

Dancing with the Elephant: Teacher Education for the Inclusion of First Nations,
Metis and Inuit Histories, Worldviews and Pedagogies

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Acknowledgements

This research is dedicated to Craig and all of the others who have not failed in public school but whom have been failed by schools. Sometimes schools are so busy that we teachers forget like Nathan one of the teachers who was interviewed said, “Every child has a story and it is up to us, to figure that story out”. It is my hope that this research will at the very least, give public school teachers the confidence to find out and build on those stories that the kids bring with them to school.

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Abstract

Although a plethora of educational initiatives over the past 30 years were developed with the goal of improving the academic success of Aboriginal students in public schools, there continues to be a significant achievement gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students in Canada (Battiste, 2000, 2002; Ireland, 2009; St. Denis, 2007, 2010; White & Beavon, 2009). In 2008, the Manitoba Minister of Education attempted to address this gap in part by mandating that faculties of Education across the province restructure teacher education programs to include a compulsory course on Aboriginal perspectives, histories and pedagogies. This mixed methods research explores the perceived impact of the mandate on the student teachers who completed the course entitled, “Teaching Aboriginal Perspectives” at Brandon University Faculty of Education during the 2008 – 2010 academic terms.

Donald (2009), St. Denis (2007), and Williams and Tanaka (2007) report that subtle and overt forms of resistance to mandated courses are displayed when students teachers are compelled to study Aboriginal issues as a requirement for teacher certification. As such, this research is conceptually framed using critical race theory (Bell, 1991; Delgado, 1995; & Dunbar, 2008), Indigenous or Aboriginal feminism (Canella & Manuelito, 2008) and Red Pedagogy (Grande, 2004, 2008).

The methodology for this research is primarily phenomenological but articulated using Indigenous storywork (Archibald, 2008) and story (Wilson, 2008). The primary data sources include surveys or questionnaires and semi-structured interviews of students within the course, my personal story as an Aboriginal female

professor of the course and the stories of new teachers' experiences embedded throughout the report. The findings are analyzed using descriptive statistics (frequencies, means and percentages) and comparative statistics (chi-squares and t-tests) for quantitative items on the questionnaires, and constant comparative data analysis methods for open-ended questions on the questionnaires and the interview data.

Findings show that the student teachers demonstrated growth in FNMI content and knowledge over both years of the study. The findings also indicate an initial resistance to course content that causes angst for both students and the instructor as students engage with contentious issues, the deconstruction of privilege and examples of institutionalized racism within the educational system. Although more positive attitudes regarding FNMI content, worldviews, pedagogies and people developed over the duration of the course, once student teachers move into the school system, their desire to implement their learning are often challenged by racist attitudes and practices, particularly in schools where administrators do not foster FNMI education. The study concludes by suggesting that the mandate and work that has begun in the Aboriginal Perspectives course is important, necessary work, but it must be sustained across the entire educational system and across the career stages of all teachers in order to change the social attitudes that continue to dominate in schools.

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Dancing with the Elephant: Teacher Education for the Inclusion of First Nations, Metis and Inuit Histories, Worldviews and Pedagogies

Chapter One

The Elephant

Consider for a moment the notion of a large grey African elephant lumbering about a typical classroom in Southern Manitoba. Although the elephant is not generally considered dangerous, the potential exists that the elephant could become unruly if not acknowledged or properly attended to. The elephant would take a great deal of space and, of course, this would detract from the energy, academic pursuits and focus of both the students and the teacher in the classroom. Some students or teachers might try to deny the existence of the elephant; others might choose to dance around it such that they could more or less ignore it while carrying on their daily activities; some might dare try to shoo the elephant out of the room; and others might be more careful in their attempts to appease the elephant by offering it a few peanuts with the hope that the elephant would not bother them and eventually leave for an alternate environment.

You might wonder why I choose to use the example of an elephant in a dissertation regarding teacher education and pedagogy in Manitoba because elephants are not native to Manitoba, and for many people in Canada, their only experience with elephants is based on seeing them at the circus, the zoo or on television. I choose to speak about “dancing with the elephant” for a variety of reasons. First, the elephant illustration has often been applied to support those dealing with addiction and abuse issues. When used as a tool to help deconstruct the

debilitating effects that addiction can and does play on families and relationships, the metaphorical elephant is used to show that addiction creates a dysfunctional family environment, one where the relationship and the goals of the family unit are compromised because of the unspoken acknowledgement of such addictive elements within the family unit. Addiction counselors advise that positive change in dysfunctional families can occur only after the elephant has been acknowledged. Following that, plans can be made to deal with the related issues surrounding the family and the addicted member.

In a similar vein, I extend this understanding of the elephant to illustrate dysfunctionality within our school system. Conceptually the elephant is a symbol illustrating the various debilitating effects and challenges that are often encountered by First Nation, Metis, and Inuit (FNMI) students in our public school classrooms when cultural and racial issues go unacknowledged, either by teachers or classmates. I believe these issues have directly impacted the 2006 Census statistics which show that Manitoba has 15% or 175 395 of Canada's FNMI 1 172 790 population, of which 48% are of school age yet only 56% compared to 77% non-FNMI students are graduating from our public schools. Some 15 years ago, in 1996, *The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (RCAP) recognized that although there were a number of sincere efforts undertaken beginning in the 1970's to improve the success rates of FNMI students, most of which involved cultural revitalization, the *Commission* noted that "too many youth [still] do not complete high school, they do not have the skills for employment and they do not have the language and cultural knowledge of their people" (Vol. 3, p. 434). Unfortunately, not

much has changed, as scholars such as Donald, (2009), St. Denis, (2007, 2010), Ireland (2009) and Williams and Tanaka (2007) continue to speak about the huge discrepancies in attendance and achievement rates of FNMI students. In addition, although these writers have written extensively on the colonizing effects of western Canadian teacher education programs, there still remains a huge gap between what is advocated as a more responsive teacher education program and FNMI students' experiences in schools. St. Denis (2007) stated that although "offering cultural awareness education has become the mainstream thinking about proper solutions to educational and social inequity" (p. 1086), teacher education needs to move towards utilizing an approach whereby coalitions are created among all educators such that we work together "to uncover and understand how racism and the normalizing and naturalizing of white superiority continues unabated in our schools and communities" (p. 1088). This situation is not only germane to FNMI students in Canada but also to minority Black and Hispanic students in the United States and to Aborigine students in Australia; all of whom continue to be taught in schools that have a predominantly white, middle class teaching population. Canadian scholar Levine-Rasky (2000), American scholars Terwilleger, (2010), Picower, (2009), and Pennington (2007); and Australian scholars Aveling, (2006), and Whitehead (2007) all suggest that student teachers study Whiteness as a theoretical framework from which they can work to understand and deconstruct how racism and privilege continues to play a role in the education of minority students. Whiteness is not just about skin color but about "the discursive practices that because of colonialism and

neo-colonialism, privilege and sustain the global dominance of White imperial powers and Eurocentric worldviews" (Shome, 1999, p.108).

In an attempt to improve the situation for FNMI learners, in 2007, Manitoba Education, Citizenship and Youth (MECY) mandated the provision of an Aboriginal Perspectives Course (APC) at the undergraduate level for all teacher candidates in the province. This dissertation explores the content of the course offered at Brandon University Faculty of Education and the perceived effects the course has had over the course of its two-year implementation on students who are now teachers in the public school system.

Standpoint

When conducting qualitative research, Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest that it is critical to identify the standpoint of the researcher because although we valiantly attempt to adhere to the standards related to objectivity, the very manner that we perceive the findings is related to our personal lens or worldview. Furthering that concept, Bogdan and Biklen (2007) suggest that researchers must "acknowledge that no matter how hard you try, you cannot divorce your research and writing from your past experiences, who you are, what you believe and what you value" (p. 38). McNiff and Whitehead (2006) echo the importance of standpoint by saying that an "agent [researcher] is someone who brings about change, and whose achievements can be judged in terms of their own values and objectives, whether or not we assess these in terms of external criteria as well" (p. 29). Harding

(1995), when describing feminist standpoint theory, suggested that researchers take into account “socially situated knowledge, to use the place from where we speak as a resource, a part of the method, and a part of the instruments of inquiry” (p. 10). Cochrane-Smith (2003) says that in the discourse of qualitative research, “Stance is used to make visible and problematic the various perspectives through which researchers frame their questions, observations and interpretations of data” (p. 7).

To that end, the lenses from which I view the world and conduct research are those of an Aboriginal woman who, because of the manner in which my parents as my first and perhaps most important teachers taught me, often seeks the relationships or interconnections to what I am reading, teaching and practicing. This epistemology, defined by scholars as an Aboriginal worldview of knowledge and learning (Battiste, 2002; Kirkness & Barnhardt, 1991; St. Denis, 2007), is characterized as being holistic, adaptable, dynamic, and relational. I struggle to see learning as the linear, discrete and hierarchical process that was defined as “Euro-centric” education by Battiste (2002), Cajete (1994) and Chamberlain (2000). As such, I have chosen to utilize a decolonized manner of expression that utilizes a story approach (Archibald, 2008), integrated with remembering (Smith, 1999) and reality (Alfred, 2009), but constrained in my view by the academic writing standards of the Western World espoused by the American Psychological Association. This approach is similar to what is demonstrated by Wilson (2008), Archibald (2008), Young (1997, 2006) and Graveline (1998), all of whom

interconnect Aboriginal perspectives and experiences by connecting story to academic theory.

I was raised “in the bush,” geographically known as the south face of the Duck Mountains, some three miles kitty corner northeast of the Tootinaowaziibeeng Treaty Reserve, of which I am a member. When anyone seeks to visit, they are typically told to “go to the end of the road then keep on going.” In modern technological terms, my brother recently gave someone the Global Positioning Satellite coordinates of 51 D. 17.481 M. x 100D. 47.142 M. to someone who was planning to visit us in our homeland.

Although we lived in the bush, my siblings and I were by no means allowed to minimize the role of formal education, as my mother adamantly ensured that we all went to school. I recall a visit by a White¹ man in a new car when I was about 12 years old, in Grade 6 at the time. This was in 1972. My mother, an enfranchised Indian woman², meaning that she lost her Indian status upon marrying my father in 1958, was quite excited. We kids [my siblings and I] did not really understand why this man was at our home because people driving new cars rarely visited. This fellow had come to speak to Mom about changes that were purported to be happening with regards to what we now know as “Aboriginal education.” He spent

¹ White will be the term used in this paper to describe the English speaking people of European ancestry.

² Aboriginal will be the term primarily used in this paper to describe people legally defined in the Canadian Constitution Act, 1982, S. 35, (2) as Indians, Inuit and Metis as well as the term “Indigenous” which is often used by many scholars when defining or describing those people Indigenous to Canada. There will be times when the term “Indian” will be used because of the context or time period associated.

the afternoon talking to Mom about something. We kids were sent outside to do chores but of course, we wondered what the man wanted, and about what he and our mother could possibly be talking. After he left, Mom told us that education and schooling were going to change, that we would have opportunities that she did not have and that “we ‘damned well’ better do well in school so that we could take advantage of them [the changes in Aboriginal education] when we grew older.” In recent years, I have come to understand that this White man was probably one of the people tasked with the job of conducting the various forms of community or grass roots consultations with the Indigenous people as discussed by Cardinal (1999) in his 30 year reflection within his seminal book entitled *The Unjust Society*.

My mother attended residential school, as did the majority of her peers and relatives. This is not a family anomaly because the National Truth and Reconciliation Commission has noted that 150 000 First Nations and Inuit students attended residential schools over a hundred year period. Although Mom lived within busing distance of a provincial school, legislation in the 1950’s prohibited her from attending the school that was close to her home on the reserve. As such, Mom was forced to leave her family when she was a young adolescent to spend six years in the Indian residential school at Lebret, Saskatchewan. By the time my siblings and I were of school age in the middle 1960’s, and because we were considered to be “half-breeds,” we were included under provincial jurisdiction for education and therefore attended the provincially controlled school in Grandview, MB. Because we lived so far away from town, we were the first ones on the bus at 7:30 in the morning and the last ones off the bus at about 5 pm. I remember having to carry a

blanket so that I could cover my little brother because he was younger than I and would sleep for most of the bus ride to school.

In spite of being known and called the “dirty little half-breed” by some of my school peers and even some of the teachers, I completed my grade twelve program requirements by January of 1978, a semester ahead of my White peers. I was the second half-breed to graduate from the Grandview Collegiate Institute; my sister was the first. In retrospect, I believe that my student peers in the late 1960s and early 1970s were not intentionally malicious in how they treated and spoke to us; they were only mimicking what they had been taught by both the school and their parents. Government approved textbooks used during my tenure at grade and high school often described Indians as being, “savages, heathens, in need of salvation” (Deyall, n.d.). I was fortunate to locate both volumes of the Social Studies textbook that was used while I was in junior high school. I had a need to actually see the text that reflected the torture of my school experience, the text where Aboriginal people, my people, had been so poorly described. I was glad to find the books because I needed to know, as an adult and an academic, that my childhood memories were not embellished. Smith (1999, p. 146) used the term “remembering” to describe how Indigenous people often remember not so much an idealized past but often times a painful past because the process involved with remembering brings an understanding not only of what colonization was about but also the dehumanizing experiences associated with such.

