1976 Department of Education's English language arts assessment of grade 4 reading indicated that "students who are new to Canada and who speak a language besides English at home, scored significantly lower than other students."⁸¹ The task force argued that these figures accounted for the district's poor

results. Curiously, the task force did not investigate other reasons for the low marks. Nor did they attempt to assess the impacts of socio-economic status, language background or even classroom and district factors. Still more curious is Vancouver's calculation of the number of ESL students within district boundaries. According to Statistics Canada, approximately 52,000 school-aged immigrants entered B.C. between 1963 and 1973.⁸² Of these, approximately 39 per cent spoke neither English nor French.⁸³ According to the VSB's own figures, approximately half of all immigrant students to B.C. enrolled in Vancouver's schools.⁸⁴ This would place the number of non-English-speaking immigrants in Vancouver's schools at approximately 11,000. In short, a considerable discrepancy exists between the VSB figure and that of Statistics Canada—nearly 8,000 youngsters.

What could explain this discrepancy? Two possible explanations deserve examination. First, it is possible that the VSB Task Force counted both new arrivals to B.C. and children born in the province, but for whom English was not their home language. This latter group consisted of children who were not *a priori* in need of specialized language instruction; however, no systematic effort was made to assess their language needs. Amid the rhetoric of deprivation and disadvantage that gained credence in academic and educational circles during the late 1960s, these Canadian-born children could have easily been grouped into the same basket as newly-arrived immigrants. A second possible explanation for the VSB's higher figures is that Vancouver's number may have included foreign students—although they were not labeled as such. Regardless of the reasons, the inconsistency in figures illustrates the lack of precision surrounding the debate.

In spite of the actual numbers, impassioned pleas by the board seemed, initially, to encourage changes in provincial government policy. In 1975, VSB chair Katharine Mirhady wrote to both Robert Andras, federal manpower and immigration minister, and to the newly-elected education minister Patrick McGeer, expressing concern over the increasing numbers of children for whom English was a second language.⁸⁵ That year, the

provincial education ministry presented the VSB with a special grant of \$320,000 for September to December and 50 additional special education approvals for January 1976.⁸⁶ In addition, in 1976, the provincial government changed its ESL funding policy from a one-year to a three-year pull-out program, in which children were "pulled out" of their classes for remediation.⁸⁷

In April, 1977, the VSB made a presentation to the federal MPs within the B.C. Progressive Conservative caucus on the issues surrounding ESL in Vancouver.⁸⁸ The trustees indicated that teachers were having serious problems coping with the heavy flow of "newly arrived immigrants." Had the trustees consulted figures from Statistics Canada, they would have seen that the number of immigrant children had decreased steadily from 8,014 in 1974 to 3,574 in 1977. Instead, they stated that some 40 per cent of the grade 4 students at Lord Roberts School in the riding of Vancouver Centre spoke English as their second language. They added that 304 language backgrounds could be found among the students at this school and they made a plea for \$2.9 million in increased funding. That year, the VSB employed 72 ESL teachers and 12 special needs teachers, assisted by 23 teaching aides.⁸⁹

Following the presentation to the PC caucus, the VSB presented their concerns to Premier Bennett's Sacred cabinet. This led, on the 28th of April 1977, to a VSB meeting with education minister McGeer and a tour of classrooms in Lord Roberts school, where trustees "had an opportunity to show [the minister] the problem first hand."⁹⁰ Despite these events, the provincial ministry refused to modify further its ESL policies.

Both provincial and federal politicians brought the VSB's concerns to the attention of provincial and federal governments. Members of the B.C. legislature—generally from within and around greater Vancouver—exerted tremendous pressure on the provincial government to deal with ESL issues. On March 4, 1975, Vancouver South MLA Daisy Webster, spoke in the provincial legislature about the "mind-boggling problem" created by children of non-English-speaking immigrants.⁹¹ Webster was alarmed at the increasing

number of immigrant children in her riding: from 4,636 in 1972 to 8,014 in 1974.⁹² Webster toured the schools of her constituency and found that 5 out of 23 children in one primary classroom at Moberly school alone could speak no English. Of the remaining 18, only four youngsters spoke English in the home and the rest spoke German, Finnish, Portuguese, Italian, Ugandan and Chinese. Webster questioned statistics from provincial authorities which conflicted with those of the VSB and claimed that Vancouver had received approximately half of B.C.'s 1,400 non-English-speaking immigrants in the 1973-74 school year—that is, roughly 700 children. She ended her plea by urging the government to "give supplementary assistance to the Vancouver school board to help them overcome this almost impossible dilemma."⁹³

On May 2, 1975, NDP Minister of Education Eileen Dailly expressed her frustration that Ottawa provided \$1.5 million for language instruction for adult immigrants but nothing for language instruction for immigrant children.⁹⁴ She promised to request additional federal funding to alleviate the problem. When the Social Credit Party was re-elected later in 1975, it came under forceful attack from critical NDP MLAs. In July, 1977, Rosemary Brown, NDP MLA for Vancouver-Burrard, criticized the Socred government for not providing an additional \$2.9 million for ESL as requested by the VSB.⁹⁵ A similar critique was launched two weeks later by Vancouver-South MLA Gerald Strongman.⁹⁶

Socred Minister of Education Patrick McGeer met the critiques by explaining that immigration—which he claimed was causing the school crisis—was a federal initiative and that the provincial government was making serious requests to the federal government for funding.⁹⁷ On both sides of the provincial legislature, MLAs accepted the statistics presented and did nothing to substantiate the actual numbers of immigrant children in need of language instruction. Indeed, according to Statistics Canada figures, the number of immigrant children, aged 5 to 19, arriving in B.C. dropped—for the third year in a row in 1977—from 4,867 in 1976 to 3,574.⁹⁸ Yet, in that year, expenditures for Vancouver's ESL program alone totaled \$1.83 million. Furthermore, it appears that the needs of

immigrant children and their teachers within the public schools were never researched in a comprehensive and systematic manner to assess the breadth and severity of their language or social problems. Instead, the politicians seemed to be caught in a cat and mouse game of applying blame and avoiding responsibility.⁹⁹ Surely to the teachers and administrators working daily with immigrant children the situation must have seemed exasperating, particularly in light of the enormous federal funding increases dispensed for native education, French language instruction and the language training of adult immigrants.¹⁰⁰

Federal members of parliament kept the issue alive in the House of Commons. On May 12, 1977 Surrey-White Rock MP Benno Friesen quoted from a VSB brief which claimed that 40 per cent of the entire Vancouver elementary school population was being raised in non-English-speaking homes.¹⁰¹ Friesen asked the federal government to provide \$2.9 million in funding that the board requested. Parliamentary secretary Fernand Leblanc, replied that the secretary of state was "considering raising this matter with the Council of Ministers of Education (CMEC)" and recommended that the VSB contact its provincial department of education regarding their request.¹⁰² Interestingly, evidence suggests that the VSB's figure of 40 per cent was also somewhat exaggerated. In July that year, while criticizing the provincial government's ESL policies in the legislature, MLA Rosemary Brown quoted Canadian census figures which indicated that only about 17 per cent of families in Vancouver were non-English-speaking.¹⁰³

Politicians, unelected political aides, the federal government, the ISS, the CCCJ, the VSB and Vancouver district officials were only a few of the forces which exerted pressure on government throughout the 1970s with respect to the schooling of immigrant children. Other individuals and groups included UBC's Ashworth, the Britannia Community Services Centre, the United Chinese Community Enrichment Society, the B.C. Association of Teachers of English as an Additional Language, the Multilingual Orientation Service Association for Immigrant Communities and the Burnaby Teachers' Association.

Prompted by federal requests for responses to the 'Green Paper' on immigration, Ashworth, who taught methods of ESL instruction and served on the ISS's board, proposed a policy for immigrant settlement in December 1976. Without references or statistical support, Ashworth claimed that failure "to provide adequate social and educational services to immigrants would be unwise and might even end up costing the taxpayer more dollars in the long run when remedial and emergency services have to be reinstated."¹⁰⁴

Ashworth further asserted that if the mother of an immigrant child "is not learning English, her ignorance of the language may slow down the learning process of her children and in time isolate her from her family causing tensions which can ultimately break up the family." Again, this assertion was unsupported by references to any research or body of data. Apart from its lack of supporting research, Ashworth's report is contradictory in a number of its claims. For example, Ashworth asserted that immigrants are "not accustomed to obtaining services from government institutions" and that in Asian societies, "welfare" is dispensed by the extended family rather than by a government agency. Yet later in the report Ashworth reported that immigrants need "expert counseling to help them solve their economic and personal problems. Private agencies are of particular value in this field because of their great sensitivity to local community needs." Although private in name, the ISS was largely an arm of the government and thus, in essence, a "government institution" from which, as Ashworth claims, immigrants are "not accustomed to obtaining services."

There is little archival evidence of ESL advocacy directly from schools or individual educators. In most cases, trustees or teachers' organizations took the lead. In 1974, Walter Robson, president of the Canadian School Trustees' Association submitted a brief to the Canadian Immigration and Population Task Force and forwarded a copy to François Cloutier, Chairman of the CMEC.¹⁰⁵ In it, Robson outlined a number of problems related to the schooling of immigrant children and requested that federal funding be made directly to the districts receiving these children. Cloutier replied that the CMEC could not support

the request but conveyed a "concern about the adequate preparation of immigrant children" and promised to work "to resolve this very difficult question."

On March 20, 1976, at the annual general meeting of the B.C. Teachers of English as an Additional Language (TEAL), Richard Moore urged "the formation of a special committee to take action on the educational crisis in B.C."¹⁰⁶ From this motion, the lobby group "Directions ESL" was formed with a mandate to gather information about the effects of provincial budget cuts on ESL programs, and "to draw up proposals for funding and maintaining programs" when cuts occurred."

In 1977, Directions ESL held two symposia on immigrant settlement in B.C.—one on January 22 and the other on April 23. Both were sponsored with the support of Britannia Community Services, the ISS, and the United Chinese Community Enrichment Society.¹⁰⁷ Registered participants, resource people and invited guests included UBC's Ashworth, ISS president Stoneman, UBC professor and Vancouver Multicultural Society member Joseph Katz, VSB trustee Margaret Andrews, VSB superintendent Lupini, and Katharine Mirhady, of the B.C. School Trustees' Association (BCSTA)—amongst others. Agendas for both symposia included guest plenary speakers, working groups to address aspects of immigration felt by the delegates to be particularly pressing, and recommendations for government action.

Directions ESL chair Naomi Katz sent reports from the symposia to McGeer.¹⁰⁸ Twelve recommendations were made regarding K to 12 ESL instruction in public schools. Among these, the group recommended greater funding from provincial and federal governments; more in-service training for regular classroom teachers in the areas of language acquisition, cultural differences, and ESL methods; an ESL policy; ESL training for all teachers-in-training; funding for ethnic school-community liaison workers, and the use of volunteers in ESL settings. McGeer replied that the education ministry was unable to act on these recommendations since it was vesting more power in school districts to deal with local matters. On February 15, 1978, Katz once again wrote to McGeer requesting

that a provincial co-ordinator be designated for ESL and that the province provide teachers with ESL training. Katz did this without evidence that the number of immigrant children was increasing.¹⁰⁹

Katz's letter of February 15th included two briefs presented to the province's Joint Board of Teacher Education on December 12, 1977. One was drafted by Directions ESL's standing committee and the other was submitted by the Council on Education for Immigrant Children, signed by Verna Mooney of the Cedar Cottage Neighborhood Services group. Both briefs included unsubstantiated assertions such as the claim that efficient content area teaching required teachers to gain "some understanding of how language is acquired and how it affects learning."¹¹⁰ As well, they asserted that language was "central to one's self identity and self-concept" since it "embodie[d] deeply held values and concepts." The report added that the "transfer into a second language in a new environment is fraught with possibilities for psychological damage and social disorientation which could affect subsequent learning." As before, provincial education authorities virtually ignored these requests.

Nevertheless, McGeer's ministry was not able to stall for long. In November 1978, the first Vietnamese refugees—the so-called "boat people"—arrived in Vancouver.¹¹¹ By November 29, 150 refugees and their families were welcomed at the Vancouver airport by the ISS.¹¹² That year, the number of immigrant children entering B.C.'s schools climbed to 4,022 and the provincial government faced pleas to assist in educating the "boat people." The provincial government quickly passed the Refugee Settlement Program of B.C. Act (Bill 32), which allocated funds from the federal labour ministry to cover the costs of refugee language education.¹¹³ In 1980, B.C. accepted a further 3,981 Vietnamese refugees¹¹⁴ and the number of immigrant children arriving in the province's schools rose to 6,267.¹¹⁵ According to Brian Smith, the education minister who succeeded McGeer in 1979, refugee funding for English education totaled \$1.7 million in 1980.¹¹⁶

Although the refugees were reportedly faring well in their schools, with some integrated into the regular classroom stream within a year,¹¹⁷ difficulties soon arose for the education ministry. At the November 2, 1981 schools policy committee meeting, one of the government's senior staff, Wayne Deharnais, noted that 2,735 children were being funded under the refugee program—a considerably larger number than the 2,063 quoted by Statistics Canada. This difference signified a government funding overpayment of approximately \$2 million over 2 years, at a time when the provincial economy and government revenues were in a downward spiral as a result of depressed natural resource prices. Deharnais called the system tracking refugee children defective, since children funded in one district could move to another district and be recounted as a newly-arrived immigrant.¹¹⁸ By 1983-84, the provincial Ministry of Education replaced the direct grant program for refugees with a system of "special approvals" used in funding ESL and native education, among others.¹¹⁹ Notably, Deharnais's concern seems to be one of the only uses of statistical evidence in determining government ESL policy in B.C.

The VSB's appeals for funding continued unabated into the 1980s. In March 1981, John Wormsbecker, Vancouver's deputy superintendent forwarded a memo from VSB trustee Stewart Martin to Glen Wall, acting assistant deputy minister of education. In the memo, Martin proposed a pre-kindergarten program in order to address the needs of non-English speaking children. Without reference to any research, he stated that schools needed to act as "intervention agencies at the pre-kindergarten levels" since the

Canadian-born, non-English-speaking child enters kindergarten five years behind his English-speaking counterparts in language development. Too often it is assumed that because he is young, he will be able to overcome this deficit in a couple of years through some magical process of osmosis. It is readily observable, however, that by sixth grade, the majority of these children can be classified as retarded readers. This retardation is a symptom of their continuing general language deprivation.¹²⁰

Although intuitively appealing, Martin's claim was inaccurate. Language acquisition research has consistently demonstrated that Canadian-born ESL students "are

overrepresented in the high academic stream" compared with students whose first language is English.¹²¹ Further, while socio-economic status (SES) is generally held to be an important factor in academic achievement in the United States, its impact is less in Canadian-born ESL families. According to Ontario Institute for Studies in Education researcher Jim Cummins, "immigrant parents, regardless of SES, tend strongly to encourage their children to perform well academically."¹²²

Effects of Social Sciences

Various other forces boosted specialized instruction in ESL. After World War II, social science theorists began to question the focus on the structural aspects of language that had previously formed the basis of English instruction. Noam Chomsky, an American linguist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, published Syntactic Structures in 1957 and Verbal Behavior in 1959 in which he criticized behaviorist and structural views of language. To Chomsky, the minimal units of language analysis were not sounds and syllables but rather the sentence structures which could be generated from rigidly followed rules deeply imbedded in the Language Acquisition Device (LAD) of a speaker's mind. Behaviorists and structuralists, Chomsky argued, had ignored the innately creative processes of language use in favour of superficial, structural products.¹²³

In turn, Chomsky's ideas were applied to language learning pedagogy and soon made their way into public schools and textbooks across North America. Traditional language exercises in which students labeled and manipulated grammatical components soon fell out of educational favour. Instead, they were replaced throughout the 1960s by "parsing" exercises in which "tree diagrams" were used to chart the transformation of abstract deep structure rules to concrete sentences.¹²⁴ Students and teachers reacted to such activities with boredom, confusion and cries of "irrelevance." Literary scholars charged that linguistics had no place in the public school English curriculum, which they claimed should focus solely on literature.¹²⁵ In 1965, markers of the B.C. university entrance examination attacked the quality of students' work, citing in particular, students' lack of creativity and

original thinking—brought about perhaps by the education system's overemphasis on word and sentence-level skills.¹²⁶

In 1966, the American National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE) and the Modern Language Association (MLA) held a now-historic conference at Dartmouth College in New Hampshire, U.S. The "Dartmouth Conference" marked a turning point in language instruction, as participants agreed that grammar is not—nor should it be—the basis of public-school English curricula. Literature, they concluded, is not "learned" but "responded to" on an emotional level.¹²⁷ In B.C. in 1974, teacher and poet Dorothy Livesay reiterated that view, appealing directly to the B.C. education authorities to change English curricula on the grounds that linguistic analysis was of no relevance to her students' lives.¹²⁸ And so, grammatical instruction quietly passed out of the schools of North America—and out of college and university departments of English—becoming the sole purview of specialized ESL teachers and the applied linguists who trained them.¹²⁹ Indeed, during the 1960s and 1970s, much of the pro-ESL literature called for those who taught immigrant children to be trained in linguistics.¹³⁰

Conclusion

After 1967, substantial changes to Canada's immigration policy led to increasing percentages of non-English-speaking immigrants and refugees. Individuals such as Mary Ashworth, Charles Paris and Joseph Katz as well as lobby groups such as the CCCJ, ISS, and the VSB, directly solicited provincial and federal governments for more resources to educate the new immigrants, who were believed to be creating a crisis in B.C.'s education system. In reality, the number of immigrant children arriving in B.C.'s schools decreased from 1966 until 1971. Between 1972 and 1974, totals rose and then decreased steadily until 1978, at which time the Vietnamese "boat people" caused totals to increase again.

No effort appears to have been made by any of the interested parties—government, schools, lobby groups, or trustees—to study the needs of non-English-speaking children and their teachers. According to Vancouver superintendent Dante Lupini, funding requests

came mainly from teachers in the field without specialized training in ESL¹³¹—a claim unsupported by documentary evidence. Indeed, no documentary evidence indicates that the voices of children and teachers in the public schools were even part of the debate. Instead, ESL promoters argued on behalf of children and teachers, using as evidence their own convictions and inaccurate statistics about immigration, socialization, and language learning.

Although increased immigration may not have been entirely responsible for the development of ESL in B.C.'s public schools during the 1970s, federal policies regarding immigration, bilingualism, foreign aid and manpower training were also important factors. Arguments for additional funding were framed on the basis that all children were entitled—through the Official Languages Act of 1969—to instruction in one of Canada's two official languages.¹³² In practice, however, the Act was narrowly construed by the federal government and pertained only to funding for Francophones learning English and Anglophones learning French.¹³³ Because immigrant children failed to meet these criteria, they were excluded from federal support. In attempting to circumvent this barrier, ESL advocates in B.C. applied for funding directly to the federal manpower and immigration department. In some cases, ESL promoters were able to secure funds through manpower and immigration schemes under the auspices of "language training."

In addition to the actions of various individuals and lobby groups, developments in English teaching across North America led to the separation of "language" from "literature." By the mid-1970s, grammar instruction was officially dropped from the B.C. public school curriculum. The study of "language" became the sole purview ESL professionals and the applied linguists who trained them.

Notes

¹ Canada, Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Recommendations. Volume I, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967), 228-230.

² F. Henry Johnson, A History of Public Education in British Columbia, Amended Manuscript, (Vancouver: UBC Special Collections, 1965), 280.

³ See for example, files of letters to and from Edith Lucas. BCA GR1219, B.C. Department of Education, High School Correspondence.

⁴ In 1954 a Federal-Provincial Agreement formalized the provision of Secretary of State materials to provincial governments for Citizenship instruction, aimed at "newcomers" to Canada who were "over school age." See Memorandum of J.R. Fleming, Superintendent, Financial Services, Department of Education, to the Secretary-Treasurers of all school districts, 9 April 1974. Attached to the memo is a copy of the Federal-Provincial Agreement, dated 31 March 1954.

⁵ Vancouver Board of School Trustees, Annual Report, 1960-61, 2.

⁶ Patricia Wakefield, "Pleez, I Wish to Speak Zee Eenglish," B.C. Teacher, 49 (December 1969), 117.

⁷ Vancouver Board of School Trustees, Annual Report, 1967-68, 3.

⁸ Pointing out government's lack of "accountability" mechanisms is meant to be factual and not critical. The lack of interest in "accountability" was in keeping with the societal norms of the time. The 1960s and 1970s witnessed the expansion of social programs at all levels of government across North America. It was not until the late 1970s, with sky-rocketing inflation and economic stagnation, that government programs fell under the scrutiny of "accountability" measures.

⁹ Vancouver Board of School Trustees, Annual Report, 1969-70, 13.

¹⁰ Johnson, A History of Public Education in British Columbia, Amended Manuscript, 280.

¹¹ Ashworth, "Immigrant Children and B.C. Schools," TESL TALK, 9 (Winter 1978), 5.

¹² *Ibid.*, 4-5.

¹³ Vancouver Board of School Trustees, Annual Report, 1970-71, 10. See also, Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Table G2, Immigration by Calendar Year, 1852-1996, 4, in Citizenship and Immigration Statistics, 1996, (Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 1999).

¹⁴ Annual Report of the Public Schools of British Columbia, 1965-66, F55.

¹⁵ Annual Report of the Public Schools of British Columbia, 1967-68, G59. See also, C.B. Conway, "Pressure Points and Growing Pains in Beautiful British Columbia," The Journal of Education, 17 (April 1971): 104-117. Indeed, from 1948 to 1968, B.C.'s population doubled from approximately 1 million to 2 million people.

¹⁶ Ashworth, "Immigrant children and B.C. schools," 4.

¹⁷ V. Knowles, Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540-1997, (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1997), 156.

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- ¹⁸ Ibid., 156-160. See also R. Whitaker, Canadian Immigration Policy Since Confederation, (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1991), 19.
- ¹⁹ Knowles, Strangers at Our Gates, 158.
- ²⁰ N. Kelley and M. Trebilcock, The Making of the Mosaic, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 371.
- ²¹ Knowles, Strangers at Our Gates, 173. According to Knowles, between 20,000 and 30,000 Americans made Canada their home during the Vietnam war. These statistics are only meant to illustrate a source of English-speaking immigrants. Notably, few of the draft-dodgers would have been accompanied by children.
- ²² M. Ashworth, "Immigrant Children and B.C. Schools," 4.
- ²³ Kelly and Trebilcock, The Making of the Mosaic, 347-348.
- ²⁴ J.L. Granatstein et al., Twentieth Century Canada, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1986), 401. See also R. Riendeau, A Brief History of Canada, (New York: Facts on Files, 2000), 267.
- ²⁵ Ashworth, "Immigrant Children and B.C. Schools," 1978, 5.
- ²⁶ See Table 8, "Percentages of International Immigrants under 19 years of age, by Official Language(s) Spoken and by Province of Destination, 1970-71 to 1975-76," Statistics Canada Report No. 81-216, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1981.
- ²⁷ Government of Canada, White Paper on Immigration, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1966), 8.
- ²⁸ Canadian Bureau for International Education, A Question of Self-interest - A Statement on Foreign Students in Canada, (Ottawa: CBIE, 1977), 18.
- ²⁹ Granatstein, Twentieth Century Canada, 397. Canada was not alone in its policies, however. For an interesting summary of American foreign aid policies at the time, see "Changing concepts of foreign aid" by Walter Lippmann, The Victoria Times, 11 March 1965, 4.
- ³⁰ Canadian Bureau for International Education, Papers on International Education, (Ottawa: Canadian Bureau for International Education, 1973), 10. See also Memorandum of Allan Williams to Patrick McGeer, 23 February 1976, BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979, File: Foreign Students.
- ³¹ Notes of the Twentieth Meeting of the CMEC, 10-11 September 1974, St. John's Newfoundland and the Twenty-third meeting of the CMEC, 9-10 September 1975. BCA G81-056, Files of Eileen Dailly dispersed among the files marked Minister of Education, 1975-1979.
- ³² Allan Williams to Patrick McGeer, 23 February 1976. BCA G81-056: Minister of Education, 1975-1979: Foreign Students. See also Table A4, Number and Percentage Distribution of International Students in Canada by Host Province and Level of Study, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990 and 1992, Statistics Canada Report, no. 81-261, 1993.
- ³³ Statistics Canada, International Student Participation in Canadian Education, Report 81-261, Table A1 and A4, 1992.
- ³⁴ "Post-secondary Students to Write English Test," Education Today, 3 (December 1976), 1. It is important to note, however, that the colleges and universities were generally concerned with the language skills of all students. Provincial examinations had been phased out by the NDP government in 1973. Colleges and universities opposed this move and had appealed to the government to maintain the exams as a "screening" device for English-speaking as well as non-English-speaking students. Whether the concern over

students' language abilities were province-wide, national or international is a question that merits further investigation. Interview with Dr. Jerry Mussio, 11 July, 2001.