In fact, I had forgotten (or buried) some of these incidents for several decades, and it was only when I was thinking about the contemporary and historical

challenges associated with Aboriginal education did I begin to remember. Although such memories can and, in fact, are painful to recall and write about, the healing and transformation process does begin when one is allowed the voice and the place to remember and reflect. The Ph.D. program has afforded me not only the opportunity to study the literature around topics such as the historical impacts on Aboriginal education, but also to explore, and in some cases transform or bring about an academic understanding of my own realities or experiences. I have experienced public school and even much of my post-secondary education from a position of being oppressed by the very system(s) ostensibly designed to be democratic, empowering and focused on the student's actual experiences (Dewey, 1916).

Given my background, I have framed the conceptualization of my work within critical feminist Indigenous theory where the aim of the research involves both the critique and transformation of those social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic and gender structures that have historically, and in some instances, continue to constrain and exploit Aboriginal people. The research process is just another step on the journey towards (re)claiming my voice and culture, and being recognized/legitimated as an Aboriginal scholar.

Considering the Differences: Aboriginal Perspectives and Eurocentrism

The following two sections outline the primary understandings of Aboriginal perspectives and Eurocentric views in order to provide a means of comparison of views that is articulated throughout the document.

Aboriginal Perspectives Defined

Aboriginal perspectives, worldviews or epistemology are characterized by the circular, interconnected manner in which Aboriginal people see the world. Little Bear (2000) suggests that the “idea of all things being in constant motion or flux leads to a holistic and cyclical view of the world” (p. 78). Cajete (2000) discusses Aboriginal Perspectives as “a shared understanding derived from communal experience, from environmental observation, from information received, and from the visions attained through ceremony and communion with spirits and nature” (p. 190). Youngblood Henderson (2000) says that although Aboriginal nations are distinct in terms of cultural practices, Aboriginal people share the belief that “all life forms were created to adapt to ecological change ... and that understanding how life forms create and sustain a delicate balance is the foundation of Aboriginal worldview and languages” (p. 260). Battiste and McLean (2005) assert that the First Nation epistemological structures view learning and education as simple facts of life in that “First Nations have stated the belief that education is a lifelong process that must be shared in a holistic manner given the spiritual, emotional, physical and intellectual dimensions of human development” (p. 3).

The challenge in teacher education begins with the tensions generated around what Little Bear (2000) identified as “jagged world colliding,” and Stewart (2009) termed “when worlds collide.” The divergence amongst the worldviews occurs around the concepts of what constitute education, the curricula and the pedagogies utilized in education. LaFrance (2000) noted that Aboriginal people have “long understood education as being a continuum of experience from the interactions of all, a part of natural living; our experience with Western education

systems is that it [education and schools] is separate from living and this alienates us [Aboriginal learners] from our lived experience, language, culture and environment” (p. 101).

Eurocentric World View Defined

The term “Eurocentric,” according to Blaut, (1993) is not merely “a matter of attitude in the sense of values and prejudices, but rather a matter of science, scholarship, informed and expert opinion” (p. 9). Graveline (1998) suggested that the terms “European,” “Western,” “White” or “colonial” can be used synonymously to describe Eurocentrism, which guides the dominant belief systems regarding what is accepted as empirical reality, truth or propositions. This world view can be characterized with the following attributes: linear in terms of time; hierarchical in terms of people and knowledge; spirituality is centered around a single Supreme being and separate from learning; humans “control” nature; natural resources are for humans to use; the universe is compartmentalized and can be reduced to smaller conceptual parts; and the human role is to dissect, analyze and manipulate nature for its own purposes” (Kirkness & Barnhardt, 1991, p. 3). Other scholars such as Battiste, (1995), and Youngblood Henderson, (2000) have made similar observations about the characteristics of the Eurocentric world view.

There has been an abundance of literature (Battiste, 1995, 2000, 2009; Cajete, 2000; Barnhart & Kawagley, 1998; Youngblood Henderson, 2000) illustrating how the differences between the Aboriginal worldview and the Eurocentric worldview play a significant and often detrimental role on the education of Aboriginal youth. For example, the effectiveness of an education

system is often measured by the metrics associated with Eurocentric thinking, using test scores and graduation rates as markers of success. Yet, Watt-Cloutier (2000) stated that the success of current education systems is seldom measured from an Aboriginal perspective that describes successful education by “how well it prepares students to handle the problems and opportunities in life in their own time and space” (p. 114). The concept of “success” as it relates to the compatibility of current educational systems to meet the needs of Aboriginal learners can be brought into question when one looks at the disproportionate numbers of young Aboriginal people in the criminal justice system, the child care systems and the unemployed numbers. This speaks to the need for transforming or bridging the distinct worldviews so that the needs of Aboriginal learners are better met.

Situating the Elephant – The History of Aboriginal Education

In order to begin to understand the concept of “Aboriginal education” and the myriad of challenges associated with it, one must first understand that since the time when Canada was created by the *British North America (BNA) Act* of 1867, Aboriginal people, specifically those who were registered under the terms of the *Indian Act* and who resided on reserves, have been subject to a different education system than what was enjoyed by the rest of Canada. Rather than having local input and control of education, as is legislated in provincial school systems, Aboriginal education, until the last thirty years or so, was controlled or dictated by federal bureaucrats because of Canadian legislation. *BNA* Section 24 and 91 gave the federal government the exclusive right to deal with “Indians and land reserved for Indians.”

Longboat (1987) when discussing the state of Aboriginal education prior to the local control movement initiated in the 1970's stated that, "in short, there is nothing in the *Indian Act* that could give a community any leverage in gaining control over its education... the decision of which school the children should attend is the minister's and the minister's alone" (p. 33). Treaties that were subsequently signed had specific clauses relating to education, making the Crown or the federal government responsible for the provision and implementation of educational facilities. For example, Treaties 1 and 2 marked the initial numbered treaty process and were signed in 1871 with the Ojibwe of Southern Manitoba and Lower Fort Garry. These treaties included provisions for annual treaty payments, clothing grants, agricultural equipment and "provisions for education" (Treaty 1 & 2). Elders (Basil Johnston, personal conversation) tell us that at the time that the treaties were signed, Aboriginal people wanted their children to have an education and they thought that with the signing of the treaties, the families would actually have a say in what and how the education would be delivered. Instead, the federal government under the auspices of the Department of Indian Affairs unilaterally made the decisions for how Indians were to be educated. This practice began with the formation of Canada in 1867 and continued until the early 1970s.

The *Indian Act* (1876) was initially designed to ensure that the terms of the treaties were carried out. Unfortunately, it was implemented in a manner that was consistent with the laws and power associated with colonial rule and unconcerned with protecting the rights of the Aboriginal people for whom it was legislated. For example, until the mid-1950's, federally employees called "Indian agents" lived on

each reserve and implemented or administered the terms or conditions of the *Indian Act*. Numerous accounts of the manner in which some of these Indian agents exercised absolute power over the Indians can be found in the works of Johnston (1988, 1999) and Grant (1996), both of whom write about experiences living on reserve as well as in residential schools.

On a personal level, my mom told a story involving the powers of the Indian agent. Her family had a couple of cows and a flock of chickens, but in order to butcher or sell this livestock, they had to get permission from the Indian agent. When Mom was ten and still attending the day school on the reserve, my grandfather was killed in a lumber mill accident where he was employed. Granny, left with three children at home because the others were in the residential school, and in the absence of having a husband to hunt and provide meat, asked the Indian agent for permission to butcher one of the cows so that her family would have a winter supply of meat. The Indian agent denied Granny permission to butcher the cow, and the family had to live on potatoes, dried berries and eggs for the winter. My family's experience with the unreasonable powers of the Indian agent relates to another told by Young (1997) who recounts that the Indian agent in her home reserve lied to her parents about which residential school she had been sent. The result was that her parents did not know where to find their own daughter for several months. These stories demonstrate how the enactment of the *Indian Act* "subjugated to colonial rule the very people whose right it was supposed to serve" (Cardinal, 1999, p. 37). Weaver (1981) remarked that, "although the purpose of the *Indian Act* was not generally understood by the public, and many Indians as well, it

became a symbol of discrimination, a piece of racist legislation” (p. 18). The Indian Agent acted as the gatekeeper for almost all aspects of Indian life including giving “permission” to leave the reserve for shopping, or decisions around education.

Aboriginal Education Since 1867

Until the mid-1970s, by legislative power, the federal government took full control and responsibility for the education of Aboriginal children by operating a variety of day schools, missionary based residential schools, or industrial vocational schools. Although colonialism purported (Bolaria, 1988) to be driven by goals such as the accumulation of wealth and natural resources, and beliefs relating to cultural superiority, Bear Nicholas (2001) stated that colonial powers also sought to establish political domination over the people “found” by colonists as a means to exploit them, their lands and their resources. Smith (1999) stated that this colonial superiority was evidenced by the assumptions documented in history books found in Canada, Australia and New Zealand written by the colonizers that implied:

... we [Aboriginal people] could not use our minds or intellects, invent things, create institutions or history, imagine, produce anything of value, and we did not know how to use the land and other resources from the natural world nor did we practice the arts of civilization. (p.25)

Such conceptualizations were encoded in the colonial language and discourse surrounding what was thought to be a superior form of civilization. For example, in a presentation to the House of Commons, Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior and Superintendent General of Indian Affairs in 1896, stated that,

... a highly specialized education is generally a waste of time. I have no hesitation in saying- we may as well be frank- the Indian cannot go out from school, making his own way and compete with the white man. He has not the physical, mental or moral get-up to enable him to compete. He cannot do it. (Hall, D., 1977, p. 143)

As such, indigenous people were meant to be “saved or salvaged” so that they could be taught how to talk, behave and think like the colonizers. Education became a primary mechanism for those colonial powers seeking to indoctrinate the people. The result was the design of Indian residential school systems in Canada, the United States, and Australia that began in the mid-1800s and existed for over a century.

Wahbung: Our Tomorrows (1971) stated the “purpose of Indian education from the very beginning was to remove the Indian child from the influence of their parents” (p. 112). The residential school ideology was based upon the notion that the state as a representative of the colonial power could not only do a superior job of educating Indigenous children but also act to “remove the Indian from the child” (p. 112). For example, in the Canadian context, Duncan Campbell Scott (1923), senior bureaucrat for the Department of Indian Affairs, defined the primary role of residential schools by saying that “When the Indians have been taught how to be absorbed into the ordinary life of the Provinces, they {Indians} will have reach[ed] their destined goal, full British citizenship” (p. 64). Castellano, Archibald and Degagne (2008) concluded from the Aboriginal Healing Foundation perspective that,

The persistence of colonial notion of superiority is evidenced by the fact that residential schooling that punished the expression of Aboriginal languages, spirituality, and ways of life and attempted to instill a Euro-Canadian identity in Aboriginal children, continued from 1831 into the 1970s. (p.3)

The effects of the hundred plus year residential school legacy in terms of the social realities of FNMI peoples is demonstrable by the 2006 census that shows Aboriginal people are grossly over-represented in the justice and social systems and under-represented in both education and the workforce. Hodgson-Smith (2008) would say that this is not surprising given that “reversing the effects of hundreds of years of social disruption and alienation will take time” (p. 367). Battiste (1995) commented that taking away the community and parental responsibility for education constituted a form of “cognitive imperialism and colonialism” (p. 12) resulting in the gradual loss of languages, customs/cultures and world-views. The end result is what St. Denis in the report for the Canadian Teachers Federation entitled, *A Study of Aboriginal Teachers’ Professional Knowledge and Experience in Canadian Schools*, (2010) terms “a well documented and enduring crisis in public education, namely the failure of schools to provide an adequate education for students” (p. 11).

In 1967, findings of the federally commissioned study entitled, *A Survey of Contemporary Indians of Canada*, often referred to as the *Hawthorne Report*, revealed the lack of educational opportunities for Aboriginal people as well as the “enormous economic gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities”

(p.24). As a result, pressure was exerted upon the federal government to address the “Indian problem.”

In response to this pressure, in 1969 Prime Minister Trudeau presented his vision of a “just society” for Canada that included a unified, bilingual and multicultural vision for the country. To achieve this, Trudeau presented an Indian policy document entitled, *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, 1969*, that is now known as the “infamous *White Paper* on Indian Policy.” This policy would supposedly enable Indians to a “full and equal participation in the cultural, social, economic and political life of Canada” (*Statement, 1969, p.3*). To achieve this, Trudeau proposed repealing the *Indian Act* that was beginning to be viewed by Canadians as discriminatory towards Indians, so that Indians would be assimilated into Canadian society and treated as “equal.” For Aboriginal people, this equated to total assimilation and cultural genocide. Inevitably a political firestorm (Binda, 2001) erupted because, as Cardinal (1969) stated:

We did not want the *Indian Act* retained because it was a good piece of legislation because it isn’t... it had been discriminatory since the beginning. But it is a lever in our hands and an embarrassment to the government, as it should be. No just society even with the pretensions to being just can long tolerate such a piece of legislation, but we would rather continue to live in bondage under the inequitable *Indian Act* than to surrender our sacred rights. (p. 119)

The political situation in 1969 was such that there were already established Aboriginal activist groups partly because many Aboriginal people had moved to

urban places from reserves. In addition, the Civil Rights movement in the U.S. also helped to foster a culture that became a “ripe time” for protest. Reaction and resistance by Aboriginal people was swift. I have heard stories from the old people who were around during this period and remember them saying that within days of the release of the proposed *White Paper*, people were phoning around discussing their outrage of the proposed changes. The hat had been thrown into the political ring, so to speak, because Aboriginal people were no longer going to sit back and be “dealt with” by the federal government; instead, they were prepared to fight for their rights to sovereignty which included the right to control their education systems.