³⁵ Statistics Canada, Manpower and Immigration Statistics, Report 81-216, Table 6, 1975 and Statistics Canada, International Participation in Canadian Immigration, Report 81-261, Table A4, 1992.

³⁶ "Post-secondary Students to Write English Test," Education Today, 3 (December 1976), 1.

³⁷ "English Placement Test Shows Writing Problems," Education Today, 3 (June 1977), 1.

³⁸ Immigrant Services Society website:
www.candianenterprises.org/immigrantservicessocietyofbc/index.htm. Winch had been MLA for Vancouver East from 1933 to 1953.

³⁹ Provincial Secretary Grant Files: 1956-1978. BCA MS 1163, Box 13: Provincial Secretary.

⁴⁰ The Vancouver Immigrant Services Society: Statement of Revenue and Expenditure, Year ended March 31 1974. BCA MS 1163, Box 13: Provincial Secretary.

⁴¹ Harold Winch to Ernest Hall, 26 June 1974. Provincial Secretary Grant Files. BCA MS 1163, Box 13: Provincial Secretary.

⁴² Laurie Wallace to John Meredith, 3 July 1974. BCA MS 1163, Box 13: Provincial Secretary.

⁴³ Meredith to Wallace, 10 July 1974. BCA MS 1163, Box 13: Provincial Secretary.

⁴⁴ Winch to Wallace, 19 July 1974. BCA MS 1163, Box 13: Provincial Secretary.

⁴⁵ Meredith to Wallace, 19 September 1974. BCA MS 1163, Provincial Secretary, Box 13, Grants.

⁴⁶ Provincial Secretary Grant Files: 1956-1978. BCA MS 1163, Provincial Secretary Box 24, Files of the ISS.

⁴⁷ Winch to Hall, 15 April 1975. BCA MS 1163, Provincial Secretary, Box 13: Grants.

⁴⁸ Winch to Hall, thanking him for \$64,110 grant. BCA MS 1163, Provincial Secretary Box 24, Files of the ISS. See also Statistics Canada, Manpower and Immigration Statistics, Report 81-216, Tables 5 and 6, 1974 and 1975.

⁴⁹ Ministry of Education, Deputies' Committee: Summary of Outside Agencies' Requests for Funding, 1981/2. BCA GR 1768, Box 1: Minutes from Deputies' Committee Meetings.

⁵⁰ Wade Stoneman to Hall, April 29 1974. BCA MS 1163, Provincial Secretary Box 24, Files of the ISS.

⁵¹ Press Release by Manpower and Immigration. BCA GR1561. Files of Andy Soles; Box 5: Manpower and Immigration file.

⁵² Winch to Wallace, March 12 1975, BCA MS 1163, Provincial Secretary Box 24, Files of the ISS.

⁵³ Winch, ISS vice-president to Laurie Wallace, Deputy Provincial Secretary, 12 March 1976. BCA MS 1163; Provincial Secretary Box: 24. Files of the ISS.

⁵⁴ Minutes from the Annual General Meeting of the Immigrant Services Society of B.C., 28 May 1976, BCA MS 1163, Provincial Secretary Box 24, Files of the ISS. For other examples of these links, see BCA GR 1561, Files of Andy Soles, Box 5: Manpower Development Act and Manpower Planning and Training.

⁵⁵ Stoneman to Grace McCarthy, 12 July 1976. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979: ISS.

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- ⁵⁶ McCarthy to McGeer, 14 July 1976. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979: ISS.
- ⁵⁷ A Short History of the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews in Canada, Reprinted December 1972, by the Pacific Region CCCJ. BCA MS 1163, Provincial Secretary Box 24, Files of the CCCJ.
- ⁵⁸ Smithson, Executive Director of the CCCJ to W.A.C. Bennett, Premier of British Columbia, 25 November 1969. BCA MS 1163, Provincial Secretary Box 24, Files of the CCCJ.
- ⁵⁹ Wallace to Smithson, 14 May 1970. BCA MS 1163, Provincial Secretary Box 24, Files of the CCCJ.
- ⁶⁰ Smithson to Mayor Frances H. Elford, M.B. Couvelier and P.D. Pemberton Holmes, 15 March 1972. BCA MS 1163, Provincial Secretary. Box 24: CCCJ.
- ⁶¹ Ibid. See also Charles B. Paris, Pacific Region CCCJ to James S. Bennett, Executive Assistant to McGeer, Minister of Education, 5 August 1976. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979: CCCJ.
- ⁶² Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, A Short History, December 1972, 4. BCA GR81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979, CCCJ.
- ⁶³ Jones to Premier Bill Bennett, 21 July 1976. GR81-056 Minister of Education, 1975-1979: CCCJ.
- ⁶⁴ See Charles Paris to James Bennett, 19 March 1976 and Letter of Paris to Bennett, June 23 1976. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979: CCCJ.
- ⁶⁵ Bennett to Joseph Phillipson, 20 July 1976. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979: CCCJ.
- ⁶⁶ Paris to Bennett, 5 August 1976. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979: CCCJ.
- ⁶⁷ Bennett to McCarthy, 9 August 1976. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979: Immigration.
- ⁶⁸ Lupini to Phillipson, 13 September 1976. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979: CCCJ
- ⁶⁹ Phillipson, 29 September 1976. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979: CCCJ.
- ⁷⁰ McCarthy to McGeer, 1 September 1976. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979: CCCJ
- ⁷¹ Walter Hardwick to Dante Lupini, 15 March 1977. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979: CCCJ.
- ⁷² Paris to McGeer, 24 January 1977. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979: CCCJ.
- ⁷³ Joe Phillipson to James Bennett, 21 April 1977. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979: CCCJ.
- ⁷⁴ Ashworth, The Forces Which Shaped Them, 190.
- ⁷⁵ Ibid., 193.
- ⁷⁶ Vancouver Board of School Trustees, Annual Report, 1972-73, 20.
- ⁷⁷ See "Asian Airlift Efficient, Humane," The Vancouver Sun, 8 November 1972, 18 and "First of Refugees Fly into Toronto," The Vancouver Sun, 23 September 1972, 19.
- ⁷⁸ Vancouver Board of School Trustees, Annual Report, 1972-73, 20.
- ⁷⁹ Vancouver Board of School Trustees, Annual Report, 1972-73, 21.

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- ⁸⁰ Vancouver Board of School Trustees, Annual Report, 1975-76, 2-3.
- ⁸¹ B.C. Department of Education, Language B.C.: An Assessment in the English Language Arts: A Pilot Study: Highlights, (Victoria, B.C. Learning Assessment Branch, B.C. Department of Education, 1976), 5.
- ⁸² Statistics Canada, Manpower and Immigration Statistics, Report 81-216, Tables 5 and 6, 1963 to 1974.
- ⁸³ Statistics Canada, Manpower and Immigration Statistics, Report 81-216, Table 8, 1977.
- ⁸⁴ Vancouver Board of School Trustees, Annual Report, 1975-76, 3.
- ⁸⁵ Mirhady to McGeer, 18 December 1975. K. Mirhady to R. Andras, 17 December 1975. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979: ESL.
- ⁸⁶ Presentation of the VSB trustees to the Honourable Cabinet of the Government of B.C., 28 April 1977. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979: ESL.
- ⁸⁷ Annual Report of the Public Schools, 1976-77, 21. Debates of the Legislative Assembly, 20 July 1977, 3878.
- ⁸⁸ The Board of School Trustees of District No. 39 (Vancouver), Presentation to the Members of Parliament of the B.C. Progressive Conservative Caucus on Special Problems in Vancouver Regarding the Education of Students for Whom English is a Second Language, April 1977. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979: ESL. It is to be noted that the VSB elected to appeal to the federal Conservative opposition, having been virtually ignored by the federal Liberals and the provincial Socreds.
- ⁸⁹ Vancouver Board of School Trustees. Annual Report, 1977-78, 26.
- ⁹⁰ Andrew to Premier W. Bennett, 28 April 1977. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979: ESL.
- ⁹¹ Debates of the Legislative Assembly, 4 March 1975, 330-333.
- ⁹² Statistics Canada, Manpower and Immigration Statistics, Report 81-216, Tables 5 and 6, 1972-1975.
- ⁹³ Debates of the Legislative Assembly, 4 March 1975, 332-333.
- ⁹⁴ Debates of the Legislative Assembly, 2 May 1975, 1990. See also Memorandum of J.R. Fleming, Superintendent, Financial Services, Department of Education, to the Secretary-Treasurers of all school districts, 9 April, 1974. The memo outlines the Department's position and includes an appended copy of the Federal-Provincial Agreement for Citizenship Instruction, dated 31 March 1954.
- ⁹⁵ Debates of the Legislative Assembly, 19 July 1977, 3841.
- ⁹⁶ Debates of the Legislative Assembly, 25 July 1977, 4011.
- ⁹⁷ Debates of the Legislative Assembly, 19 July 1977, 3878 to 3879, 25 July 1977, 3878; 25 July 1977, 4012.
- ⁹⁸ Statistics Canada, Manpower and Immigration Statistics, Table 6, 1977.
- ⁹⁹ See in particular the Debates of the Legislative Assembly for 2 June 1978, 1954; 5 June 1978, 2001; and 10 July 1979, 638.
- ¹⁰⁰ According to Mary Ashworth, the federal government "undeservedly starved ESL" of funding while willingly paying for English-speaking children to learn French. Ashworth maintained that it was the "right

of every child to be helped to become fluent in one of the official languages." See M. Ashworth, "More Than One Language," in Multiculturalism, Bilingualism and Canadian Institutions, edited by Keith A. McLeod (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1979) 82.

¹⁰¹ Ashworth, The Forces Which Shaped Them, 87-88.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 88.

¹⁰³ Debates of the Legislative Assembly, July 19 1977, 3841. According to the Census figures quoted by Brown, Vancouver had a smaller percentage of non-English-speaking families than other cities in B.C., such as Castlegar at 23.6%, Grand Forks at 29.2%, and Kitimat at 20.3%. Of course, Vancouver's raw totals would have been greater.

¹⁰⁴ Mary Ashworth, The Settlement of Immigrants: The Need for a Policy, December 1976, 4. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979: CCCJ.

¹⁰⁵ Letter of Cloutier to J.F.D. Mitchell, September 11 1974. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979.

¹⁰⁶ B.C. TEAL, "TEAL to Take Stand on Government Cutbacks in ESL," B.C. Association of TEAL Newsletter, 3 (May 1976), 4. Materials regarding Directions ESL were thankfully received from past president, Naomi Katz, who was interviewed for this dissertation in September, 2000.

¹⁰⁷ Directions ESL, Report on the symposium held Saturday, 22 January 1977. BCA Add. MSS 1163, Files of Scott Wallace. Box 5: Immigration. Directions ESL, "Defining and Resolving the Problems in B.C." Report on the Second Symposium held Saturday, April 23 1977. From the files of Naomi Katz, past president of Directions ESL.

¹⁰⁸ N. Katz to Pat McGeer, 10 January 1978. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979: ESL.

¹⁰⁹ Katz to McGeer, 15 February 1978. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979: Directions ESL.

¹¹⁰ Standing Committee for Directions ESL, Brief to the Joint Board of Teacher Education, 12 December 1977. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979: ESL.

¹¹¹ Kevin Griffin, Vancouver's Many Faces: Passport to the Cultures of a City, (Vancouver: Whitecap Books, 1993), 222. See also "2,500 Refugees on Ship Barred from Malaysia," The Vancouver Express, 15 November 1978, 3 and "B.C. 'to Take Ship Refugees,'" The Vancouver Express, 20 November 1978, 1.

¹¹² "'Boat People' Family Arrives in Vancouver," The Vancouver Express, 29 November 1978, 3.

¹¹³ B.C. Ministry of Education, Deputies' Committee, Minutes from the Committee Meetings, 11 December 1979, Item # 19.

¹¹⁴ Minister of Supply and Services, Canada, Immigration Statistics 1980 to 1984, Table 3.

¹¹⁵ Minister of Supply and Services, Canada, Immigration Statistics 1980 to 1984, Table 5.

¹¹⁶ Debates of the Legislative Assembly, June 17 1980, 2880.

¹¹⁷ "Vietnamese Immigrants Doing Well in school," Education Today, 8 (June 1980) 5.

¹¹⁸ Minutes of the Schools Policy Committee Meeting, 2 November 1981. BCA GR1768, Deputies' Committee.

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- ¹¹⁹ Minutes of the Deputies' Committee Meeting, 16 November 1981. BCA GR1768, Deputies' Committee.
- ¹²⁰ Memorandum of Martin to Wormsbecker, forwarded to Glen Wall, 16 March 1981. BCA 1768 Deputies' Committee, File 117.
- ¹²¹ J. Cummins, Bilingualism and Minority-Language Children, (Toronto: OISE, 1981), 17. See also J. Cummins, "Bilingualism and Cognitive Functioning," in Bilingual and Multicultural Education: Canadian Perspectives, edited by S. Shapson and V. D'Oyley (Clevedon, U.K.: Multilingual Matters, 1984).
- ¹²² *Ibid.*, 17.
- ¹²³ H.H. Stern, Fundamental Concepts of Language Teaching, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1983), 140-146.
- ¹²⁴ R.B. Long, "English Grammar in the 1970s," College English, 31 (1970): 763-773.
- ¹²⁵ M. Lester, "The Relation of Linguistics to Literature," College English, 30 (January 1969): 375. See also Irving Josephson, "Linguistics and Discovery Teaching," College English, 30 (January 1969): 376-380 and R.B. Kaplan. "On Language Learning and Language Teaching," The English Quarterly, 3 (Spring 1970): 23-28.
- ¹²⁶ "English Takes a Beating: Grade 12 Markers Critical," The Vancouver Sun, 12 November 1965, 43.
- ¹²⁷ A.H. Marckwardt, "The Dartmouth Conference in Retrospect," The English Quarterly, 3 (Spring 1970): 8-19.
- ¹²⁸ BCA GR1561, Files of Andy Soles; Box 8: File: Teaching English and Canadian Literature. Included with the letter—dated August 9, 1974—was an article that Livesay wrote entitled: "A Creative Climate for English Teaching," The English Quarterly, 1 (Summer 1968): 31- 38. The response to Livesay from A.E. Soles, Associate Deputy Minister was friendly. He promised to circulate the correspondence to the appropriate "departmental people who are involved in curriculum and educational programmes."
- ¹²⁹ Long, "English Grammar in the 1970s," 773.
- ¹³⁰ See, for example, Ashworth, "Immigrant Children and B.C. Schools," 1978, 5-6 and Wakefield, "Pleez, I wish to speak zee Eenglish," 1969, 118.
- ¹³¹ Dante Lupini, interview from Vancouver B.C., April 2000.
- ¹³² Ashworth, "Immigrant Children and B.C. schools," 8.
- ¹³³ See definitions of Minority Language, Minority Language Education and Second Language Education in "Minority and Second Language Education, Elementary and Secondary Levels." Statistics Canada, Report No. 81-257, 1991-92. (Ottawa: Government of Canada).

CHAPTER 7

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION COMES TO BRITISH COLUMBIA

Introduction

On June 26, 1981, B.C. Minister of Education, Brian Smith made the following announcement in the provincial legislature:

I am happy to announce that we will appoint a provincial coordinator of multicultural education in English as a second language to pull together multicultural programs, and that in the fall we will set up a major provincial workshop for teachers in the lower mainland.¹

Why did the B.C. government commit itself to multicultural education in June 1981, almost 10 years after the federal government passed its "policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" as a means of "assuring the cultural freedom of Canadians?"² Some education scholars have suggested—largely on the basis of timing—that provincial developments in multiculturalism have resulted *directly* from federal initiatives based on Trudeau's policy.³ Nevertheless, documentary records suggest that this was not, in fact, the case in British Columbia. The purpose of this chapter is to describe how multicultural education came to the educational policy agenda in B.C.

Background

To understand multicultural education in B.C., it is first necessary to understand the forces which led to the federal policy. In 1965, when the B and B Commission published its preliminary report, there was enormous public opposition from other ethnic groups—as well as from one of the Commissioners, Jaroslav Bohdan Rudnyckyj. Indeed, Rudnyckyj issued his own statement in Volume I of the report, calling for the recognition of the rights of ethnic Canadians.⁴ Furthermore, in 1965, the participants at the First Conference on Canadian Slavs—which included Ukrainian-Canadian Senator Paul Yuzyk —"made public recommendations that the Royal Commission on Bi-lingualism and Bi-culturalism be renamed the 'Royal Commission on Bi-lingualism and Multi-culturalism'."⁵

In 1968, a *Thinkers' Conference* was sponsored by the Canadian Cultural Rights Committee, led by Senator Yuzyk.⁶ A number of prominent Ukrainian-Canadian intellectuals attended, including Leon Kossar, Paul Yuzyk, Walter Tarnopolsky and Victor Szyrynski. Senator Yuzyk presented a paper in which he described the emergence of a political "third force" in Canada, consisting of non-English, non-French minority groups. Delegates called for government recognition of minority group contributions to Canadian life, as well as government aid for the Canadian Folk Arts Council and increased funding for minority language instruction.⁷

Others echoed the concerns of the Ukrainian-Canadian Congress and criticized the concept of a bilingual Canada. In October 1966, Joseph T. Thorson, president of the Canadian Citizenship Council, former president of the Exchequer Court of Canada—and an Icelandic descendent—criticized the B and B Commission at the annual meeting of the Citizenship Council.⁸ Thorson claimed that Canada was not and had never been bilingual, but was instead a "multicultural country."⁹ Faced with ardent opposition, the Commission issued a fourth book, reflecting the "contributions made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution."¹⁰

Although the Secretary of State for Multiculturalism began promoting the concept of multiculturalism soon after the federal policy was passed, this department did not directly lobby the government of British Columbia until 1978. Prior to 1978, it directly funded various ethnic minority groups throughout B.C. In August 1972, *The Vancouver Sun* reported that the Japanese, Doukhorbor, Chinese and Sikh communities received Secretary of State grants, totaling \$13,800, to support folk music concerts, research and the documentation of minority history.¹¹ An additional \$13,000 was given to the Chinese Benevolent Association, the Vancouver Jewish Community Centre, the Greater Vancouver Korean Society, Cristoforo Colombo Lodge, Trail and the *Vancouver Hellenic Mirror*.¹²

According to political scientist Stephen Brooks, three years after passage of the federal policy only 20% of all "ethnic" Canadians were aware of the federal policy and most "rejected the notion of using public money to promote multiculturalism."¹³ Who, then, among the ethnic communities, received funding from the government? Some evidence suggests that groups with federal and provincial political ties tended to be the principal recipients of government funding. During the early 1970s, federal members of parliament campaigned among ethnic communities whose members were active in the federal Liberal party, providing funding for the development of social services, such as social workers, counsellors and home care workers.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the greatest pro-multiculturalism forces in B.C. did not originate in federal government circles. Multicultural education was added to the educational policy agenda in B.C. as a result of many disparate pressures which coalesced in June 1981.

Political Pressures

Within public schooling, B.C. responded even more slowly to the federal multicultural policy than to the Official Languages Act. Without the direct initiatives from Ottawa that marked the government's efforts for bilingualism, B.C. could safely ignore the issue. Moreover, multiculturalism lacked the political urgency that marked bilingualism, particularly after René Levesque and the Parti Québécois came to power with a mandate to negotiate Quebec's separation from Confederation. Although Social Credit Vancouver South MLA Agnes Kripps endorsed the policy in the provincial house in February 1972 and called for the development of comparable provincial policy, multiculturalism lay officially dormant until the late 1970s.¹⁵

Multiculturalism was first promoted in the public school system of B.C. by the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews (CCCJ). In the mid-1970s, Charles Paris and his multicultural resource team began offering immigration settlement and language instruction in-service in the Vancouver school district. Funding for Paris's group initially came from the federal manpower and immigration department and the Secretary of State. Soon after,

they received funding from the City of Vancouver, Social Planning Department, and the provincial human resources ministry.¹⁶ In 1977, when the education ministry denied funding to Paris and his team for promoting ESL workshops and in-services for the Vancouver school district, the CCCJ changed its focus to multiculturalism. On January 24th, Paris invited education minister McGeer to name ministerial delegates to a multicultural conference to be held in Manitoba in April.¹⁷

The CCCJ was not alone in its efforts to promote multiculturalism. In the spring, secretary of the B.C. Multicultural Women's Steering Committee, Lorna Ashlee criticized the government's decision not to continue funding Paris's resource team¹⁸ and told McGeer that it was "unrealistic to expect that individual school districts [would] be able to develop effective programs of their own as they lack[ed] the information and resources." She ended her letter with a concern that the provincial government was not committed to multiculturalism, despite the 1971 federal policy.

In 1978, the Vancouver Multicultural Society (VMS) of B.C. began lobbying the provincial government to implement multicultural education programs. Begun in 1974 by a "group of individuals" who "had the insight to recognize a growing need of coordination between the various ethno-cultural communities and interested individuals in the Greater Vancouver area," the VMS was mandated to act as an "umbrella organization" —much like the Ukrainian-Canadian Congress and Canadian Parents for French.¹⁹ In a letter to Pat McGeer on March 9, 1978, Joseph Katz, UBC professor and chair of the VMS's Education Committee, argued that B.C. was not paying sufficient attention to multicultural education.²⁰ He requested that the education minister "establish a Division of Multicultural Studies and appoint a coordinator," who could oversee the instruction of non-official languages and cultural studies. Though McGeer was sympathetic, he insisted that first priority in education would be given to English and French "due to national unity problems."²¹ Nevertheless, he had associate deputy minister R. J. Carter explain to Katz how local boards could initiate and finance special courses as they saw fit. That did not

satisfy Katz who wanted to discuss his specific recommendation directly with the minister.²²

In addition to grassroots interest groups, federal members of parliament were also influential in making multiculturalism policies a reality in B.C. In October of 1977 Simma Holt, Liberal member of parliament for Vancouver-Kingsway requested \$21,425 from Norman Cafik, Minister of State for Multiculturalism, to fund a Parkside Preschool Society project, one of approximately seven public works projects in Holt's riding receiving funding through the Department of Manpower and Immigration.²³ Holt copied the letter to McGeer and claimed, without evidence, that

differences in language and culture between parents and children, have in the past ... caused serious delinquency problems and extreme violence in homes. Foreign-born parents do not understand the culture mix their children acquire upon entry to Canadian schools. I can cite numerous cases throughout my 32-year writing career where children become drug addicts and delinquents because of this conflict at home. The Parkside program may help about 44 children, and lead to solutions for thousands.²⁴

On behalf of McGeer, Deputy Minister Walter Hardwick defended the status quo.²⁵ He believed that multiculturalism was not something that was best treated separately, but rather was currently being "woven into the fabric of the educational process," in social studies courses or through fairs and pageants depicting music, dance, costumes, food and languages of ethnic communities. He added that the education ministry was "established for the purpose of educating children not for the purpose of providing funds to well-meaning vested interest groups and individuals." He concluded by stating that the education ministry was already obliged to oversee a "whole range of quasi-educational activities including those having to do with law, consumerism, health, safety, culture and multi-culturalism," and that the ministry had "neither the resources nor the expertise to undertake all these activities without some sacrifice of its primary mandate."

Nevertheless, Hardwick's view was displaced in the ministry due to federal and provincial political developments. In 1973, the federal government had appointed the first

Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism (CCCM) to advise the federal minister about implementing its multiculturalism policy. Forty-seven ethnocultural backgrounds were represented among the 101 political appointees to the Council.²⁶ From its inception, the CCCM recommended that the federal government play an active role in funding and creating materials for language instruction in Canadian public schools.²⁷ Of the Council's 20 recommendations made in 1977, 12 dealt directly with provincial education, including the suggestion that "school curricula be developed and implemented in full consultation with qualified educators and representatives of the ethnocultural communities concerned."²⁸ Six recommendations dealt with the education of native children and two addressed the concerns of immigrant educators who wished to enter the provincial teaching force. By 1978, the CCCM began actively promoting multicultural education programs throughout the provinces.