Within a year, the Indian Chiefs of Alberta presented what is known as the *Red Paper*, actually a counter policy statement formally known as *Citizens Plus* that rejected the proposed repeal of the *Indian Act*. Two seminal pieces of literature that spoke to the political outcry and outrage of the proposed *White Paper* followed.

The first seminal paper, *Wahbung – Our Tomorrows* (1971) written by the Indian Tribes of Manitoba, could perhaps be described as the first grassroots post-colonial movement that advocated for change in how the government interpreted the ongoing relationships vis a vis treaties and Aboriginal rights, land rights, hunting rights, the *Indian Act* and culture. Specific recommendations were identified for the developmental areas of health and social services, education, social development, legal protection, economic development and reserve government. The Indians of Manitoba took a firm and radical stance in declaring that:

The present system of education is noted for its irrelevancy to the culture and environment in which people live... As a tool to develop the capability to participate equally with the rest of society, the education process has been notably narrow in its concept and rigid in its approach... must recognize the total failure of the present education system for Indian people... has a moral obligation to assist in upgrading the standard of education for Indian people in recognition of the past function of education in the destruction of the Indian way of life. (p. 117)

As the quotation implies, the time had come when Aboriginal people were no longer content to sit back and take what the federal government was offering in terms of education. Aboriginal people were ready for and advocating change to the paternalistic and colonial manner in which the federal government was handling their fiduciary and legislative responsibilities to Indians.

The second document, *Indian Control of Indian Education (IOCE)* (1972) written by the National Indian Brotherhood, was presented to the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs as a counter policy to the *White Paper*. This document represented an Aboriginal philosophy statement positing parental involvement and local control of Aboriginal education. It was premised on the notion that “the present school system is culturally alien to native students... curricula in federal and provincial schools should recognize Indian culture, values, customs, languages and the Indian contribution to Canadian development” (National Indian Brotherhood, 1972, p.9). The specific recommendations for implementation not only included provisions for devolving the federal responsibility for education to the communities;

it also advocated for: (a) the development of relevant and appropriate curriculum; (b) nursery and kindergarten programs on reserves; (c) local language programs; (d) the removal of textbooks and materials that portrayed a negative, biased or inaccurate depiction of Indian people, and; (e) the encouragement of Aboriginal students to attend post-secondary institutions.

Aboriginal Education Since 1972

After *Indian Control of Indian Education* was accepted as policy governing Aboriginal education, the mid 1970s marked a national movement towards local bands taking control of their own schools. Brown (1994) discussed this as a process whereby power and authority, typically with help from Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), was devolved or shifted to the local level. Binda (2001) in speaking of devolution, reported that in 1976, bands controlled “less than 5% of the [Aboriginal] student enrolment with federal schools having 42% and provincial schools having 53% but by 1997-98, bands controlled 58.5% of the [Aboriginal] student population, provincial schools enrolled 38% and private schools enrolled 1.5%” (p. 45). Local bands control their school systems in a variety of models, including: the local control model where single bands such as Tootinawazaibeeing Treaty Nation operates their school independently; the Aboriginal Nation model where a number of communities such as the Island Lake Tribal Council coordinate and share resources related to education; and the Multi-Nation Organization model whereby many nations gather to share expertise and resources regarding education. In all cases, however, INAC still controls the monetary resources for Aboriginal education.

There have been a variety of policy and position papers regarding Aboriginal education since the two seminal documents of the early 1970s. The two most notable are the 1988 three volume document entitled *Tradition and Education: Towards a Vision of Our Future*, written by the Assembly of First Nations, which is the national organization formerly known as the National Indian Brotherhood, and the 4000 plus page, seven volume 1996 *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* which was a result of a five year study involving community consultations across the country. Both documents make recommendations regarding fiscal arrangements, curricula, language development, human capacity development, and infrastructure, but do not advocate for systemic changes in the jurisdictional relationship between First Nations, provincial school systems and the federal government. As a consequence of these differing views on jurisdictional relationships, Paquette, Fallon and Mangan (2009) assert, "First Nations and non-first Nations communities are frequently portrayed as deadlocked in irreconcilable conflict" (p. 267) because each has their own interest to protect and the interests often compete for fiscal resources.

Issues Facing Aboriginal Education

There have been significant gains in Aboriginal education since the 1960s. At that time, only 72.4 % of the potential Aboriginal student population was enrolled in primary and secondary schools compared to the 2004 enrollment rate of 93%. In the late 1960s, approximately 200 status Indians were attending post-secondary institutions (Frideres & Gadacz, 2008) compared to data from the 2006 Census that

demonstrates 80% of potential Aboriginal primary and secondary students were attending school and approximately 713,000 students were attending various post-secondary institutions. However, these results must be viewed with caution since the gains “Aboriginal youth are making vis-à-vis their elders are being eclipsed by the rising education levels of Canadians in general” (White & Beavon, 2009, p. 3).

Although critical changes in Aboriginal education began in the early 1970s, there still exist a number of issues facing Aboriginal education both at the reserve level and for those who are enrolled in provincially controlled school systems. These issues can be classified as differentials in funding, human capacity, curriculum and infrastructure.

Funding Differentials

The funding provided by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada for reserve or local controlled schools is considerably less than what provincial schools are paid regarding the per pupil grants for status Indian students. For example, the Opaskwayak Cree Nation, which operates a school system with 52 teachers, received \$7820.00 per pupil in the 2008-2009 academic year. Just a few miles up the road, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada paid to the provincial Frontier School Division (via special tuition agreements for the provision of educational services to Aboriginal students), the sum of \$17, 946.00 per pupil for the 2008-2009 academic year (*Winnipeg Free Press*, November 23, 2009). This funding differential amounts to over \$121,000.00 per student over the typical twelve years spent in primary and secondary school. By underfunding locally controlled schools at rates such as this, there is little doubt why Aboriginals are choosing to leave the reserves so that their

children can access better school systems in terms of student teacher ratio and related services; however, when their children are enrolled in provincial schools, they are often taught by teachers who have little or no knowledge regarding FNMI history, worldviews or pedagogy.

Human Capacity

The development of human capacity, loosely defined as having trained teachers, school administrators, educational specialists and school governing boards, continues to play a role in the development of Aboriginal education. McAlpine (2001) noted that of the 12 000 Manitoba teachers registered in 1974, less than 12 were of Aboriginal ancestry. The 2009 *Aboriginal Teachers Questionnaire Report* indicated that Aboriginal teachers now represent 1 488 or 10% of Manitoba's teachers.

Capacity in terms of teacher training and development has increased in the past 40 years of devolution as evidenced by the number of teacher education programs that were developed in Canada during the 1970's and 1980's. The development of such programs was premised on the belief that Aboriginal teachers employed in band-controlled school systems would help to "reduce the high [Aboriginal] drop out rate and low achievement of students, enhance school community relations and lead to more relevant programming and community control" (King, 1995, p. 5). The first teacher education program with a mandate of developing bicultural teachers began as a partnership between the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians and the University of Saskatchewan in 1961, but the majority of the 20 different teacher education programs were developed during the early

1970's (McAlpine, 2001). Examples of such programs are Native Indian Teacher Education Program NITEP at the University of British Columbia and Indian Metis Program for Activating Community Teacher Educators (IMPACTE) beginning in 1971 then transforming into Brandon University Northern Teacher Education Program (BUNTEP) in 1974 and Program for the Education of Native Teachers (PENT) at Brandon University. The University of Winnipeg continues to have a partnership with the Winnipeg Education Centre for training inner city teachers, most of who are of Aboriginal ancestry. In Manitoba, these teacher education programs account for the training of 46.1% of the Aboriginal teachers employed in Manitoba (*Aboriginal Teachers' Questionnaire, 2009*).

In reality, however, the percentage of the Aboriginal population aged 0-24 years in Manitoba is 43.5% as compared to 32% of other Manitobans (*Aboriginal People of Canada, 2001 Census*). Such numbers demonstrate that the majority of Aboriginal students are still being taught by non-Aboriginal teachers who often come from different social-economic situations and who do not represent a similar culture, language, or worldview (Frideres & Gadacz, 2008). This situation is not unique to Aboriginal students in Canada because Kailin (1999) noted that, 90% of the United States teaching population is White yet children of color are occupying more than half of the school population" (p. 725). In addition to the small numbers of Aboriginal teachers in Manitoba, there are also disparities in the representation of Aboriginal school administrators. For example, of approximately 90 school chief or assistant superintendents in the public system, only four self-identify as

Aboriginal. Similar numbers exist for school clinicians and specialists including psychologists, resource teachers, counselors and speech and language therapists.

Aboriginal scholars are not represented proportionately at the university faculty level. For example, the Brandon University Faculty of Education has one Aboriginal faculty member out of 22 (4.5%) full time faculty equivalents, and the University of Manitoba has four Aboriginal faculty members out of 40 (10%).

Although the training and hiring of more Aboriginal teachers has long been recognized a goal related to the improvement of Aboriginal educational outcomes as playing a significant role (National Indian Brotherhood, 1972; *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, 1996), there continues to be shortfalls in the numbers of Aboriginal educational staff in the reserve and provincial K-12 systems, and in post-secondary systems in Manitoba.

Curriculum

In the past twenty years, the province of Manitoba and individual school divisions have expended considerable efforts to develop curriculum materials that are culturally relevant to FNMI students. The Frontier School Division that serves students in northern and remote communities has had Aboriginal curriculum development consultants who are tasked with the job of developing curriculum materials that can be used in either stand alone courses, such as high school Native Studies, or integrated into core curriculum areas such as English Language Arts, Social Studies, Health, Science and Math. The Winnipeg #1 School Division also has had an Aboriginal curriculum department for the past 30 years. In fact, many of the city schools that serve large numbers of FNMI students actually have an Aboriginal

consultant who works part time with both the students and the teachers. At the provincial level, Manitoba Citizenship, Education and Youth has been promoting and working to develop curriculum materials that can either be integrated or taught as a course. Such documents include *Integrating Aboriginal Perspectives: A resource for curriculum developers, school administrators and teachers* (2003), *Kindergarten to Grade 12: Aboriginal Languages and Cultures, Manitoba Curriculum Framework of Outcomes* (2007), and a variety of Native studies resource documents for early, middle and senior years. The newly designed social studies curriculum offers many fine examples of how FNMI worldviews, history and pedagogical practices can be utilized at all grade levels.

Infrastructure

Infrastructure includes the provision of schools and technology. In the early 1970s, demands were made that schools be on each reserve; however, a lack of basic infrastructure such as high schools continues to be an issue in 2010. For example, according to the 2009-2010 *First Nation School Directory* published by the Manitoba First Nations Education Resource Centre (MFNERC), there are still 19 reserves in Manitoba without high schools. As such, high school students must leave these communities to attend provincially controlled school systems. In doing so, these students often face culture shock when moving from the reserve to a nearby white community or into an urban school (White & Beavon, 2009), the consequence of which may be the decision to drop out of school.

The differential of information technology available in First Nations communities is a second infrastructural problem. For example, while communities

such as Norway House and Cross Lake (personal experience) have developed the infrastructure and expertise to embrace the digital revolution that impacts education and social capital (Mignone, Henley, Brown, O'Neil & Ross, 2008); other communities such as Sapatoweyak and Ebb and Flow (personal experience) struggle because they lack the basic infrastructure to access or service on-line communication. Because of my experiences as an instructor of BUNTEP and PENT for Brandon University, I have seen this discrepancy firsthand when the northern PENT students arrive on-campus to take courses every summer. The students range in abilities from being highly experienced and literate with all kinds of digital technology to those who do not know how to log on to the Internet. Such discrepancies undoubtedly have an impact on the kinds of material and resources available in schools as well as the kinds of lessons teachers can develop to support their curriculum implementation.

In addition to the chronic underfunding of band-controlled schools for program development and implementation, there are several dire situations whereby the basic infrastructure of the band operated schools is so inadequate that the schools are closed. For example, at the present time in Manitoba, there are at least three band-controlled schools that are closed due to problems with the infrastructure. The Sioux Valley High School in southwestern Manitoba has been closed due to mould for at least the past three years. This creates a situation whereby the Sioux Valley students have to be bussed to Brandon where the band rents an old school that was closed by the Brandon School Division. In the Interlake area, the band-controlled school at St. Martin has been closed because of a garter

snake infestation, resulting in the students having to attend a nearby provincial school at Lundar. And in northeastern Manitoba, the Oxford House School was recently closed for health reasons but because that community is isolated in that it is accessible only by airplane or winter road, those students are forced to stay home or attend school perhaps one day a week at the local arena. Unfortunately, there is little media coverage or public outcry against such violations of the right to attend school for these students.