In the late 1970s, the federal multiculturalism directorate became increasingly responsive to the CCCM's input. In 1977, Orest Kruhlak, a member of the directorate, met with several CCCM members—including University of Alberta professor Manoly Lupul—to hear their ideas about promoting multiculturalism in schools.²⁹ Afterward, Kruhlak hired Roberta Russell, a former teacher, to assess the resources and policies that existed for schools to deal with multiculturalism and cultural pluralism.³⁰ By 1979, Russell had compiled substantial material resources which the directorate then distributed to the provinces.³¹ The following year, the multiculturalism directorate expanded its financial resources to \$50 million and included in its list of grant recipients "educational resource developers."³²

McGeer and his ministry also felt the direct pressures of fellow ministers. Sam Bawlf, Minister of Recreation and Conservation, forwarded a letter to McGeer, dated April 3, 1978, from Jozepha Herfst, president of the Affiliation of Multicultural Societies and Service Agencies of B.C. (AMSSA). AMSSA served as an umbrella organization for multicultural interests in the province. In the letter, Herfst noted that a delegation from the

society had recently met with a Mr. Cross of the recreation and conservation ministry to "propose changes in government policy on culture and to encourage multiculturalism."³³ Herfst also requested that Bawlf appoint a director in his ministry to communicate the ideas and recommendations of AMSSA to cabinet and that he approach the Ministry of Education "regarding a possible conference on Multiculturalism and Curriculum Development." She stated that although

schools alone cannot completely erase community racial tensions that may exist, schools can and must play a larger role in making sure that our youth of today can develop a strong sense of understanding and appreciation for those whose background and heritage is [sic] different from their own.³⁴

Heritage Conservation

Recreation and Conservation may appear to be a strange bedfellow for multiculturalism. However, the relationship of this ministry is crucial in understanding the education ministry's eventual commitment to multiculturalism. In 1972, member countries of UNESCO signed two important documents concerning cultural heritage: the "Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage" and the "Recommendation Concerning the Protection, at the National Level, of Cultural and Natural Heritage."³⁵ Since Canada was a signatory and helped draft these documents, in 1973 the federal government established Heritage Canada, a charitable organization to promote the "conservation of heritage structures and natural landscape."³⁶ In addition, the federal external affairs ministry encouraged provincial governments to abide by UNESCO recommendations. Despite the protestations of legal consultant Mel Smith, the B.C. government informed External Affairs that "no impediments exist[ed] in the provincial legislation of the Province that could hamper the implementation of the Convention and Recommendation."³⁷

After their re-election in 1975, the Social Credit party instituted several ministerial reorganizations. Responsibility for heritage was transferred to Sam Bawlf, the Minister of Recreation and Conservation in 1977. Bawlf was a former real estate developer with a keen

interest in architectural heritage conservation³⁸ and, with his architect brother Nick, had won a Heritage Canada Award for "exemplary development of Market Square in Victoria."³⁹ Bawlf created a new Department of Culture and Heritage to assist and encourage cultural activities throughout the province and to help conserve archaeological and architectural heritage.

In September 1977, the B.C. government passed the Heritage Conservation Act, which led to the establishment of Heritage Trust, a "non-profit Crown Corporation with wide powers, subject to Ministerial approval, for encouraging and implementing heritage conservation throughout the province."⁴⁰ Although initially concerned with architectural heritage conservation, the recreation and conservation ministry eventually embraced multiculturalism policy as "cultural conservation" in 1978, following Jozepha Herfst's letter. When Bawlf forwarded this letter to McGeer, the education minister replied to Herfst that his ministry officials were considering the request for a multicultural conference and for curriculum development in the coming year.⁴¹ He assured Herfst that they would soon contact her with a decision.

On August 11, 1978, McGeer and his associate deputy R. J. Carter met with Joseph Katz and the education committee of the Vancouver Multicultural Society. At the meeting, the committee recommended to McGeer and Carter that:

- 1) the Ministry of Education apply to the federal Multiculturalism Directorate for funding for the instruction of non-official languages
- 2) French Programs Director Nick Ardanaz administer such a language program
- 3) the VMS education Committee meet with Ardanaz regarding the development of non-official language curricula
- 4) the ministry review present provisions for prescribed and locally developed language programs with regard to the concept of multicultural education.⁴²

McGeer assured Katz that the education ministry would review the matters raised.⁴³ On September 19, 1978, Carter assured Alex Prytula, Vice-President of AMSSA, that McGeer would support a review of prescribed and locally-developed language courses and that Nick Ardanaz "would act as liaison with the multicultural societies" of B.C.⁴⁴ The

education ministry also struck an ad hoc advisory committee on multiculturalism. Included on the committee was Joseph Katz, Alex Prytula and Nick Ardanaz. It was in this way in 1978 that the education ministry, under Pat McGeer, made its first foray into multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism took on increased provincial importance early in 1979 due to the public controversies stirred by the arrival of Vietnamese refugees. In February 1979, Hugh Curtis, then provincial secretary, sponsored a conference on multiculturalism entitled "Toward a Provincial Multicultural Policy."⁴⁵ The conference's purpose was to assist the education ministry and its ad hoc advisory committee to examine the status of learning non-official languages in B.C.; to identify related needs and concerns and to formulate recommendations for the minister's consideration.⁴⁶ The opening function raising reception was held at Hodson Manor in Vancouver, the home of the VMS. Guest speakers included Grace McCarthy, Hugh Curtis, Premier Bill Bennett and Pat McGeer. On the second day of the conference, delegates broke into discussion groups to consider multiculturalism from four broad perspectives: community and social aspects, chaired by Wade Stoneman of the ISS; education, under Alex Prytula of AMSSA ; arts/heritage under Frances Fridge and business/professional concerns, led by John Stashuk.⁴⁷ One month later the Ministry of Education co-sponsored a second conference on multiculturalism in B.C. with the VMS. The conference's stated purposes were identical to those of the first.⁴⁸ This second conference was held only days before the May 1979 provincial election. Interestingly, multiculturalism also appeared as Item 1.9 on the education ministry's agenda for the deputies' committee meeting on February 19, 1979; however, there is no mention of multiculturalism in the minutes of this meeting.⁴⁹

Later that year, McGeer told the fall meeting of the B.C. Association of Teachers of Modern Languages that the "development and implications of multicultural curricula [were] of great interest to government."⁵⁰ He also announced that, upon the recommendations of the ad hoc advisory committee, a survey would be undertaken to determine B.C.'s

requirements in terms of multicultural programs and curricula. SFU's Elaine Day and Stan Shapson undertook the survey in 1981 and concluded that

many school districts [had] made more than a beginning in implementing programmes and activities in the areas of English second language, multiculturalism for all children and languages other than English or French. It [was] equally clear from the opinions expressed by respondents that the climate is receptive to further development in all of these areas.⁵¹

B.C.'s government was in a position to act upon Day and Shapson's recommendations in 1981 because of a number of political changes instituted both federally and provincially. In December 1979, the provincial education ministry was split in two. Brian Smith, a lawyer, became Minister of Education for the K-12 programs. McGeer was assigned as minister to oversee the post-secondary system.⁵² That same year Steve Paproski was appointed federal multiculturalism minister. In December, Paproski wrote to Smith stating that the federal government wished to encourage "greater consultation with provincial governments," in program implementation.⁵³ Joe Clark's newly-elected federal Conservative government restructured the CCCM into regional components and appointed Enrico Diano of Vancouver as the Regional CCCM chair for B.C. Paproski advised Smith that Diano would soon contact the Minister to "discuss mutual concerns" in the area of multiculturalism.

However, the administrative changes instituted by Prime Minister Clark were short-lived. Nine months after the Conservative election, they were defeated by Trudeau's Liberals on a motion of non-confidence. Enrico Diano lost his post as regional director of the CCCM; however, he was not without a political posting for long. On August 26, 1980, B.C.'s new provincial secretary Evan Wolfe announced that Enrico Diano would be appointed as the province's "part-time, \$39,000-a-year adviser on cultural heritage."⁵⁴ According to Wolfe, the government originally planned to establish a multicultural directorate with full-time staff but opted against enlarging the provincial bureaucracy and preferred instead "more direct contact and flexibility" between the government and ethnic

communities. Diano's role included sustaining and fostering individual differences of cultural heritage in B.C.⁵⁵ After nearly a decade of indecision, the B.C. government used Diano's appointment as a gesture of its own commitment to multiculturalism.

Multicultural groups in B.C. reacted to Diano's appointment with horror and cries of "mockery."⁵⁶ According to Evelyn Lee, executive director of the Multilingual Orientation Service Association for Immigrant Communities, Premier Bennett had promised them support for multicultural programs at the April 1979 conference. Lee viewed Bennett's promise as a political ploy to win ethnic votes. Other ethnic and multicultural groups argued that Diano—an investment broker—was unsuited for the job, as he himself had admitted that he "didn't know much about the subject" of multiculturalism. Critics also implied that the appointment had been politically motivated, rewarding Diano for his work on Joe Clark's 1979 federal election campaign.⁵⁷

The provincial government responded to these criticisms by creating a cabinet committee on cultural heritage, which included provincial secretary Evan Wolfe, deputy premier and minister of human resources Grace McCarthy, education minister Brian Smith, and labour minister Jack Heinrich.⁵⁸ According to Premier Bennett, the government's cultural heritage program represented a serious commitment to "respecting the multicultural nature" of B.C.'s society, which would allow community concerns to be identified by the ad hoc advisory committee and the cultural heritage advisor, who would channel them to the cabinet committee. The cabinet committee would then determine the appropriate course of action for the ministry best positioned to address the concerns.

On April 23, 1981, the provincial government announced the creation of an intercultural information centre to "gather information on existing multicultural organizations and their services, as well as government services to cultural communities, and make it available to individuals and communities throughout the province."⁵⁹ According to Wolfe, the cabinet committee wished to provide "better communication between cultural groups and the ethnic and general media" since this had been "a major concern of the B.C. Human

Rights Commission's recent conference on racism and the media held recently in Vancouver."

In June 1981, the provincial government assured a place for multiculturalism in the political agenda when it struck an advisory committee on cultural heritage, mandated to report on cultural heritage conservation in B.C.⁶⁰ Among the committee members were Judge Norman Oreck, Jozepha Herfst of the VMS, Katharine Mirhady of the VSB, and UBC's Patricia Wakefield. Although the major focus of the Committee's 1982 report was on resource conservation, architectural heritage and the promotion of the arts, the committee dedicated two full chapters to multicultural education and the instruction of ESL. One entire chapter was also devoted to issues of racism.⁶¹ In addition, in November 1981, Diano's cultural heritage office published the first volume of a magazine called "Living Heritage—The Voice of Cultural Heritage in British Columbia."⁶² Thus, the government was able to manage two issues by coupling heritage conservation with multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism finally occupied a place on the political agenda in British Columbia as a result of efforts made by various lobby groups, individuals, and politicians, as well as pressures from the federal government. One other force was instrumental in motivating the provincial government to tip its hat in the direction of multiculturalism in 1981.

Human Rights

Following World War II, governments began to pay greater heed to human rights groups due to increasing public pressure. In 1960, John Diefenbaker's Conservative government passed the Canadian Bill of Rights and in 1969, B.C. became the seventh province to enact its own Human Rights Act.⁶³ At the time, the government of B.C. adopted a position which political scientist Ronald Manzer has called "economic liberalism." That is, the Social Credit government believed that "inequality was an individual matter and that the sole role of the state was to arbitrate the dispute and not to rectify its causes or consequences."⁶⁴ Other provinces, such as Ontario, adopted an "ethical

liberal" stance, invoking a proactive role for government with an intent to prevent racial discrimination mainly through education.

In 1972, when Dave Barrett's NDP government came into power in B.C., it enacted a new Human Rights Code which gave a newly-formed human rights commission power to provide proactive, anti-racist educational services to the public.⁶⁵ When the Social Credit party was re-elected in 1975, it did not abolish the Code but it minimized the educative role of the Commission. From this point on, the Socreds were caught in a position of maintaining an "economic liberal" stance which eschewed a proactive role for the state, while battling off the demands of the public, lobby groups, the federal government, and other international and national organizations who pushed for greater state involvement.⁶⁶

In 1977, the Canadian government passed its Human Rights Act and, in 1978, it signed the UNESCO Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice. The UNESCO declaration required signatory states to make

the resources of the educational system available to all groups of the population without racial restriction or discrimination; and [take] appropriate steps to remedy the handicaps from which ... groups suffer with regard to their level of education and standard of living and in particular to prevent such handicaps being passed on to children.⁶⁷

In 1979, the Human Rights Council, the CCCJ and the Secretary of State co-sponsored a human rights conference in Vancouver, B.C. with a view to pressuring the B.C. government to change its stance. Members of the planning committee included UBC professor Joseph Katz and CCCJ regional director Charles Paris.⁶⁸ Conference delegates resolved that Canadian multiculturalism was an "empty slogan" and that the best way to make it meaningful was to "introduce a carefully prepared and tested program into the schools, a program required of all students" to teach "our children that Canadians are peoples of many cultures and religions, all equally deserving our respect."⁶⁹ The report recommended curricular change to allow for the development of courses on comparative

religion, the history of aboriginal peoples, multiculturalism and human rights, as well as greater emphasis on French Canada.

In the following year, events instigated by the B.C. wing of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) helped to precipitate proactive human rights and anti-racism initiatives on the part of the provincial government. Beginning in the spring of 1980, the KKK had launched a recruiting campaign across Canada. On September 30, 1980, the Klan entered into a formal merger with the Nationalist Party of Canada, a racist organization opposed to "third world" immigration. Western Canadian Klan organizer Wolfgang Droege, who resided in Victoria, then announced a series of media interviews which were planned for Vancouver in mid-October.⁷⁰ On October 31, 1980, a regional branch of the National Black Coalition requested the authority from the B.C. Attorney-General's Office to proceed with charges against the Ku Klux Klan, which had been distributing literature at the B.C. Institute of Technology and various public schools throughout the province.⁷¹ The KKK also met with opposition from Vancouver Alderman Harry Rankin when it applied for a Business License and sought to register under the B.C. Societies Act.⁷²

In December 1980, NDP MLA Emery Barnes addressed the provincial house and asked what steps the education minister had "taken to *prevent* (italics added) the propagation of hate literature propaganda in institutions under his jurisdiction."⁷³ Barnes's request reflected the NDP's emphasis on ethical liberalism. In keeping with the Socred's philosophy of economic liberalism, Smith replied that school boards and colleges possessed "ample authority to repel distribution and intrusions of a non-educational nature." Nevertheless, Smith promised to institute new "regulations which would assist with the problem" by "strengthening the hands of principals in repelling intrusions of a non-educational nature on school grounds."

On December 9, 1980, assistant deputy attorney-general Murray Rankin, advised the provincial government that the case against the Klan did not "disclose a prima facie case under the Criminal Code, as it did not appear to meet the requirements of willfully

promoting hatred."⁷⁴ Barnes, however, continued to press the government on racism. He criticized the Socreds for their passive, reactionary approach to racism, claiming that there was a "Mount St. Helens type of sleeping monster in this province that may evolve into open racial strife."⁷⁵ Quoting from an article written by Wes Knapp, a VSB trustee and spokesman for the BCTF's 1977 task force on racism, Barnes accused provincial authorities of denying the existence of racism in B.C. "despite the overwhelming evidence that it is part of the history of the province."⁷⁶ Barnes recounted his amazement, after visiting various schools in Vancouver, "at the number of young people in grade 10 or 11 who have never seen a person of non-white extraction in their schools."

Under the Human Rights Code (Section 16), the labour minister possessed the authority to appoint a board of inquiry at the request of the Human Rights Branch in situations whereby the branch was unable to settle an allegation. Nola Landucci, Director of the Human Rights Branch made such a request to the labour minister and on March 25, 1981, the province appointed John McAlpine, a Vancouver-based lawyer, to report on Ku Klux Klan activity in B.C.⁷⁷

On June 25, 1981, the provincial government tabled McAlpine's report. In it, McAlpine recommended changes to education, law enforcement agencies, the media and the government. McAlpine did not find that racism was "rampant" in the schools of B.C. However, when McAlpine interviewed B.C. Klan members, he found that they were greatly concerned over what was perceived to be the deterioration of public schooling "filled with minorities who have a language handicap."⁷⁸ Klan members held that such conditions slowed the progress of English-speaking children who, they argued, were being "held back" by incompetent immigrants.

McAlpine appears to have inadvertently supported the Klan's view by quoting Ed May, B.C.T.F. Anti-Racism Coordinator, who argued—illogically—that because immigration had increased from 1970 to 1980, the most fundamental form of anti-racist education was the English as a Second Language Program.⁷⁹ Rather than investigate the

veracity of the Klan's claims, McAlpine recommended changes to British Columbia's "anglocentric system of education" to include anti-racism programs in schools, multicultural in-service programs for teachers, curricular changes, race relations subcommittees in each district to deal with the "problem," and incentives for teachers to return to university to retrain, since, McAlpine claimed, "most of them were trained at a time when the classroom consisted primarily of white students."⁸⁰ On the same day, Attorney General Allan Williams introduced a new B.C. Civil Rights Protection Act.⁸¹

The day after the government tabled McAlpine's report, education minister Smith—a lawyer—declared the following in the provincial legislature;

I think it is appropriate today, following the introduction of the Civil Rights Protection Act yesterday, to announce that multicultural education will be strengthened in B.C. schools today, as a preventive means of combating racism. Today, I am happy to announce that we will appoint a provincial coordinator of multicultural education in English as a second language to pull together multicultural programs, and that in the fall we will set up a major provincial workshop for teachers.⁸²

Smith also cited the 1980 survey undertaken by SFU's Day and Shapson, indicating that "there is a sincere wish to have assistance in the areas of curriculum and materials, and particularly in the in-service training of teachers." In summary, not only had multiculturalism made it to B.C.'s political agenda, but by adding it to the Ministry of Education's mandate the provincial government clearly indicated that they believed that racism, multiculturalism and English as a second language programs were interconnected—a view supported by some, but not all educators.

According to professor Keith McLeod, a multiculturalism researcher at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education and a member of the CCCJ,

multicultural education in Canada is an aspect of human rights education [and] has been a response to and in turn has helped to create a more humane and human rights conscious society where there is a desire for equity and fairness for all, where there is not only consciousness of equality of opportunity but of outcomes.⁸³

Others, however, have disagreed with this view. For example, Ashworth becomes annoyed when multiculturalism, ESL and human rights concerns are rolled into one. According to Ashworth, "ESL and multiculturalism are NOT the same thing, but they do overlap."⁸⁴

Conclusion

In the end, multicultural education made its way into B.C.'s schools along a circuitous path. Certain public and private agencies proved instrumental in advocating a broader social mandate for the schools, notably the CCCM, the CCCJ, AMSSA, Directions ESL and the ISS. Multicultural education's cause was also greatly aided by provincial politicians from both Social Credit and NDP camps, such as Emery Barnes, Sam Bawlf, Patrick McGeer and Brian Smith.

The events examined in this chapter that led to Education Minister Brian Smith's announcement to the legislative assembly in June 1981 indicate that—in the eyes of the government—ESL, multiculturalism, heritage conservation and anti-racism initiatives were interconnected policy domains. There may have been good reason for government officials to see these domains as interrelated. First, policies in these areas were all expressed in the enlargement of educational and social service provisions. As well, within each of these policy areas, lobby groups turned to government to assume a role as state "guardian" of minority ethnic and cultural rights. Third, and more important, it was not only the needs of the clients within each of these policy domains that were claimed to intersect. The advocates who came to speak for immigrant minorities and cultural heritage conservationists constituted a tightly-knit policy community. That is, the same groups of experts—for example, Joseph Katz, Patricia Wakefield, Charles Paris and others—sat on different boards and advisory committees in defense of different social causes. Much like the nineteenth-century American school reformers described by historians David Tyack and Elizabeth Hansot as "managers of virtue," B.C.'s multiculturalism reformers formed "like-minded" groups sharing sophisticated political strategies.⁸⁵

Notably, as was the case with native and ESL learners, the government of B.C. did not systematically investigate the needs of its multicultural students—or their teachers. The developments described in this chapter point to the significant role of political determinants in establishing educational policy—at the virtual exclusion of the children and educators impacted by such policies. This is not entirely surprising, however, since it was not until the 1980s that faltering world economies forced the concept of "accountability" onto the public policy agendas of many governments.

Notes

¹ Debates of the Legislative Assembly, 26 June 1981, 6453.

² Debates of the House of Commons, 8 October 1971, 8545.

³ See for example Tony Burton, "Federal Multicultural Policy and Education in Canada," Educational Research Quarterly, 6 (Fall 1981), 89-90; J. Friesen, "The Last Decade, the Next Decade," Multicultural Education Journal, 10 (Spring, 1992): 1-48; R. Magsino, "Multiculturalism in Schools: Is Multicultural Education Possible and Justifiable?" in Contemporary Canadian Educational Issues, edited by L.W. Roberts and R.A. Clifton, (Toronto: Nelson Canada, 1995). K. Moodley, "Multicultural Education in Canada: Historical Development and Current Status," in Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education, edited by James Banks and C.M. Banks, (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1995).

⁴ Commissioner J.B. Rudnyckyj, Separate Statement, Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book I, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967), 155-169.

⁵ Canadian Society for the Study of Education, Eighth Yearbook: Education and Canadian Multiculturalism. Some Problems and Some Solutions. (Saskatoon: CSSE, 1981), 1.

⁶ Canadian Cultural Rights Committee, "CONCERN..." A Conference to Study Canada's Multicultural Patterns in the Sixties," Toronto, 13-15 December, (Ottawa: The Senate, 1968). According to Manoly Lupul, Senator Yuzyk organized the conference with funds he obtained from the Secretary of State. Interview with Manoly Lupul, Calgary, AB., 30 August 2000.

⁷ Ibid. See also "Multicultural Society Favored by Delegates," Chronicle-Telegraph, 16 December 1968, 1; "Third Canadian Force Just Can't Be Ignored," Welland-Port Colborne Tribune, 23 December 1968, 1 and "For Some It's Trilingualism," The Ottawa Citizen, 17 December 1968, 2 and Consultative Council on Multiculturalism, First Annual Report of the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism (Ottawa: Author), 1975; Canadian Secretary of State for Multiculturalism, Multiculturalism and the Government of Canada, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, Canada), 1978.

⁸ "Cultures by the Dozen," The Province, 16 October 1966, 1. No group was as instrumental in redirecting the Commission's mandate as the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC). During World War II the federal government grew concerned over growing anti-democratic movements among some ethnic groups in Canada and sought to unify them and gain their support for the Allied war effort. In 1940, federal authorities helped create the Ukrainian-Canadian Congress, an umbrella organization to unite and represent the 500,000 people of Ukrainian heritage in Canada. To assist its establishment, government officials played on the desire of Ukrainian-Canadians to see the establishment of a Ukrainian nation, free from Soviet control. In 1940, Watson Kirkconnell—one of the founding fathers of the Canadian Citizenship Branch—promised the

Congress that Canada would negotiate for a free Ukraine in exchange for Ukrainian-Canadians' unity and support for the federal war effort. See Canadian Society for the Study of Education, Eighth Yearbook: Education and Canadian Multiculturalism: Some Problems and Some Solutions, 1; A.D. Raymond, Ukrainian Canadians Against Hitler! (Toronto: Progress Books, 1943), 153; O. Gerus, "The Ukrainian Canadian Committee," in A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada, edited by M. Lupul (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart Ltd., in association with the Multiculturalism Directorate, Department of Secretary of State and the Canadian Government Publishing Centre, Supply and Services Canada, 1982), 195; W. Kirkconnell, "Many Voices, One Chorus," in Conference Proceedings of the Manitoba Mosaic, held in Winnipeg on October 13-17, 1970, 23; W. Kirkconnell, The Ukrainian Canadians and the War (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1940), 28; Reverend Dr. Basil Kushnir, "Post-War Reconstruction of the World," First All-Canadian Congress of Ukrainians in Canada, June 22-24, 1943, 111-119.

⁹ Cultures by the Dozen," The Province, 16 October 1966, 1.

¹⁰ Canada, Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Book 4 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970), 3.

¹¹ "Ethnic Groups Get Grants," The Vancouver Sun, 15 August 1972, 26.

¹² "5 Ethnic Groups Receive Aid," The Vancouver Sun, 29 March 1973, 35B. See also, "Ethnic Groups Overlooked," The Province, 5 August 1972, 8 and "Ethnic Groups Need More Government Help," The Vancouver Sun, 12 March 1973, 14. For a concise summary of the funding allocations for Multiculturalism, see Chapter 8: Multiculturalism in Leslie Pal, Interests of State: The Politics of Language, Multiculturalism and Feminism in Canada, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993).

¹³ Stephen Brooks, Public Policy in Canada: An Introduction, 2nd ed., (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Inc., 1993), 252.

¹⁴ Interview with Nik Zapantis, Victoria, B.C., 21 January 2000.

¹⁵ Debates of the Legislative Assembly, 2 February 1972, 254 and 26 June 1981, 6453.

¹⁶ D. Lupini to J. Phillipson, 13 September 1976. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979: CCCJ.

¹⁷ Paris to McGeer, 24 January 1977. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979: CCCJ.

¹⁸ Ashlee to McGeer, 5 May 1977. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979: Multiculturalism.

¹⁹ Information sheet obtained from the Vancouver Multicultural Society of B.C. Hodson Manor is a Heritage Building owned by the City of Vancouver.

²⁰ J. Katz to McGeer, 9 March 1978. BCA G81-056: Minister of Education, 1975-1979: Multiculturalism.

²¹ McGeer to Katz, 22 March 1978. BCA G81-056: Minister of Education, 1975-1979: Multiculturalism.

²² Carter to McGeer, 20 April 1978. BCA G81-056: Minister of Education, 1975-1979: Multiculturalism.