Recent Developments in FNMI Education: Acknowledging the Elephant

More recent educational initiatives in Manitoba include the development of the Manitoba First Nations Education Resource Centre (MFNERC) in 1998, as a multi-nation organization funded by INAC via the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs. MFNERC has a mandate to provide second and third level services to band controlled schools including special education resources, research and development services, information technology development and training, and various training initiatives as a means to build local school capacity in special areas such as para-professionals, school administrators and resource teachers. The most recent MFNERC initiative, *Education Reform*, began in August 2009 with a vision of integrating Aboriginal perspectives into literacy and numeracy with the goal of making learning more culturally appropriate while simultaneously improving student outcomes. Although this initiative is still in its infancy stage, it holds promise in terms of creating and implementing core curricula in ways that are more meaningful to the context, worldviews, language and life on reserves. Battiste

(2009) supports the goal of this initiative by suggesting that the next wave or phase of decolonized education involves “centering Indigenous knowledge by removing the distorting lenses of Eurocentrism so that we [Aboriginal people] can immerse ourselves in systems of meaning that are different from those that have conditioned us” (p. 17).

In the past decade, provincial education departments represented by the Council of Ministers of Education Canada (2004) and national organizations such as the Canadian Teachers Federation have identified priorities and strategies to increase the success of Aboriginal learners in their visions and mandates. These commitments to Aboriginal education are demonstrated in the various Aboriginal education action plans have been introduced at the provincial level. These action plans envision a multi-faceted approach to improving the success of Aboriginal learners. For example, the *Manitoba Aboriginal Education Plan* (2003) advocates for a four facet approach that incorporates strategies for achieving the following objectives: increasing high school graduation rates; increasing access to and completion of post-secondary education; increasing entry and success into the labour market, and; improving the research base for Aboriginal education and employment.

MECY has supported the direction of its Aboriginal Education Plan by producing numerous documents, including *Integrating Aboriginal Perspectives: A resource for curriculum developers, school administrators and teachers* (2003) for which I was a co-writer. However, even such well-intentioned initiatives are not without their own hurdles. For example, during the year when this document was

written, I recall many instances when the Aboriginal writers had to advocate and argue for authenticity in the utilization of Traditional knowledge systems and processes. For example, the Eurocentric project leader could not understand why (and initially vetoed our request) to have Elders present as part of the process. After wrangling about the issue over the course of a number of meetings, those of us involved in the development of the document eventually insisted that we would not go forth in the document development process without the advice and approval of our Elders. We acted in the manner advocated by Alfred (1999) who said, “we need people who can shape ideas, translate and create language that will be essential in the process of decolonization... structural and social decolonization is an intellectual process as well as a political, social and spiritual one” (p. 178). Henderson (2000) furthers insists that Aboriginal people stand firm in their advocacy for the recognition of traditional ways and knowledge systems when he said, “although we Aboriginal scholars have to use the techniques of colonial thought, we must also have the courage to rise above them and follow traditional devices” (p. 250). Upon reflection of this incident, I have recognized that those of us involved in the development of the Aboriginal perspectives document actually practiced a form of decolonization when we refused to be silenced by the project leader.

Eventually, our writing group was able to have Elders representing the various nations in Manitoba work with us on developing the support document. This document is useable in that it provides some historical background about the Aboriginal people of Manitoba and ways of learning-knowing, and identifies numerous curricular connections for integrating Aboriginal content and

perspectives. However, like many of the strategies of the *Aboriginal Action Plan*, the document does not advocate for structural changes to the existing curriculum and school systems. Instead, it utilizes an “additive approach” whereby many resources for teachers are named that will help teachers add Aboriginal content and ways of knowing into existing curriculum.

In terms of curriculum development, Banks (1995a, 1995b), an internationally known multi-cultural curriculum development specialist, would refer to this style of curriculum development as the second of five stages. He describes this stage as the additive approach where a “variety of content, themes and perspectives are added to the curriculum without changing its basic structure” (p. 26). Banks suggests that in order for sustained and equitable education and societal change to occur, pedagogy must move towards what he calls, stage five, “an empowerment of the school and social structure so that students have equal access to all school experiences” (p. 27). Other prominent multicultural scholars (Gibson, 1976; Sleeter & Grant, 1988) also propose educational models oriented towards social and structural change to existing systems so that all students will be able to confront and deal with social justice and oppression. Levine-Radsky (2000) notes a growing body of literature on how the theory of Whiteness can be used in teacher education to “reflect a problematizing of whiteness” as an active participant in maintaining school systems that oppress minority students, and in this study, FNMI students being the minority in public schools (p. 263). Yet, in the 2010 study of *Aboriginal Teachers’ Professional Knowledge and Experience in Canada*, St. Denis reported that,

there is still a lot more that can be done to ensure that Aboriginal content and perspectives are being taught in a meaningful way to all students. The often implicit hierarchy of school knowledge and subjects typically places a low valuation on Aboriginal subject matter, and this had negative implications on how others received both the Aboriginal teachers and the Aboriginal content that was being taught. (p.8)

On a positive note, Donald (2009) noted that in his observations and interactions with pre-service teachers at the University of Alberta, the student teachers generally recognized that, “the formal [education] systems have marginalized Aboriginal peoples and their knowledge systems in the past and they expressed a desire to critique accepted teaching practices and discuss new ideas and approaches” (p. 6).

Ultimately, the road to fostering the changes necessary to support the local control of Aboriginal education relevant to our children continues to be fraught with challenging and multiple next steps. Potential steps involve changes in legislation, curricula, and the structures that define education. They also include the training of those who are involved in the formal delivery of educational services: the future teachers, school administrators and school boards members who are employed in both band controlled or provincial school systems. For those of us involved in education, we must be committed at the personal, professional and institutional level to taking those next steps because like Denis (1997) stated, “Native claims will not be taken seriously as long as we, {the majority of provincial school teachers and faculty members} in the white stream, are not willing to see that colonialism involves not only a change in the colonized but also in the colonizer” (p.33).

Research Question and Brief Summary of Method

I belong to a cohort of Aboriginal Ph.D. students at the University of Manitoba. We meet several times a year to support and guide each other. At one of the meetings in the early stage of our studies, I recall someone saying that one of the professors suggested that when embarking upon the research process and formulating the question, we should “dig in our backyard,” meaning that we should conduct our studies in an area that is close to our heart’s passion, is significant, yet “do-able” in terms of content and geography. As such, I chose to explore a contemporary educational challenge that is situated in my work as an Assistant Professor in the Faculty of Education at Brandon University and one that I consider to be the elephant in the classroom. From my vantage point as an Aboriginal faculty member, the elephant is the unspoken and taken-for-granted colonialism that remains in the attitudes, practices and structures that exist in our public and post-secondary school systems. Not only do I see colonial practices working against the success of FNMI students, my very presence represents a difference in world view from that of the student teachers in my classroom. The majority of my student teachers represent a demography characterized as what Denis (1997) terms “whitestream,” or the idea that North American society is fundamentally structured on ideology and values associated with Anglo-European beliefs and structures. The elephant that I face each day affects my role as I challenge students to question their beliefs, ways of doing and being. Battiste (2000, 2002) and Kirkness and Barnhardt (1991) refer to these beliefs and ways of being and doing as the “Eurocentric world view”. Although I recognize my privilege in my role as a university faculty member,

an ironic and very personal danger exists in my “dance with the elephant,” because I also am an Aboriginal woman whose worldview is often not legitimated in these students’ lived experiences and assumptions about the world. To complicate matters, I work in an education faculty that is fairly conservative, not unlike other “Colleges and universities [which] seem to function as incubators for the soon-to-be or (or wanna-be) guardians of the status quo” (Ladson-Billings & Donner, 2008, p. 77). Experience has shown me that I am often require to dance around both faculty peers and student teachers when I raise issues that are directly related to the inequity that arises as a result of unacknowledged whiteness within the institution.

In a nutshell, the “problem” that focuses or underpins my research relates to the dilemmas with which I am faced daily as an Aboriginal woman teacher educator. How do I bridge the differences between my own and teacher candidates’ worldviews/educational philosophies in order to promote their adoption or development of pedagogies more congruent with the needs of FNMI children? Well known Aboriginal author and storyteller, Basil Johnston, reminds me (personal communication, September 2010) in his teachings and conversations that we should always ask ourselves, “What does it mean in relationship to the big picture?”

Many of the student teachers at Brandon University have progressed from high school directly in to their first degree, and then in to the Bachelor of Education After Degree program. As such, the majority of them have had positive experiences in schools because the very structure, content and pedagogy were in congruence with their lived experience and worldviews. In addition, the majority of the student teachers bring a range of life experiences centered on participation in sport,

summer jobs, camps, and travelling with family. These young student teachers are highly technologically or digitally literate but often do not bring experiences that relate to cross cultural issues, Aboriginal people or their histories.

On the one hand, these student teachers are well aware of the changing demographics of the Aboriginal population, or as Helin (2006) terms, “the demographic tsunami” (p. 17). One of the challenges that arise from my work with whitestream student teachers is that they are typically sympathetic to the idea of inequity, and to the individual who has been treated unjustly, but they ignore or minimize the social constructions that cause structural inequity or racism that exists within our institutions (Guinier & Torres, 2002). Levine-Radsky (2000) noted that teacher candidates can be classified according to following three value systems regarding racism and whiteness: (1) traditional teachers who deny or dismiss the relationship between social organizations such as school and racism, (2) progressive teachers who are willing to explore the relationship between schools and racism, and, (3) ambivalent teachers who are conflicted about their stance on issues therefore they express contradictory beliefs about racism and schools. Ladson-Billings (1999) suggests that whereas mainstream curricula and approaches work well for the majority of white people, such approaches “silence multiple voices and perspectives, primarily legitimizing the dominant, white upper class, male voicings as 'standard knowledge' students need to know” (p. 341). Because the student teachers do not recognize the colonial assumptions underpinning their worldview, many are ignorant of the fact that organizational structures often subtly prohibit the educational success of FNMI students. Instead, they tend to want to

"help" or "fix" the disposed and disenfranchised FNMI students so that they better fit a corrupt system. Many student teachers resist the idea that they may need to engage in rethinking the whole system (school), since that entire system fundamentally supports and perpetuates their own assumptions. As a consequence, the educational philosophy and beliefs they bring (consciously or subconsciously) to the APC often works in direct opposition to the educational needs of Aboriginal students whose worldview is entirely different.

Here is a "typical" example. Many of the student teachers with whom I work believe that all students should be treated equally and are hesitant to adapt their pedagogical practices or content because they (and I paraphrase the multiplicity of comments I have heard) "do not want the Aboriginal students to feel awkward" or because they think that by adapting their pedagogy, they will not "be fair to the other cultures in the classroom such as the Chinese or the Spanish speaking children" that are found in increasing numbers in communities around Brandon. They do not realize that by failing to acknowledge these students' differing worldview, they perpetuate exclusion and fail to legitimate the lived reality of Aboriginal students. And the misunderstandings do not occur only as they relate to teaching pedagogy and practice. To demonstrate a small example of how uninformed many of these adults are (and these are adults who legitimately feel compelled to do their best for students) I have actually had student teachers ask me in a most respectful manner "where I picked up my free truck" because they have been socialized to believe that First Nations people, by virtue of the treaties, can just go and pick up their vehicles for free. Obviously, much more work needs to be done

in order to provide not only accurate historical and contemporary information about colonialism and its effects on Aboriginal peoples, but also to cause people to deconstruct the Eurocentric assumptions that perpetuate racism.

It is my own experiences, then, as an Aboriginal woman, scholar and teacher educator that drives me to study my research question. I wish to study how it is that I can best implement the content, pedagogy and values associated with the APC in a manner that pushes the FNMI educational agenda while simultaneously doing so in a manner that is respectful and sensitive to the worldview held by the majority of the student teachers in the course. In short, the research question involves naming or acknowledging and working with the metaphorical elephant that exists in my university classroom. More specifically, there are four purposes to my research. The first purpose is to find out the amount of background knowledge regarding Aboriginal people and their histories that the student teachers bring to the course. The second purpose is to find out what attitudes the student teachers hold prior to and upon completion of the course. The third purpose is to find out what impact the teachings and activities of the APC have had on the actual teaching experience of first year teachers. And, the fourth purpose is to find out what extent racism is inherent and perpetuated within our school system and to what extent can the APC help to address its effects on individuals (teachers and students), within our educational system? Given my foci, I have chosen to use critical theory, whiteness theory, red pedagogy and Indigenous feminism to conceptualize my research.

Definition of Terms

Aboriginal education is broadly defined in this study as those educational practices that have historically affected FNMI people and those educational practices including but not limited to content, curriculum and pedagogy that are being used in contemporary classrooms. For the most part, the legal term First Nations, Metis and Inuit (FNMI) as defined in the *Canadian Constitution Act* (1982) for Aboriginal people will be used in this research. However, because reference is made to historical events and publications as well as international literature that supports the research, other terms such as Indian, Indigenous or Aboriginal may be employed depending upon the context.