²³ Simma Holt to Norman Cafik, 19 October 1977. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979: Multiculturalism

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Hardwick to McGeer, 27 October 1977. BCA G81-056, Minister of Education, 1975-1979: Multiculturalism

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- ²⁶ Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism. First Annual Report of the CCCM. (Ottawa: CCCM), 1975, VI.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, 11-12.
- ²⁸ CCCM, A Report of the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism, Ottawa: Secretary of State for Multiculturalism, 1977, 93. The federal B and B Commission urged the provinces to comply with its recommendations, but ultimately acknowledged that education fell under provincial jurisdiction and that the federal government would only assist where requested. See Debates of the House of Commons, 8 October 1971, 8584.
- ²⁹ Interview with Manoly Lupul, Calgary, AB., 30 August 2000.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.* According to Lupul, Russell was the "main catalyst behind the Council for Multicultural and Intercultural Education (CMIE)," formed in 1981 with the multicultural directorate's financial support.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, See also Canadian Council for Multicultural and Intercultural Education, website.
- ³² "Multiculturalism to Receive \$50 Million," News Release of the Multiculturalism Directorate, 21 March 1978. BCA G81-056: Minister of Education, 1975-1979: Multiculturalism.
- ³³ J. Herfst to Sam Bawlf, 3 April 1978. BCA G81-056: Minister of Education, 1975-1979: Multiculturalism.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*
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- ⁶⁰ Debates of the Legislative Assembly, 28 April 1981, 5247.
- ⁶¹ Province of British Columbia, Report of the Advisory Committee on Cultural Heritage, (Vancouver, B.C.: Ministry of Provincial Secretary), March 1982.
- ⁶² Living Heritage—The Voice of Cultural Heritage in British Columbia, 1 (November/December 1981).
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- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 30.
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- ⁷⁰ "KKK Promoting Crime," *The Province*, 14 April 1980, A6 and "Klan Members Join Anti-Immigrant Organization," *The Vancouver Sun*, 30 September 1980, A9.
- ⁷¹ Minutes of the Legislative Assembly, 9 December 1980, 4280. See also "KKK is a Threat," *The Province*, 27 November 1980, B1. First established in the United States, the National Black Coalition has a number of branches throughout Canada, including a national umbrella group.
- ⁷² Alderman Rankin appealed to Attorney General Allan Williams to intervene and bar the Klan from receiving a Business License and official status under the Societies Act. See "Rankin Seeking A-G Okay to Sue Klan for 'Hatred'," *The Province*, 30 October 1980, A6 and "Klan Probe Urged," *The Province*, 18 November, 1980, A4. It also appears that Klan propaganda entered Langley Secondary School at the request of Social Studies teachers who were studying "neo-fascist and racist organizations." When teachers received the information, they forwarded it to the anti-racism co-ordinator at the B.C.T.F. See "Klan Recruiting in B.C. Schools," *The Province*, 19 November, 1980, A1.
- ⁷³ Minutes of the Legislative Assembly, 9 December 1980, 4280
- ⁷⁴ John D. McAlpine, *Report Arising Out of the Activities of the Ku Klux Klan in British Columbia as Presented to the Honourable J.H. Heinrich, Minister of Labour for the Province of British Columbia*, (Victoria, B.C.: Queen's Printer, 1981), 8.
- ⁷⁵ Debates of the Legislative Assembly, 19 March, 1981, 4646.
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 4647. In 1973, the B.C. Teachers' Federation began taking on increased social responsibilities, beginning with a task force on the Status of Women in education. (See B.C.T.F. *Members Guide to the B.C.T.F.*, (Vancouver: B.C.T.F., 1996-97), 130.) In 1975, at the request of a Surrey teacher, Lloyd Edwards, the B.C.T.F. launched a program against racism. See T. McKenna, "Confronting Racism, Promoting Respect," *Rethinking Schools*, 13 (Summer 1999), 3.
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.* See also "B.C. Schools to Fight Racism," *The Vancouver Sun*, 26 June 1981, A1.
- ⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 67.
- ⁷⁹ McAlpine, *Report Arising Out of the Activities of the Ku Klux Klan in B.C.*, 1981, 67.
- ⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 70.
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- ⁸² *Ibid.*; Debates of the Legislative Assembly, 26 June 1981, 6453.

⁸³ Keith McLeod, "Multiculturalism and Multicultural Education in Canada: Human Rights and Human Rights Education," in Beyond Multicultural Education, edited by K. Moodley, (Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1992), 239.

⁸⁴ Interview with Mary Ashworth, Victoria, B.C. March 2000.

⁸⁵ D. Tyack and E. Hansot, Managers of Virtue, (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1984), 20.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS

What conclusions can be drawn about the policies regarding minority learners in British Columbia? Education officials in B.C.'s public school system attempted, where possible, to maintain the notion of common schooling—regardless of colour, creed or nationality—which was embodied in the original 1872 School Act. In contrast, the actions and policies of some elected politicians have tended to reflect the changing political climate that marked different periods in the provincial experience.

In the case of the Chinese, provincial school officials first maintained a stance that all children were entitled to state-run, common schooling, as outlined in the School Act. By the late 1920s, however, B.C.'s educational authorities were swayed by the prevailing "efficiency" rhetoric and were willing to segregate Chinese youngsters on the grounds that their language difficulties allegedly hampered the efficiency of the public system. Notably, unlike provincial politicians of the time, the educators who worked closely with minority children often spoke glowingly of them and opposed such segregation.

During the early part of the twentieth century, some education officials were willing to seek compromise in dealing with the Doukhobors who refused to send their children to school. However, by the 1930s amid a devastating nationwide economic Depression, provincial authorities became less tolerant of a "non-assimilable, non-English-speaking collectivity" who thought in "communistic" terms and whose antics threatened to prompt the unemployed to join the ranks of "Bolshevik discontents." As in the case of the Chinese children, the educators who worked with the Doukhobor children spoke fondly of them.

Public hostility against the Japanese has been well-documented as intense and long-standing. In contrast to the views of the general public and some local and provincial politicians, the educators who worked with children of Japanese ancestry praised them for being diligent, easy to get along with, and smart. The extent to which educators at

provincial and local levels were willing to defend the children is illustrated in the actions of Anna Miller, Edith Lucas and H.N. MacCorkindale, who side-stepped official government policies and extended as much assistance as they could in educating the evacuees.

The events described in this dissertation involving the Doukhobors, the Chinese and the Japanese prior to and during World War II, attest to the desire of B.C.'s educational administrators to uphold the intents of the original School Act in providing common schooling for all children, regardless of race, colour, creed or nationality. Faithful to the intents of the original 1872 School Act, provincial educators defended and promoted the notion of "common schooling" as an instrument to transform a pluralistic society into a like-minded citizenry.

Despite this, the political and social ideologies of each historical era significantly affected the decisions made by the politicians who were accountable to the electorate. Between 1963 and 1973, the unified vision of common public schooling began to blur as policy makers attempted to meet the demands of groups representing various minorities. The decade from 1963 to 1973 represented a transitional decade in which schools moved from an emphasis on commonality to an emphasis on specificity, an incremental expansion of English-language services for non-English-speaking youngsters in Vancouver.

The period from 1974 to 1981 represented a time of consolidation and expansion of specialized public services increasingly absorbed and managed by the provincial education department. In the case of native learners, the impetus for change lay within the public system itself. High drop-out rates and low graduation levels prompted native parents and advocacy groups to criticize the public school system for failing to educate their children. The B.C. government responded to this charge by increasing funding, broadening programs, recruiting and training native teachers and aides, and attempting to clarify their stance through formalized policy statements. Although there were successes—such as Mount Currie's teachers' aide program—these were largely ignored by critics who maintained that native failed at higher rates than their non-native peers.

Unfortunately, systematic research into the causes and contexts surrounding native student failure in B.C. was generally missing. By 1981, the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs began to advocate for native-controlled schooling as the best option for their children. Despite its interest in providing a more diverse and inclusive school program, during the 1960s and 1970s policy-makers still clung to the somewhat modified belief that common schooling was best and wished at all costs to "counteract the withdrawal of native Indian children from the public schools."¹

Unlike the concerns regarding native learners, the impetus for expanded French language programs in B.C.'s public schools lay outside of the system in the larger theatre of federal politics. After passage of the Official Languages Act in 1969, the federal government, through the Secretary of State, sought provincial co-operation in promoting and expanding French language instruction to blunt the separatist agenda of Quebecois nationalists. In 1973, B.C.'s education minister Eileen Dailly enabled greater federal intervention in B.C.'s public schooling by accepting federal funds and applying them directly to French language instruction. However, it was Dailly's successor Patrick McGeer, the Social Credit education minister, who allowed for the consolidation and expansion of federal influence. Even though less than 2 per cent of B.C.'s population spoke French at home, McGeer enabled the implementation of the programme-cadre de français, first offered in 1978. McGeer's tenure also led to increased funding for French second language classes and the expansion of immersion offerings.

Developments in French language education in B.C. inevitably reflected McGeer's personality. In the eyes of McGeer, British Columbia was obligated to help preserve a united Canada. This view was shared by other federal and provincial politicians such as Eileen Dailly and Gordon Gibson as well as civil servants such as Walter Hardwick, who all believed that by expanding French language instruction B.C. could support federal efforts to ensure that Canada was, in practice, a bilingual nation. McGeer had only crossed the floor of the provincial legislature to join the Social Credit party when it appeared that the

B.C. Liberal Party had collapsed as a political force. It is understandable that his political beliefs were generally consonant with those of the federal Liberals. Despite some opposition among the civil service, as well as fellow politicians, such as Jack Heinrich, McGeer proved capable of promoting certain visions and policies which harmonized with federal initiatives.² Nevertheless, national unity concerns were not alone in precipitating French language expansion in B.C. By the late 1970s, individuals and well-organized lobby groups—such as Canadian Parents for French—urged the provincial government to increase French funding and programs on the grounds that children who were not bilingual would be denied opportunities for jobs with the federal civil service and crown corporations.

Development of ESL programs for non-English speakers in B.C. may also be traced, indirectly, to Ottawa, and particularly, to the impact that changing federal immigration policies had on provincial schooling. Labour shortages and decreased immigration from traditional source countries prompted the Canadian government in 1967 to implement substantial changes in immigration policy. With the advent of the “points system” and the union of the immigration department with the manpower department, Canada attempted to fill its labour pool and to satisfy business interests through manpower and training initiatives. Changes to immigration policy, however, sparked a public backlash as Canadians grew concerned over the increase in “visible minorities” and the enormous appeal backlog that resulted from immigrants circumventing the normal immigration channels and applying for citizenship while visiting Canada. With unemployment hovering around 10 per cent in the mid-1970s, immigration became an explosive political issue that demanded the attention of federal and provincial officials alike.

How ESL instruction expanded in B.C. is highly complex. It began with the federal government's belief that its manpower programs could assist in training workers for the expanding economy. Organizations and individuals such as the Mary Ashworth, Directions ESL, the Immigrant Services Society, the Vancouver School Board, and the Canadian

Council of Christians and Jews—to name but a few—all attempted to secure funding made available from the Federal Department of Immigration and Manpower. They proposed programs to provide English language and citizenship training for new Canadians on the basis that failure to fund such programs would result in increased levels of crime, mental illness and family disintegration. Although the federal government was committed to funding classes for adults, it was constitutionally excluded from dealing with children in the K to 12 provincial schools. And here lay the source of controversy.

Educators faced with "visibly" non-white, non-English-speaking children were left to their own devices, watching enviously as provincial spending priorities were directed toward other programs such as native education and French language services. ESL promoters employed various methods to secure funding, including the prediction of disastrous social results in the absence of proper linguistic and citizenship training. Despite these efforts, policy-makers made no effort to assess the veracity of the promoters' claims, nor to determine the needs and concerns of new Canadians through school or community level study. Such studies would have indicated that the ESL population was in fact a diverse conglomerate consisting of immigrants, refugees, native-born non-English speakers and overseas students who were studying in Canada as part of the federal government's foreign policy. Provincial policy-makers simply argued that funding should come from the federal government, citing immigration policies as the trigger for educational concern. In return, the federal government declined requests for funding, stating that education fell under provincial jurisdiction.

Notably absent in the ESL story were the voices of immigrant children, their parents, and their teachers. Speaking on their behalf instead were ESL promoters—university professors, politicians, school trustees, and various interest groups such as the ISS, the CCCJ, and the VSB. In the absence of sound research evidence, their claims and requests took the form of advocacy. Like the late nineteenth-century common school crusaders described by U.S. historians David Tyack and Elizabeth Hansot, B.C.'s

ESL advocates constituted a like-minded, closely linked "policy community" who spoke on behalf of—and in place of—the immigrants they claimed to serve.

In 1981, the term "multiculturalism" became an established part of the political and educational discourse in B.C. Like the growth of French and ESL instruction, multiculturalism was linked to federal government initiatives—although not directly. It was first introduced into federal politics with the 1971 multiculturalism policy, and although a comparable provincial policy was suggested in 1972 by Vancouver South MLA Agnes Kripps, it was not acted upon. The first advocacy group to bring multiculturalism to the attention of the B.C. education department was the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews under the direction of Charles Paris. Paris's multicultural resource team was originally funded by the federal manpower and immigration department, but soon began lobbying the province for funds to train teachers in ESL methods and citizenship. In 1977, the B.C. education ministry denied Paris and his team further funding, forcing the CCCJ to try a new approach. It changed its focus to multiculturalism and hosted a national conference in Manitoba in April 1977.

As with French and ESL initiatives, education civil servants opposed requests for multicultural services and attempted to prevent the provincial education ministry from absorbing and managing more social services. Generally cautious in their pedagogical outlook, ministry officials attempted to maintain the ideals of common schooling established with the first School Act over 100 years earlier. Their educational perspective was generally restrained and conservative in character, in line with Manzer's "economic liberalism," adopted by the Social Credit government. That is, the Socreds did not favour a proactive stance to social justice, preferring instead to allow a free market to drive social opportunity. However, international, national and provincial events soon overwhelmed the provincial government, forcing them to embrace multicultural education policies and programs.

The last stage of multiculturalism's circuitous journey into the schools of B.C. occurred in 1980 with the rise of Ku Klux Klan activities in the province. In his report, John McAlpine, the lawyer investigating the activities, reported that some KKK members felt that English-speaking children were hampering the education of native-born Canadians and causing public education to deteriorate. McAlpine did not seek to verify or refute this claim. Instead, his report recommended changes to the B.C. education system, including ESL and anti-racism programs, teacher "retraining" programs and multiculturalism in-services. Education Minister Brian Smith responded to McAlpine's report by promising to commit educational resources to ESL, multiculturalism and anti-racism programs, as a preventive means of combating racism.

In 1978, U.S. historian Diane Ravitch described the history of minority education as varying, depending on the cultural group and the historical period in question.³ The findings of this dissertation support Ravitch's assessment. Differing waves of political and social pressure—at the international, national and provincial levels—have all impacted the schooling of B.C.'s minority learners. In addition, B.C.'s minorities have felt the predilections of the individuals and groups who have advocated for and spoken on their behalf in the name of their educational needs.

The conclusions of this dissertation appear contrary, however, to Rosemary Brown's contention that during the early twentieth century racism was a political tool implemented by educational bureaucrats. Far from oppressing B.C.'s minority learners, in some cases the behaviors and actions of the educational bureaucracy appear to have ameliorated situations rendered unsavory by the political climate of the day. The actions of Edith Lucas, Anna Miller and H.N. MacCorkindale symbolize the desire of educational bureaucrats to maintain a common system of schooling regardless of race, colour, creed or nationality.

In responding to McAlpine's report on the KKK, Smith promised to make anti-racism part of the common school agenda. Only future historical scholarship can provide

exact details regarding the fate of Smith's proposed changes, as post-1981 government documents were not archived at the time of this dissertation. Non-archival sources indicate that the political winds of change blew multicultural education off its course in 1982 due to a major provincial recession. Bill Vander Zalm, a Dutch immigrant, replaced Brian Smith as education minister and swept away Smith's promises under a two-year Social Credit restraint program that imposed a 12% ceiling on government expenditures.⁴ It was not only education that felt the impact of restraint. By 1984, the Social Credit government had plans to replace both the Human Rights Branch and the B.C. Human Rights Commission with a human rights panel made up solely of cabinet members. The provincial government became preoccupied with financial matters and subordinated social concerns, as evidenced by the lack of reference to multiculturalism, anti-racism or human rights in the Ministry of Education's annual reports from 1982 to 1988. However, the Ministry continued to fund programs for French, native education and ESL.

Although the education ministry gave low priority to multicultural education following the restraint-initiated School Services Act, issues surrounding cultural diversity did not disappear from educational and policy discourse. In 1983, the B.C.T.F. devoted an entire issue of their professional journal, B.C. Teacher, to multiculturalism.⁵ NDP MLA Emery Barnes continued to press the Socred government for policies and legislation to address human rights, multiculturalism and the needs of immigrant learners. Periodically, Barnes reminded the government of its 1979 conference at which the Socreds vowed to give multicultural education top billing.⁶ The Socreds generally sidestepped Barnes's concerns, claiming, on one occasion, that a "shift" in responsibility for multiculturalism from Provincial Secretary to Human Resources prevented the new minister from addressing any questions.

In 1988, Barnes was pleasantly surprised when, in response to his criticisms in the House, the Socred government promised to reaffirm its commitment to multiculturalism. The winds of change were blowing again and, with the recession long over, B.C.'s

government had begun actively seeking economic links with Pacific Rim countries. Asian financial investment soon led to an influx of non-English-speaking immigrants which significantly impacted B.C.'s schools.⁷ The government's renewed interest in multiculturalism also came the year before a provincial election. Although the story of how multiculturalism re-emerged onto B.C.'s policy agenda is beyond the scope of this dissertation, it could provide the basis for future educational scholarship.

In addition to stimulating further research by raising many unanswered questions, this dissertation has also shed light on issues of theory and practice regarding multicultural education. Through historical analysis, this dissertation has shown that throughout the rise of multicultural education, the needs and concerns of minority children and their teachers were never systematically solicited. In short, there was little "data" from which to generate—from the bottom up—educational theories and policies regarding B.C.'s minority learners in B.C. Advocacy groups tended, instead, to ground their claims and requests in abstract—top-down—theoretical terms arguments, some of which are not supported by educational research. This finding may help to explain why many multicultural education scholars are frustrated that current conceptions of multicultural education “have not transformed most educational institutions in Canada.”⁸

Notes

¹ B.C. Ministry of Education, Deputies' Committee: Agendas and Minutes from Meetings, March 30 1981. BCA 1768—Schools Policy Committee Meetings: Minutes.

² According to ex-Deputy Minister R. J. Carter, McGeer was able to achieve many of his goals against the will of the Socred cabinet by threatening to quit his post. The Socreds were not willing to allow McGeer's departure since McGeer—a UBC professor—was well-liked among the educational community and his resignation would compromise the Socred's political position. Interview with R. J. Carter, Vancouver, B.C., November, 2000.

³ D. Ravitch, "On the History of Minority Group Education in the United States," in History, Education and Public Policy, edited by D.R. Warren (Berkeley, CA: McCutchan Publishing, 1978) 152. Later, this view was reinforced by Mary Ashworth's work. See M. Ashworth, Blessed With Bilingual Brains: Education of Immigrant Children With English as a Second Language. (Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 1988), 1.

⁴ "Restraint Program Applies to All Public Sector," Education Today, 8 (March 1982); "Bill Vander Zalm Replaces Smith," Education Today, 9 (September 1982). See also Annual Report of the Schools of B.C., 1981-1982, 55 and Debates of the Legislative Assembly, 5 October, 1982, 9589-9591.

⁵ Topics in the volume included multiculturalism as well as anti-racism. See B.C. Teacher, 62 (January-February, 1983).

⁶ Debates of the Legislative Assembly, 13 June 1985, 6616.

⁷ One cannot help but speculate whether this resurgence in immigration contributed to the government's 1988 commitment to multiculturalism, made in its response to the Royal Commission on Education report— given that the Commission made no recommendations which pertained to multicultural education. Co-incidentally, the concept of "multiculturalism" reappeared in the 1987-88 Annual Report of the Public Schools, 29-30.

⁸ C. Tator and F. Henry, Multicultural Education: Translating Policy into Practice, (Toronto: Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada, 1991) ii. See also J. Friesen, "The Last Decade, The Next Decade," Multicultural Education Journal, 10 (1992): 1-48; R. Joshee, "The Multicultural Future of Teachers in British Columbia," Policy Explorations, 6 (1992): 22-29; C. Sleeter and C. Grant, "An Analysis of Multicultural Education in the United States," Harvard Educational Review, 57, (November 1987): 421-444,

Appendix

Interview Protocol

Dear _____

I am a graduate student at the University of Victoria, currently completing my doctoral dissertation, entitled "Dealing with Diversity: the development of multicultural education in British Columbia, 1871-1981." I am working under the supervision of Dr. Thomas Fleming.

The purpose of this study is to document the history of multicultural education policy in British Columbia from 1871 to 1981. Most of the data collected for this study derive from archival documents such as annual reports, government correspondence, legislation, regulations, and Hansard. I am also conducting personal interviews in order to clarify, validate and expand on the print data that I have found.

If you would agree to be interviewed, I would be grateful. Your decision to be interviewed is entirely voluntary and you are free to refuse to participate or to answer certain questions, without any negative consequences. You may withdraw from the study at any time. In the event that you withdraw from the study, your data will be destroyed. Participation in this study will not cause you any inconvenience or harm, and should take approximately one hour to complete. However, by participating you will be helping future teachers, administrators and researchers to understand better the process of educational policy formation in British Columbia. In addition, you are entitled to receive a copy of the completed dissertation, upon request.

The interviews of the participants will be treated anonymously. No direct or indirect quotations will be ascribed to any individual by name in the dissertation, unless the participants give their written consent to direct attribution. Interviewees will be assigned a coded number which will appear on the interview notes. These notes and numbers will be stored in locked filing cabinets in 2 separate locations.

With your permission, all interviews will be tape recorded and tapes will be destroyed immediately upon transcription. If you do not wish to be taped, your interview responses will be noted in written form by the interviewer. All interview data will be kept for 5 years after the conclusion of my dissertation study, at which point they will be destroyed.

If you have any further questions regarding the study, please do not hesitate to contact Helen Raptis, at (250) 721-1461 or Dr. Thomas Fleming, at (250) 656-0539. If not, please fill in the information below. Detach and return it to me in the self-addressed envelope enclosed here. Upon receipt of your consent, I will contact you by telephone in order to set up a time to interview you.

Thank you very much for your co-operation.

Sincerely,

Helen Raptis – e-mail: hraptis@uvic.ca

Having understood the above information and been given an opportunity to have my questions answered, I agree to participate in this study:

Participant Signature _____

I also grant the interviewer permission to tape record our interview session.

Signature of Participant _____

Interview questions

1. How did you come to be involved in issues pertaining to the education of immigrant children? When (date)? What was your position at the time? Did your position and responsibilities change over time? How?
2. At the time that you became involved in such issues, what was the nature of involvement/action on the part of the provincial government? (i.e. Did they fund language classes or multicultural programs; did they have a policy?) In your opinion, why did the government maintain the position that it did? Do you have any evidence about the intentionality of government policy?
3. a) On June 26, 1981, Brian Smith, the Minister of Education at the time, made the following ministerial statement in the Provincial Legislative Assembly.

"I think it's appropriate today, (...) to announce that multicultural education will be strengthened in B.C. schools today, as a preventive means of combatting racism. (...) I am happy to announce that we will appoint a provincial coordinator of multicultural education in English as a second language to pull together multicultural programs, and that in the fall we will set up a major provincial workshop for teachers in the lower mainland in October."

In your opinion, why did the government of the day make this announcement? (i.e. Was it a question of ideology, immigration, schools faced with high levels of ESL students, etc. ?) Are there any data that would have allowed the Minister to say this?

Do you know of any organizations, agencies or persons (both within and outside of government) which may have influenced the ministry's decision to make such a commitment? If so, do you know how they made their influence felt? If so, do you know by whom they were being funded?

Do you remember if the government acted upon its promise? If so, how (with what concrete initiatives?)

b) In an official response to the report of the 1988 Sullivan Royal Commission on Education, the provincial government of B.C. assumed the responsibility to "recognize" the multicultural nature of the province by 1) helping students "develop an appreciation for the variety of cultural groups that enrich our society"; 2) establishing provincial multicultural policy; and 3) "reviewing prospective teaching materials for racial or

cultural bias". Interestingly, the final report of the Commission did **not** contain any recommendations pertaining to cultural diversity in B.C. 's schools.

Same questions as in a) above.

4. In your capacity as _____ (person's position as stated in number 1 above), what role would you say that you played in shaping the government's position on dealing with cultural diversity in education?
5. Canada is a country of immigrants, yet issues of cultural diversity and schooling really came to the fore in British Columbia in the mid-1970s. Why do you think that this is the case?
6. Do you feel that newspapers and other media have been influential in shaping the position of provincial governments with respect to cultural diversity and schooling? If so, which papers or media? If so, do you believe that they have helped or hindered government in understanding issues of multiculturalism?
7. What is your opinion about how governments in British Columbia have dealt with issues of multiculturalism in education?
8. Would you like to add anything that you feel to be relevant to the discussion of cultural diversity and schooling in British Columbia?

I thank you very much for your time and your input.

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