Critical race theory, (CRT) with roots in critical legal studies (Bell, 1991; Delgado, 1995; Crenshaw et al, 1995), seeks to “re-examine the terms in which race and racism have been negotiated in American consciousness and to recover the radical tradition of race consciousness among African Americans and other people of color” (Freeman, 1995, p. xiv). Dunbar (2008) suggests, “the race consciousness tradition became abandoned when integration, assimilation; and the idea of color blindness became the official norms of racial enlightenment” (p. 87). Thompson (2003) contends that CRT identifies race as a factor in social relations that privileges Whiteness (p.96). Both critical legal scholars and critical race scholars believe that scholarship relating to race cannot be objective or neutral; as such, both schools of thought advocate for alternative methodologies such as narrative and other literary techniques. By employing these narratives, the traditional meritocratic paradigm associated with the academy is challenged to make way for those voices that have traditionally been excluded.

Whiteness theory was articulated by scholars (Dlamni, 2002; Harris, 1993; Scheirich, 2002) who further refined CRT in such a manner that the focus was on teacher education and how race continues to play a role in terms of {non} equity for minoritized students by White educators. For example, Picower (2009) posits that racism is a normal, inherent feature of American society therefore teacher educators show employ methods particularly for white teachers that will assist them in developing a socio-political consciousness which will enable them to become more effective educators of minority students. As such, Whiteness theory becomes the tool that White pre or in service teachers can use to understand that "Whiteness is an ideology that consists of the beliefs, policies and practices, often unarticulated, that enable White to maintain power" (Dlamni, 2002, p,58).

Indigenous or Aboriginal feminism developed from the scholarship of feminists such as Harding (1991), hooks(1995, 2000) and Mohanty (1988) who advocate for research that analyzes, challenges and confronts the dominant forms of institutional practice, knowledge and discourse often characterized with patriarchy and hegemonic practice. Cannella and Manuelito (2008) define indigenous feminism as an "anti-colonial social science that {would} recognize the intersection of new forms of power created within attempts to decolonize" (p. 47). Participatory action research and narrative inquiry are typically employed by indigenous feminists because the goal of this kind of research is to promote and create opportunities for those voices to speak and to find places for transparent public conversations regarding the research purpose, philosophy, methodology and results to meet the needs of community as opposed to creating academic rhetoric that often has a small

audience and minimal impact. In doing so, those knowledge systems and voices that have often been discredited or even silenced by the dominant power associated with the specific discipline are supported in ways that assist in constructing activist, collaborative, reflective research models.

Culturally responsive schooling (CRS) envisions schooling as more than pedagogy, instructional strategies and teacher competencies and suggests that the practices related to culturally responsive schooling can lead to the success of all minoritized youth. Pewewardy and Hammer(2003) described CRS as that which “builds a bridge between a child’s home culture {in a broad sense} and the school to effect improved learning and school achievement” (p. 1). Those educators who embrace CRS utilize a holistic approach to schooling by not focusing only on the curriculum and teaching but also by taking into account school policy, student expectations, standards, teacher expectations and community involvement.

Red pedagogy as conceptualized by Grande (2004, 2008) is a pedagogy that focuses upon re-imagining the social and intellectual spaces of what it means to be an Indian in North America today (p. 241). In doing so, those who practice red pedagogy would be able to critically analyze the intersecting systems that have historically constrained Indigenous people and develop the tools to navigate those systems. Grande asserts that red pedagogues need both the knowledge of how the oppressor works (in this case, the educational systems that have been inherited from colonialism); and the skills to dismantle and rebuild such systems. When studying the work of Grande, I was reminded of the advice given to us PSAS doctoral students. Elder Don Robertson, in his address at an honor ceremony in the spring

of 2010, advised us to “work hard so that we would learn the systems and ways related to our area of study so that one day, upon completion, we would be able to speak ‘eyeball to eyeball’ with those in charge and in doing so, we would be a catalyst for changes that would impact our grandchildren”. It seems to me that the essence of red pedagogy was described in that advice.

Teacher Preparation is defined as the formal program of studies, the Bachelor of Education, After Degree program, which student teachers must complete in order to be certified as teachers in the Province of Manitoba. At the present time, student teachers are admitted to the Faculty of Education upon completion of a first degree that must have two of the potential eighteen teachable areas that are recognized by the teacher certification branch. Student teachers then complete two years of study, of which 66% is taught in the university classroom and 33% is taught in the schools during the practicum placements. The APC is a mandatory or core course within the Bachelor of Education program.

Delimitations

This research is based upon the implementation and delivery of the APC that has been offered during the 2008 and 2009 academic years by the Department of Teacher Education at Brandon University. This course resulted from the Minister of Education mandate which stated, “Effective May, 2009, all teachers seeking certification in the province of Manitoba had to have specific content regarding teaching Aboriginal students either in the form of a course within the Bachelor of Education program or be able to show such content within their education program” (Appendix A for the APC parameters as defined by the Minister and the

letter to the president). As a Brandon University faculty member, I was involved in both the design and the delivery of the course. I teach half of the course sections that are offered. As such, my research is focused on the data from 138 students collected through surveys and 10 personal interviews over a two year period while I taught six sections of the course.

Limitations

My research is action oriented, based upon my classroom teaching and the experiences of my student teachers; it utilizes narrative and storytelling. Because this research design is predicated upon my own experiences as an Aboriginal woman scholar and teacher educator, I am biased in my desire to foster an Aboriginal worldview amongst my students. However, such experiences also position me well as someone who understands both the needs of FNMI students and their worldviews. Such “insider knowledge” therefore may help me deal more sensitively with the nuances of this research than what otherwise might occur.

I also have been a co-developer and the primary instructor for half of the sections of the course offered at Brandon University, and therefore I have some professional interest in seeing this course (and therefore my research) is supported. This is a common concern of action researchers who study their own practice (McNiff & Whitehead, 2006). It is therefore contingent upon me to deal with the data analysis with integrity, and ensure my methods incorporate a strong ethical focus, such that they are clearly transparent, articulated fully, and validated through the fostering of confirmability, transferability, dependability and credibility.

The narrow focus of the study may also be called into question by those academics that support methodological beliefs that a broad and wider sample will provide more valid results. Another limitation is that I did not initially conceive of the research during the first month of the first three sections that I taught. As such, the data that I collected in 2008 is not as rich as the data that was collected in the 2009 course offerings. This is because I modified the 2009 survey design so that I could acquire richer data regarding the knowledge, attitudes and pedagogical expertise in working with FNMI students prior to and after taking the APC. I was also able to conduct a pre-test and a post-test in 2009 which I was not able to do for 2008 because during the first year of the course delivery, I did not have BUREC ethics approval at the inception of the course to administer the surveys. Therefore, I cannot directly statistically compare results from a standard survey across the two years, though I am able to compare the pre-test and post-test survey data from 2009. I also can compare the general findings related to the concepts of knowledge, attitudes and pedagogical expertise qualitatively across the two surveys and triangulate those results with those of the interviews. This is further explained in the data analysis section of chapter three.

Relevance of the Study

I believe that this study is relevant to teacher education in Manitoba for several reasons. Perhaps the most significant reason is that the FNMI mobility patterns coupled with the FNMI population growth rates indicate that more and more FNMI students are attending provincially controlled school systems. These school systems are typically staffed by high numbers if not entire staff contingents

who represent the White Eurocentric demographic and worldview. Until the 2008 mandate for some degree of FNMI content to be taught, little if any attention was focused on having teachers learn about FNMI history, worldviews or pedagogies. As such, it is little surprise that there continues to be a barrage of literature showing that FNMI students are considerably behind their non FNMI counterparts in terms of academic achievement at the primary and secondary school levels. My thirty years of teaching and teacher educator experience has shown me that whereas specific initiatives are made with the good intentions of improving practice (in this instance FNMI academic achievement) people get so busy implementing the initiatives that the data is seldom collected to see if, in fact, the initiatives are doing what they were designed to do. This study is an attempt to investigate the effectiveness, that is, collect some data on the APC in terms of how it might potentially increase the academic achievement of FNMI students in provincial school systems.

Manitoba schools operate from a colonial perspective in terms of both structure and curricula. As such, this study may be relevant to other educational jurisdictions that share colonial roots and have significant numbers of students who do not represent the white, Eurocentric demographic or value systems.

Organization of the Report

In this chapter, I illustrated the variety of historical and contemporary challenges that exist in Aboriginal education. Chapter two provides the literature review and the conceptualization of the study. Chapter three outlines the

methodology and methods used in the study design and analysis. Chapter four illustrates the statistical findings of the study. Chapter five discusses the qualitative finds of the study. Chapter six presents the discussion of the findings as related to the literature as well as the implications for theory, future research and practice.

Chapter Two: Literature and Conceptualization

Chapter two is comprised of literature that speaks to three areas: the conceptualization of the study (understanding the invisibility of the elephant in our classrooms), culturally relevant pedagogy and more specifically, the APC as an impetus for change (engaging with the elephant).

Conceptualization: Understanding the Invisibility of the Elephant

In an attempt to help understand the invisibility of the elephant lumbering around our classrooms, I will define and illustrate critical race theory (CRT) of which Whiteness theory has developed as the major conceptual framework for my research. Following that, I present literature that narrows my conceptualization to the history and goals of red pedagogy. Finally, I discuss what is meant by Indigenous or Aboriginal feminism and how it relates to the research. While the Western world view often delineates and breaks down concepts into discrete or isolated parts, the Aboriginal world view envisions all things as being interconnected. As such, critical race theory, red pedagogy and indigenous feminism are all woven into what is termed “culturally relevant pedagogy,” or the pedagogy employed by both faculty and student teachers, when they actually engage with the elephant. In this research, engaging with the elephant necessitates that faculty and student teachers engage with the unspoken and often racist views that promulgate education.

Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory (CRT) grew out of scholarship from critical legal studies conducted by Delgado (1995), Bell (1991), Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller and Thomas

(1995), and Ross (1992), all of whom utilized post-modern and post-structural scholarship in their research focusing on the over-representation of marginalized people in the criminal justice system. Its prominence arose because, by the late 1980s, there appeared to be what Isaksen (1999) named “stagnation” in the recognition of the advances of the civil rights movement. Freeman (1995, p. xiv) defined the aim of critical race theory as being the need to “re-examine the terms by which race and racism have been negotiated in American consciousness and to recover the radical tradition of race consciousness of African Americans and other people of color” (p. xiv).

Critical legal theorists rejected the conventional rhetoric of the positivist scholars of the 1980s who asserted that scholarship should be neutral and objective. Instead, critical legal scholars asserted that research had to take the context and environment of those being studied into consideration. Critical legal scholars advocated and paved the road for use of narrative and other related literary techniques to be used in the collection of data and dissemination of research findings and results. For example, the recently formed Indian Residential School Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), a five year, pan Canadian research project tasked with collecting the stories and experiences of all those involved with this horrific part of Canadian history, has deemed that testimony and experiential evidence can take the form of oral testimony, written responses and/or art including pictures, poems, and songs. I had the opportunity in spring, 2010 to hear the TRC Commissioner, Justice Murray Sinclair, a prominent Aboriginal lawyer, scholar and traditional man, provide the explanation that the commission chose to

use the variety of testimonial submissions because this practice respects the variety of ways that people can “voice” and submit their experiences. The TRC research practice shows the use of critical race theory in action on a research project important to all Canadians.

Critical race theory (Dei, 1996; Kailin, 1994) is constructed on the following three tenets: the recognition that racism has social effects and that all oppressions are interlocking; the critique of ideologies that relate to liberalism and meritocracy; and the problematizing of the voices of those who have been marginalized by society. Freeman (1995), speaking from an American context and environment, asserted that, “CRT aims to re-examine the terms by which race and racism have been negotiated” (p. xiv). Freeman contends that race consciousness was abandoned during the 1970s and 1980s when government and education policy was aimed at the integration and assimilation of those visibly different people and that such practice created the notion of color blindness that is so prevalent in society today. Brown (1995) furthers this by suggesting that color blindness is akin to the ideologies associated with meritocracy, objectivity and neutrality, all of which negate the realities and lived experience of those who occupy the minority and often-marginalized position. Regarding the importance of identifying and acknowledging the role that race plays when intersected with power and privilege, St. Denis and Schick (2003) cite MacIntosh (1998) and Sleeter, (1991) who proclaimed that, “by claiming that ‘we are all part of the same human race’ and that the ‘color of a person’s skin’ is invisible, students whitewash the daily advantage of white privilege” (p.55).

CRT focuses on naming racism and investigating the effects of racism on educational achievement at an individual and communal level by addressing the philosophies of meritocracy and the hegemonic practices involved with White supremacy and privilege in school systems. Ladson-Billings and Tate (1994) are credited with introducing the discourse of critical race theory to education. In addition, African American Scholar, Ladson-Billings (1995), is first known for the naming of culturally relevant pedagogy, which speaks about the necessity of creating bridges between the lived experiences and realities of the minority students to that of the mainstream curriculum. In her view, CRT is not limited to race, but serves “as a new analytic rubric for considering difference and inequity using multiple methodologies – story, voice, metaphor, analogy, critical social science, feminism and postmodernism” (Ladson-Billings, 2005, p. 9).

MacIntosh, (1988), a women’s studies scholar, in her seminal paper called, *Unpacking the invisible knapsack*, was known for boldly naming the term, “white privilege” to mean “those privileges unearned, but taken for granted, by white people because of the color of their skin” (p. 2). This paper seemed to act as a catalyst for the scholarly work and theories that utilize concepts such as hegemony and privilege that play a role in educational organizations, policies and student achievement. Lea and Sims (2008) describe hegemony of whiteness as those “social, economic, cultural and symbolic practices by which white, upper-middle class people, most of whom are men, continue to hold disproportionately to their actual numbers in the dominant institutions” (p. 186).

In the 1990s, at the same time that the theories relating to culturally relevant pedagogy were being introduced; race, critical race and Tribal critical race theories were also being brought into the educational arena. CRT has sought to remove the color blindness used by mainstream educators and institutions. It is widely recognized by those scholars who either represent the minority voice such as Lumbee-Cheraw scholar, Brayboy (2005), who introduced the term, TribalCrit, and Metis - Cree scholar, St. Denis (2007); or by those non-Indigenous scholars who study the intersections of race, culture and classroom praxis (Dei, 1996; Klug, & Whitfield, 2003). TribalCrit (Brayboy, 2005) extends critical race theories that suggest racism is endemic and plays a significant role in the educational achievement of those who are not in the dominant, mainstream group, and promotes the idea that colonization is endemic because of the manner that government policies directed at Aboriginal people in North America have been undergirded by imperialism and White supremacy with the goals of material resource gain. Colonization includes the Eurocentric thought, power structures and knowledge that continue to dominate society in North America. In his advocacy of TribalCrit, Brayboy (2005) hopes to change not only the “manner that Indigenous students perceive education and school systems but more importantly, the manner that schools and educational researchers think about [Aboriginal] students” (p. 442). It is this focus on activism conceptualized around ideas about racism, Indigeneity and colonialism that create the bridge between critical race theory and red pedagogy.

Whiteness Theory

Considerable scholarship from Canada (Levine-Rasky, 2000; St. Denis & Schick, 2003;), the United States (Marx, 2004; Picower, 2009; Vaught & Castagno, 2008) and Australia (Aveling, 2006; Thompson, 2003) has emerged in the past twenty years that further focuses CRT in terms of how race plays a significant role in both teacher education and public school education. Such scholarship known as White theory or Whiteness theory suggests that:

White racism is not primarily individual acts or beliefs: those are only social effects. White racism is Onto-Logical, it is built into the very nature of social reality. It is the Epistemo-Logical, it is built into the very nature of the accepted and legitimized assumptions of how we come to know reality, it is the institutional, societal and civilizational. United States institutions {and Canadian ones} from the government to the schools are White racist ones (Scheurich, 2002, p.3).

As such, proponents of white and whiteness theory aim to create the conditions within teacher education such that white student teachers are able to come to an understanding of how schools and society are organized by recognizing their own colonial or white assumptions with the view to transform future practice in schools.

Langer (1997) suggests that by engaging student teachers in the study and articulation of whiteness as a collective or societal state; teacher educators could potentially assist future teachers to move to a state of mindfulness- this state involving the creation of new categories, being open to new information, and, being aware of more than one perspective. Langer contends that the mindful state is a

proactive state as opposed to the state of mindlessness whereby the habitual use of preordained scripts, norms and stereotypes, simply perpetuates or maintains the status quo. These kinds of pedagogic pursuits in the university classroom are often fraught with difficulty for both the student teachers and the faculty because such activities necessitate that "white teachers be able to recognize that white racial power permeates every institution and that race and racism inform low student achievement" (Vaught & Castagno, 2008, p. 101).

The social and ethnic demographics of the student teacher are far removed from those students that they teach. And, as Kailin (1999) suggests, "teachers perceptions and perspectives are shaped by social forces that mold us in society... therefore it is not surprising that the cognitive categories by which they organize and understand their world reflect the stereotypes that are held by the dominant group of which they are members" (p. 744). Values and attitudes are based upon life experience and identity markers such as religion, class, ethnicity and religious affiliations (Picower, 2009); therefore, the examination of white power requires that student teachers scrutinize and examine all aspects of their lives and past experience. This pursuit is often difficult because it requires that people question the very systems that have served them well and for their entire lives. Causey, Thomas and Armento (2000) suggest that young, white student teachers hold a "naïve, egalitarianism in that they believe that each person is created equal, has equal access to resources and should be treated equally" (p. 34). When student teachers are asked to engage in difficult tasks that require them to question and negate their fundamental beliefs; they often demonstrate a variety of responses

ranging from resistance and anger (Aveling, 2006; St. Denis & Schickj, 2003; Vaught & Castagno, 2008; & Whitehead, 2006) to white guilt which can move into white paralysis (Thompson, 2003) and use a variety of social and ideological tools (Aveling, 2006; St.Denis & Schick, 2003) to resist their movement towards less racist paradigms and structures. White theory requires that student teachers move beyond the notion that racism is an individual act to that of racism being societal or institutional structures that often impede or constrain those people whose voices and worldviews differ from that of dominant society.

Red Pedagogy

Red Pedagogy, conceptualized and defined by Grande (2004) is known as a revolutionary form of pedagogy with roots in major critical theorists of our time (Freirie, 2006; Kincheloe, 2003; McLaren, 2003). Although the plethora of post modern, (Spivak, 1987) post structural (Derrida, 1967) feminist (Green, 2007; Harding, 1995; LaRocque, 2007) and post-colonial theorists (Bear-Nicholas, 2001; Calliou, 2001; Fanon, 1961; Said, 1978) developed varying forms of critical pedagogy, McLaren's conception of critical pedagogy best suits the purposes of this dissertation. McLaren (2003, p. 66) stated that,

Critical pedagogy is first and foremost an approach to schooling – teaching, policy making, curriculum production- that emphasizes the political nature of education... it [critical pedagogy] aims to understand, reveal, and disrupt the mechanisms of oppression imposed by the established order, suturing the processes and aims of education to emancipatory gains. (p. 66)

As this research is focused on the preparation of student teachers that will be teaching growing numbers of FNMI students in public schools, McLaren's holistic conception of schooling seems most appropriate.

Grande, the first child of a family with Indigenous roots in the Andean highlands of South America, was schooled in the United States and found school to be lacking in both spirit and relevance to her lived experience. As such, she initially chose to study and advance her education because of her public school years when she experienced a combination of alienation, social isolation and anger. Grande then changed her scholarly pursuits to red pedagogy because she noted the urgent need to develop transcendent theories of education with the hope of creating broad based coalitions to oppose the global encroachment on indigenous cultures, resources, lands and communities. Furthering the scholarship of other indigenous scholars (Alfred, 1999; Deloria, 1994; Smith, 1999; Warrior, 1995) Grande (2004) furthers the conceptualization of critical pedagogy by asserting that red pedagogy is:

... historically grounded in local and tribal narratives, intellectually informed by ancestral ways of knowing, politically centered in issues of sovereignty, and morally inspired by the deep connections among the Earth, its beings, and the spirit world. (p. 35)

Although some might claim that red pedagogy is too revolutionary and rhetorical, it is pedagogy of decolonization because it embraces the indigenous concepts of relationality as opposed to the linear and hierarchical characteristics of many other western-based critical theories.

If educators were to assume and practice red pedagogy, they would undoubtedly be involved in a form of decolonized pedagogy that “questions how knowledge is related to the processes of colonization” (Grande, 2004, p.56). It is critical that we train educators to do this because, like Williams and Tanaka (2007) stated, “Westerners rarely have the opportunity to reflect on and appreciate that their way of learning and the content of what they learn is privileged. When an individual is embedded as a member of a dominant culture, everything is designed to fit that cultural world” (p.4). Grande (2008, p. 250) further characterizes red pedagogy using the following seven precepts as a means to guide our thinking, dialogue and practice around the challenges of education. She suggests that red pedagogy: (1) is a pedagogical project inherently political, cultural, spiritual and intellectual; (2) is rooted in indigenous knowledge and praxis; (3) is informed by critical theories of education; (4) promotes an education for decolonization while not making claims of political neutrality but engages dialogue and inquiry related to capitalistic – imperialistic matters; (5) interrogates both democracy and indigenous sovereignty; (6) cultivates the practice of collective agency by creating transnational and transcultural coalitions among indigenous people and other committed to developing a more equitable society; and, (7) is grounded in hope, not a futuristic hope but one that trusts the understandings and beliefs of our ancestors. Red Pedagogy fits this research because of the hopeful nature of its discourse and the fact that it is premised upon building coalitions among all levels of educators in an effort to disrupt the colonial and neo-colonial manifestations that could potentially harm our collective future.

Indigenous/Aboriginal Feminism

Lastly, Indigenous/Aboriginal Feminism will be used as the third beam in the theoretical framework for this research. Indigenous feminism, defined by Cannella and Manuelita (2008) is an “anticolonial social science that would recognize the intersection of new oppressive forms of power created within attempts to decolonize” (p.47). This theoretical perspective is built upon feminist theory put forth by scholars such as hooks (1995, 2000), and Harding (1991, 1995). These scholars envisioned and advocated for research that includes participatory action and narrative in ways that create and promote transparent public conversations and not merely the academic rhetoric associated with the purpose, philosophy, methodology and results of research. Metis feminist scholars such as LaRocque (2007) suggest that feminism, although often considered to be the discourse of women, is more about gender inequality and social injustice and less about separating the discourse and theory of men and women. LaRocque asserts that feminism should originate with both genders and all socio-cultural backgrounds such that all have the tools to analyze and change (disrupt) those social systems that have historically worked to disadvantage women and privilege men. From an Indigenous perspective, LaRocque points out “Aboriginal values and world views offer genuine alternatives to our over-industrialized, over-bureaucratized, corporate controlled societies” (p. 68). When the role of Indigenous women, for example that of the traditional matriarchy, is examined and perhaps reclaimed or re-invented to suit contemporary society, all women, regardless of race, could potentially benefit from models that are more equitable and valued in society. St.

Denis (2003) who is known for her work in critical race theory as it relates to education and teacher preparation, notes that whereas she used to believe that feminism had no relevance for Aboriginal people, now contends that “feminist scholarship is very important to my anti-racist teaching, in which I draw upon a wide range of feminist writing on issues including race, nationhood, class, disability and sexual identity” (p. 50). The potential strength of Indigenous feminist scholarship is that it provides the tools and methodologies that can be used to deconstruct, analyze and re-construct those bureaucratic structures that have typically marginalized those people who do not represent the mainstream in terms of color, ideology, sexual orientation or ability. As such, this perspective supports the deconstruction of colonial practice that I attempt to engender as I share my own experiences as an Aboriginal woman, and the experiences of my mother and family in our attempts to navigate a Eurocentric system foreign to what we embodied.

Culturally Relevant Pedagogy: Engaging With the Elephant

Culturally relevant pedagogy, no matter how it is conceptualized and defined, is important in contemporary teaching given the growing diversity of student population. I remember my high school biology teacher who had us memorize the taxonomy relating to how living things were classified. Although thirty-five years have passed, I still recall kingdom, phylum, class, order, family, genus, and species. The biology teacher employed a Eurocentric teaching approach such that students had to memorize the various labels denoting the vertical hierarchy for what seemed to be all of the living things in the world. He would call out a particular animal such as the giraffe and then the name of one of the students. Of course, students mastered

the art of trying to appear invisible in class because we were intimidated by being called to stand in front of the class and recite all of the details relating to a particular animal, about which many of whom we had only read. This was a daunting experience, devoid of the context of where we lived, who we were, what mattered in terms of relevance and, in retrospect, such a pedagogical style most likely contributed to the fact that many people ended up dropping out of the biology course. I tell this story for two reasons: the first being the importance of using teaching strategies and pedagogy that is congruent with the lived experience and reality of students; and, second, that I did not realize that I am still intimidated by the term taxonomy, perhaps because of the hangover from high school biology, which provides yet another argument that teachers employ culturally relevant pedagogy in their classrooms because to not do so may have effects that last long after formal schooling is over.

I suggest that the discourse of culturally relevant pedagogy contains three inter-related elements: multicultural education (which represents the early movements in this field); culturally relevant or culturally appropriate pedagogy that identifies particular teacher behaviors that promote the success for all students; and, anti-racist pedagogy that speaks to the need for examining the role that race plays in the organizational structures associated with education. It is important to note that all three categories developed in one form or other from the civil rights movements. One category is not superior to another but the various categories of discourse and theory can be utilized for specific purposes and contexts.

The civil rights movements of the 1960s initiated dialogue for social, cultural, gender and economic equity of those voices that had been marginalized in America, a country that espoused liberty, freedom and democracy. On the world stage, the United Nations in 1966 proclaimed March 21 as the *International Day for the Elimination*. This was a response to and an acknowledgement of racism with specific reference to the 1960 incident in Sharpeville, South Africa where the police shot and killed 69 Blacks in a peaceful protest against Apartheid. Because educational institutions transmit knowledge, norms and values, the civil rights movements initiated dialogue and debate as to how educational systems should change to better meet the needs of the diverse populations that were being served. The 1960s, a decade where the baby boomers began questioning the role of social systems and institutions, where Canadians led by Prime Minister Trudeau were advocating for a “just society”, and where Americans were protesting the Vietnam war; was the social context which birthed a variety of critical (Giroux, 1983; Kincheloe, 2003; McLaren, 1996; McLaren & Hammer, 1989), feminist (Harding, 1991; Noddings, 1984), and post modern discourse (Derrida, 1967; Foucault, 1966; Spivak, 1987). Among other critical education issues being questioned, these theories interrogated the assimilationist or melting pot ideology that often times equated difference with deficiency. Chinitz (2003), when discussing the relationship between schools and culture, cited T.S. Eliot, well known poet and post-modern critic who said that, “So long as we consider ‘education’ as a word in itself by which everyone has the right to the utmost without any idea of the good life of society or for the individual, we shall move from one uneasy consequence to another” (p. 21).

The year 1972 marked the first time that the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education identified and defined multicultural education as “rejecting the view that schools should seek to melt away cultural differences” and recognize by way of integrated programs that cultural diversity was a fact of life in American schools. When Bordieu and Passeron (1977) noted the role that schools played in reproducing cultural and social inequalities, the stage was set for what is known today as the applied field of educational anthropology. Kim, Clarke-Ekong and Ashmore (1999) contend that the field of anthropology examines studying humans in the past, present and future, therefore, this provides for an “integrative force” in the study of other disciplines related to human development. As such, multicultural education theory has crossed the traditional educational borders by utilizing a holistic approach to education that looks not only at strategies, content and curriculum but looks to the role of the school in the community at both a micro and macro level.

Multicultural Education

The term multicultural education was not widely used in educational literature until the late 1970s. Tiedt & Tiedt published the first comprehensive multicultural education text in 1979 as a result of and a response to the growing student diversity in America’s classrooms. This text, now in its 7th edition (Tiedt & Tiedt, 2005) was the first textbook to describe strategies and approaches that teachers could employ while addressing multiculturalism. Tiedt and Tiedt (2005) suggested that within a multicultural educational context, schools “will educate all children in our society, to permit them to develop to their greatest potential so that

they can participate fully in what the world has to offer, to contribute to the world and to benefit from the best resources of the world” (p. 3). They acknowledge that this has not been the traditional goal of education in North America because since confederation of the United States in 1770 and Canada in 1867, the best education was conferred on primarily the White, English speaking males and in more recent decades, females. In the early 1980s, many universities began Black Studies or Chicano programs as a way to meet multicultural needs in education. It was during this decade that scholars began publishing educational literature that spoke specifically to multi cultural, ethnic and diversity studies and theories in education.

Perhaps the most well known multi-cultural educational advocate and scholar is Professor James Banks who has authored more than 100 scholarly articles and 20 books examining the multicultural education and diversity – unity debate. Banks (1995a) conceptualized multi-cultural education as having five major components or stages. The first stage, content integration, identifies how teachers can use the contributions of various minority or cultural groups to enhance key concepts and generalizations within their disciplines and with existing curricula. In this stage, teachers typically hold the power as they choose which materials and content that is to be used. It has been called the “additive approach” to multicultural education. The second stage, called knowledge production, describes how teachers can assist students with understanding and investigating how knowledge is constructed from different cultural perspectives. In this stage, students are also taught how to detect the role of bias and frames of reference from both within a discipline and outside of a specific discipline. The role of the teacher begins to shift

from that of being an expert to that of being a facilitator of learning because there is some collaboration with communities as sources of information regarding the diverse worldviews and knowledge systems. The third stage, known as prejudice reduction, involves developing lessons that help students develop positive attitudes towards other racial, ethnic and cultural groups. Research (Banks, 1995b) shows that although students come to school with negative attitudes about different ethnic groups, these attitudes can be changed in schools providing that educators use positive images of various ethnic groups in a consistent, planned and proactive manner. The fourth stage, equity pedagogy, involves teachers modifying and adapting their ways of teaching to facilitate the academic success of all students, no matter what diverse racial, ethnic or social class. In this stage, the teacher became less of an expert and more of a facilitator of learning. For example, using cooperative rather than competitive group activities has been shown by Swisher (1990) and Kawagley and Barnhardt (1999) to improve the success of Aboriginal students. The final stage, known as empowering school culture and social structure, focuses on transforming the culture and school organization so that students from diverse ethnic, racial and gender groups are able to experience equity and equal status. The implementation of this stage necessitates that the entire school environment including: attitudes, beliefs and actions of teachers and administrators; the curriculum; assessment and testing; and, the styles and strategies used by teachers, be transformed. Banks (1995a) notes that although all stages are inter-related, the implementation of each stage of multicultural education requires deliberate thought and attention on the part of the teacher. The implication is that

teacher educators employ a holistic approach and strive to understand how the nature and reality of education is enacted at the home-community, classroom and institutional levels.

There was a multitude of multicultural models developed in the 1970s under the names of cross-cultural understanding, cultural pluralism, bi-cultural education and multicultural education. In a literature review of the various multicultural models presented by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, and the U.S. Office of Education, Gibson (1976), created five categories. The first, benevolent multiculturalism or education of the culturally different had a goal of equalizing opportunities for the culturally different students by recognizing and responding to the different value systems and creating a more compatible home-community relationship with the school. These approaches were viewed as somewhat paternalistic because although they did not view the culturally different students with a deficit attitude, these approaches seemed to be “top down” or teacher focused as opposed to developing a shared relationship and understanding of education by teachers, students and communities that were being served.

The second approach, education about cultural differences or cultural understanding, focused on understanding for all students rather than merely focusing efforts on those students considered minority or different. By using this approach, the hope was that cultural identity and differences would be retained, respected and celebrated as an integral part of a pluralistic society. The third approach, education for cultural pluralism, negated the philosophies of either assimilation or separatism and focused on increasing minority group power on

issues that affected minority students. This approach recognized that racism and oppression were related to power in American education systems. The fourth approach, bi or multi- cultural education, was premised on the goal that those who had competencies in more than one culture would be more effective citizens. This approach developed as a reaction by minorities who felt that school systems were promoting assimilation by using only the English language and Eurocentric methods. The fifth approach, multicultural education as a normal human experience, uses anthropological definitions of education and culture, then defines multicultural education from those concepts rather than building on to existing school programs and ideologies. This approach promotes multicultural capacities and competences by recognizing that this will enable students to be productive in a variety of cultural and social situations as opposed to the binary involved with the previous categories of multicultural education. Notable multicultural educational scholars Nieto (1992) and Sleeter (1991) espouse creating curricular and school environments that are more congruent to the lives of all children in the classroom and not just the majority or the dominant group. Although there have been a variety of theoretical frameworks for multicultural education over the past thirty years, all seem to have spoken to the need for educational change or reform with a goal of narrowing the achievement gap between students representing minority cultures and the white, Eurocentric students.

Culturally Relevant Pedagogy

A plethora of terms associated with the conceptualization of culturally relevant pedagogy has emerged in the last twenty years to include: culturally

relevant teaching (Ladson-Billings, 1995; Hollins, 1996) and culturally responsive schooling (Castagno & Brayboy, 2008; Gay, 2000; Maina, 1997; Pewewardy, 1993). Situated in the context of Black feminist thought, culturally relevant pedagogy proposes that academic success with the minority Other, involves more than the typical add on versions of multicultural courses (Zeichner, 1989) that often exoticizes the “other” and is more about encouraging teachers to ask about the nature of the student-teacher relationship, the curriculum, schooling and society. No matter how culturally relevant pedagogy is labeled, all seem to be multi-dimensional or holistic approaches focused on bridging, adapting or in some instances, rebuilding the curriculum to the background experiences, languages and current realities of the students in the classroom.

In terms of schools adapting to better meet the needs of all students, the 1980 and 1990s was a period of major educational reform. During this period, educational and socio-cultural scholars began to acknowledge the Other, be they representative of ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation or ability, by noting the role that culture plays in education. Ladson-Billings (1995) articulated that culture matters in education when she explained the critical role that cultural compatibility between school and the home plays on student academic success. Ladson-Billings (1995) noted the work of Native American educator Cornel Pewewardy (1993) who suggested, “one of the reasons Indian children experience difficulty in schools is that educators traditionally have attempted to insert culture into the education instead of inserting education into culture” (p. 159). Nieto (2000) described culture as “the values, traditions, socio-political relationship and worldview, created, shared

and transformed by a group of people bound together by a common history, geographic location, social class and/or religion” (p. 383).

Ladson-Billings (1995, p.483) coined the term “culturally relevant pedagogy” as a result of a study done with community nominated (Foster, 1991) teachers who were showing great success with Black students in California. Culturally relevant pedagogy speaks to the practices and strategies employed by teachers that utilize and build upon the intellectual, social, emotional and political dimensions of students by using their cultural referents to develop knowledge, skills and attitudes. Teachers who practice culturally relevant pedagogy are characterized as: holding high expectations for the academic abilities of students; showing a willingness to nurture and support cultural competence; and, working with students to develop a socio-political or critical consciousness.

Gay (2000) uses the term “culturally responsive teaching” to describe a validating pedagogy that teaches to and with the strengths of the students by utilizing their prior experience, cultural knowledge and learning/performance styles to make learning more effective. Culturally responsive teaching is characterized as using a variety of instructional strategies; incorporating multicultural resources, information and perspectives into all subject and skill areas taught; provides relevance by integrating school learning with the socio-cultural reality of the students; and, acknowledges the legitimacy of cultural languages and perspectives. Culturally responsive teaching is focused on respecting and building upon the experiences, skills and knowledge that students bring with them to the classroom.

Ladson-Billings (1995) and Gay (2000), when theorizing culturally relevant pedagogy, focused on the individual actions of teachers and how they interacted and became involved with their students. A major premise is that teachers learn about and consider the assets or capacities that students bring to the classroom by becoming familiar with the students' personal lives as a means to understand the values, knowledge and socio cultural realities of the student, the family and the community. Teachers who practice culturally relevant pedagogy gain this knowledge by becoming part of the community at large and not merely acting as an educator in an isolated classroom.

Culturally responsive schooling (CRS), according to a literature review by Castagno and Brayboy (2008), began in the 1980s as a marriage between the conceptualizations of culturally responsive pedagogy and multiculturalism. It is rooted in the literature on cultural difference and improving the academic success of students who are not members of the dominant culture. CRS suggests the major reason for such inequity is the cultural mismatch or discontinuity between the home and school as represented by statistics showing that students of color and low-income backgrounds often perform poorly in school based traditional measures of academic success. CRS envisions schooling as more than pedagogy, instructional strategies and teacher competencies and suggests that the practices related to culturally responsive schooling can lead to success of all minoritized youth. Pewewardy and Hammer (2003) described culturally responsive schooling as that which "builds a bridge between a child's home culture and the school to affect improved learning and school achievement" (p. 1). In order to enact culturally

responsive schooling, educators must: develop cultural literacy; conduct a self-reflective analysis of attitudes and beliefs; develop caring, inclusive and trusting classroom environments; respect all kinds of diversity; and, transform the curriculum to develop meaning and relevance for all students. Culturally relevant schooling embraces a holistic approach to schooling and does not view curriculum and teaching as the totality of education but takes into account school policy, student expectations, standards, teacher expectations, and community involvement.

Anti-racist Pedagogies

In addition to the literature around culturally relevant pedagogy and schooling, the 1990s also marked a decade where discourse related to concepts and terminologies such as social justice, inclusive education, anti-racism, critical race theory, and culturally relevant pedagogy began to permeate the language of educators. Although the roots of social justice theory originated with Freire (2006) and researchers such as Delpritt, (1995), and Black feminist hooks (1995), the conceptualization of social justice ultimately became a catch word relating to the practice and discourse promoting equity in education regardless of class, race, gender, sexual orientation or dis/ability.

The discourse that named racism played itself out in educational circles in North America in a variety of anti-racism programs and events beginning in the mid-1980s. School boards across North America developed a variety of policies and programs aimed at reducing racism in schools. However, these policies were often not sufficiently resourced and were seen to be little more than rhetoric or window

dressing by minority people. For example, Decuir and Dixson (2004) noted that many school boards met the anti-racism or diversity policy by hiring one staff member who was tasked with the entire range of diversity and anti-racism programs, making sustained and organizational change difficult. Nieto (2000) noted that although the multi-cultural and social justice orientation had been in place and supposedly implemented in various forms since the early 1980's, that what was taking place in many actual classrooms across North America was the lowest level of curriculum development (Banks, 1995a) and included such "innovations" as adding basic units reflecting cultural heroes and holidays once or twice a year to the curriculum. She noted that the "questions relating to social justice and equity which should be at the heart of what education in our society were being avoided" (p. 2). Schick and St. Denis (2005) found when working with white, pre-service teachers in a Canadian prairie university, that, "when power relations are not acknowledged in the production of racial identities and the nation, minorities are too readily blamed for the effects of racism; in contrast, the rhetoric of multiculturalism is enacted as a symbol of the 'good' nation" (p. 295).

A multitude of literature (Ireland, 2009; Schick & St. Denis, 2003; St. Denis, 2007, 2010) shows that race and racism is not only present in our public schools but it can also be considered one of the most insidious elements that detracts from the educational success of FNMI students. Specifically, in research conducted by Kanu (2005) who asked practicing teachers to identify the barriers or obstacles that existed with regards to integrating Aboriginal culture and worldviews into the curriculum, the "overwhelming response was the racist, stereotypical images of

Aboriginal people that were held by non-Aboriginal colleagues and students as the most difficult challenge” (p.56). More recently, Ireland (2009) noted that, “the issue of race and racism is one of the most profound challenges for Aboriginal learners and for initiatives seeking to improve the education system” (p. 21). In the preliminary work towards this dissertation, I found that the majority of student teachers were hesitant to talk about race because they had been schooled to believe that all were equal. This color-blind approach so obvious in my own context is potentially detrimental to these teachers’ abilities to teach in culturally relevant and respectful ways to those whose world-views are not similar to their own.

Teacher Education, CRP and Anti-Racist Education

Multicultural educational theories and curriculum, including culturally relevant pedagogy, was embraced in the rhetoric of educators and scholars across North America since the 1980s. In Canada, this was most likely because of the introduction of the 1982 *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* that acknowledged the material and cultural wealth of all people in Canada. There is no doubt in my mind that culturally relevant pedagogy and anti-racist education are transformative, multidimensional, validating, empowering and emancipatory (Gay, 2000, Ladson-Billings, 1995) and should be the focus of the efforts of teacher educators. Ireland (2009) in her report for the Canadian Council on Learning entitled, *Addressing the ‘Indian’s Canada Problem’ in Reclaiming the Learning Spirit*, noted that “the issue of race and racism is one of the most profound challenges for Aboriginal learners and for initiatives seeking to improve the educational system” (p. 21). For example, in my teaching duties at Brandon University, I teach two diverse groups of students.

During the regular academic year, September to April, I teach what I call mainstream students, over 90% of who represent the white, middle class, Euro-Canadian demographic. These students have both lived experiences and a worldview that differ from mine. It has been my experience that the majority of these students grudgingly take the APC even though they understand the demographic imperative and view taking the course as an “in” for getting a teaching job. It takes considerable courage and tenacity on my part to present the topics related to critical race theory because most of these students have not experienced the kinds of systemic and overt racism that I have; they are what Bonilla-Silva, (2003) calls, “color blind” referring to a belief or ideology that denies the existence of racism. It is described as an attempt to maintain the privileges related to being white while not giving the appearance of being racist. Color blindness is a silent form of racism and seems to be pervasive amongst the on-campus student body that declare their conceptualization of equity by saying “we treat everyone alike regardless if they are pink, blue or black.” Anecdotal experience indicates that public educational and families have schooled many of student teachers at Brandon University to believe and espouse multi-culturalism at a superficial individualistic level. Unfortunately this level of understanding is not conducive to recognizing that organizations and systems have to change in order to meet the educational needs of the diverse student population.

The student teachers under my tutelage are willing and in fact, eager to show that they advocate for culturally relevant or multicultural curriculum by developing teaching units that integrate or utilize Aboriginal content. Unfortunately, they

almost always employ a heroes and holidays approach (Banks, 1995) where they add little tidbits of Aboriginal content to a unit. For example, high school pre-service English Language Arts teachers often incorporate the use of a novel study, such as *In Search of April Raintree* by Beatrice Culletin- Mossinier to integrate Aboriginal perspectives, content and knowledge into the curricula. This particular novel has been used in high school English classes for the past twenty years; therefore, the student teachers are familiar with the book. It is a moving story about two Metis sisters who grow up in Winnipeg during the 1970s and who are confronted by the social realities of being from a stigmatized and oppressed cultural group. These sisters experience a variety of abuses but eventually find their identity and are able to rise above their situation. The issue that I tend to have to deal with is not that the content of the novel is irrelevant, but that generally the context or the ongoing systemic oppression and social reality of the characters in the novel is not taught or discussed prior, during or after the novel's use. Using the novel as a teaching tool devoid of the social context often serves to "objectify or glorify" those who represent this particular cultural group. Racism is seen as an individualistic experience for "victim" or "perpetrator" who promotes a desire to "help" or "fix" people or situations individually. Instead, teachers who employ this novel as a teaching tool in Aboriginal issues and culture must also be willing and knowledgeable enough to be able to lead their students into questioning the systems and policies that led to the characters being marginalized at both the school and community level.

The vast majority of these students do not, however, know the history, worldviews, current realities and, systemic oppression that still exist for Aboriginal people. Many believe in meritocracy and fail to understand why “Aboriginal people just can not succeed.” MacIntosh (1988) describes the work where people are confronted with their advantaged situation involving whiteness, as being “epistemologically dizzying as well as emotionally hard” (p 7). When these students are provided with learning opportunities that confront their basic assumptions about knowledge, education and society in a respectful manner, they typically begin the process of changing how they view knowledge, academic success, the role of education and the relationship between policies and praxis in education. It has been my experience that this kind of pedagogy, where we are building what St. Denis (2007) calls “educational allies” takes a great deal of extra time and emotional effort to enact because of the sensitive nature of the content and processes that challenge students to understand how racialization has historically, politically and legally affected Aboriginal people in Canada. It is doubly hard to do this work when I represent the “Other” as an Aboriginal women and I am asking a room full of (mostly) white students to challenge the beliefs and systems in which they have been very successful to date.

I teach another group of students during the summer session, April to July, who are from the Project for the Education of Native Teachers (PENT) program. This student population is typically 90% Aboriginal students from the community based teacher education programs who are employed as educational assistants during the school year in their home communities and who attend university

courses over the summer in order to become certified teachers. I refer to this teaching experience as my “teaching holiday” because for the most part, these students and I share similar lived experiences, worldviews, culture and challenges. For this group, I have to work hard to de-colonize (Smith, 1999; Battiste, 2000) their way of thinking and work to have them understand that their knowledge systems are legitimate and need to be taught in spite of curricula that until recent years, has often negated or omitted Aboriginal voice, content and epistemologies. I have to challenge my Aboriginal students to think in activist ways so that they can be empowered to utilize their education and those around them in ways that will transform the existing, often oppressive systems. An illustration of the activism that can be developed involved the reduced library hours during the summer session. At Brandon University, the library typically closes at 4:30 during the April to July months. The northern students are in class from 9 until 4:30 on Mondays to Thursdays therefore were unable to access the library during the week except on Fridays. A couple of years ago, I suggested a letter writing campaign that addressed the situation as being systematically oppressive to summer students who provide a great deal of revenue to the university organization. As a result, the library is now open a couple of evenings a week during the April to July period. Whereas the “regular” student teachers still need to learn ways to transform the curricula to reflect Aboriginal content, views and knowledge, the northern Aboriginal students need opportunities that allow them to de-colonize and (re)gain voice.

If we are to successfully implement an holistic educational program that serves each learner well, there has to be changes at all levels of our systems,

including higher education institutions, school organizations, the curriculum, classroom pedagogy, and the attitudes and perceptions of teachers, students and the community. Those of us involved in education need to take a critical stance and recognize that every educational decision is a political one that has the potential to privilege and/or marginalize others. Both ourselves and students need to be taught to utilize our voices to question, explore and critique the status quo as a means of making those changes that will provide a more equitable and realistic playing field for all students.

CRP and Aboriginal Education

Part of the research that I completed in the last year to support this dissertation was a systematic review of literature of seven electronic data bases with the goal of finding the empirical evidence to support the use of culturally relevant pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 1995) with Aboriginal students in western Canadian classrooms. There is overlap in the way that culturally relevant pedagogy is defined by the various scholars; therefore, I utilized the following three categories of search terms when selecting the articles: culturally relevant, culturally appropriate or culturally responsive; pedagogy, schooling or education; and Aboriginal, First Nations, Native, Indian and Native American. Two hundred and seventy six scholarly articles were initially reviewed to see if and/or how these scholars demonstrated support for the use of culturally relevant pedagogy with Aboriginal students. Following the initial read, 35 or 12.6 % of the articles that spoke directly to culturally relevant pedagogy or education and Aboriginal students

were retained. In the subsequent sections, I will describe the three categories of findings from the articles on culturally relevant pedagogy.

Urgent Need to Employ Culturally Relevant Pedagogy

The majority of the literature found in the systematic review spoke to the “urgent need” for incorporating culturally relevant pedagogy or schooling as a way to increase the educational achievement of Aboriginal students (Antone, 2003; Battiste, 2002, 2007, 2009; Castagno & Brayboy, 2008; Goddard, 2002; Neegan, 2005). These articles justify the rationale for educational change by discussing a variety of current realities including: high rates of school drop out, substance abuse, violence, troubles with the law, and suicide when education systems are not suitable or congruent for Aboriginal learners. Like many of the studies on culturally relevant pedagogy, Castagno and Brayboy (2008) identified a vast body of literature that spoke to the need for using different school practices where Aboriginal learners are involved. This work concurs with Demmert (2001) who said, “all of the recent reviews conclude that congruency between the school environment, language and culture of the community is needed to the success of formal learning” (p. 9). Castagno and Brayboy (2008) do, however, remark that the plethora of literature on culturally relevant pedagogy is insightful, but “it has little impact on what teachers do because it is too easily reduced to essentializations, meaningless generalizations or trivial anecdotes – none of which result in systemic, institutional or lasting change to schools serving Indigenous youth” (p. 982). Furthering that, Battiste (2002) said that educators have been trying to “apply a culturally

responsive and integrated curriculum to solve the problems related to poor academic performance of Aboriginal students but have failed to acknowledge that the Eurocentric ideal of culture is different than that of Aboriginal culture” (p. 64). From my vantage point as Aboriginal scholar, parent and educator, I feel somewhat frustrated because like many educators, I do not need to be convinced of the urgent need for adapting or changing systems or curricula to better meet the needs of Aboriginal learners. I need to see the evidence of or the ways to transform education to better meet the needs of Aboriginal learners. It is important though to remember that these scholars offer compelling statements and evidence that need to be heard by all scholars and educators committed to the goals related to transforming the education systems as they presently exist to ones where more Aboriginal students can achieve success.

Differing Epistemologies

Many scholars (Ball, 2004; Curwen Doige, 2003; Maina, 1997; Neegan, 2005; Osborne, 1996; Ryan, 1996) offer theory, ideology and examples that illustrate the similarities and differences between Aboriginal and Western epistemologies. The work of these scholars suggests that teachers must understand the different and diverse epistemologic frameworks of the diverse student population as a prerequisite for pedagogic change. Morrison et al (2008) speak to the challenges inherent in the present organization and conceptualization of contemporary education with its neoliberal accountability practices that privilege the transmission theory of learning by using hegemonic epistemological assumptions about

knowledge, teaching and learning (p. 444). Such a conceptualization of contemporary education undermines culturally relevant and/or a constructivist pedagogies where Aboriginal ways of learning are supported and fostered. On one hand, teacher educators are constantly directed to employ practices that give all students voice and choice in the school environment while developing socio-political consciousness; yet on the other hand, more accountability is being demanded. The unfortunate culmination of this tension is that teachers are often inclined to revert to those pedagogies that merely transmit the knowledge necessary to pass the tests.

Johnson (2002) states that although “public education is currently in an era of accountability, high stakes standardized testing and standards based reform, there is an absence of meaningful discussion on how to achieve equitable outcomes that do not unfairly penalize the most under-served [Aboriginal] students” (p. 4). In western Canada, educators see this as the standards based movement as found in the various provincial standards based assessment of core subject areas in Grade 3, 6, 9 and 12. Such quantifiable measures of various educational outcomes are purported to demonstrate educational achievement and accountability. Battiste (2002) declared “these tests rarely measure the holistic paradigm of Indigenous knowledge to reveal the wealth of learning, languages, experiences that learners bring to school with them” (p. 4).

Specific educational strategies that have proven effective for Aboriginal student achievement include: integrating Aboriginal perspectives into all areas of

curricula as opposed to “add-on” or separate courses (Castagno & Brayboy, 2008), changing the delivery schedule of classes from eight courses a day to a four by four course block to ensure more engagement time, therefore promoting relationship building time between students and teachers (Oakes & Manday, 2009), and having specific courses developed that teachers of Aboriginal students would be required to take as part of their teacher education program (Korteweg, 2007). A conundrum arises because although these changes are supported by qualitative research consisting of case studies, program descriptions and anecdotal papers, gaining approval of such changes by senior educational policy makers typically is based on data driven evidence typically found in quantitative research. This supports Castagno and Brayboy (2008) who suggested, “more and better research and teacher training are needed if we hope to change the school experience” (p. 982). When the success or failure of schools and programs are measured in discrete, numerical outcomes characteristic of western world thinking, decisions are often made in ways that run contrary to Aboriginal ways of knowing where a high value is placed on the relational aspect of the various components in a system.

Culturally Relevant Pedagogy: The Empirical Evidence for Supporting Aboriginal Student Learning

Several scholars (Ignas, 2004; Ledoux, 2006; Mason, 2008; Morrison, Robbins & Rose, 2008) illustrate how culturally relevant pedagogy is being utilized in classrooms with Aboriginal students. Castagno and Bray (2008) suggest that culturally relevant schooling has been widely viewed as a “promising strategy for

improving the education and increasing academic achievement of American Indian and Alaskan Native students” (p. 941). Numerous examples of teacher behaviors in many school districts relating to the development of high expectations, culturally appropriate materials and activities and community development were identified. These scholars found that because the relationships between culture, pedagogy, learning and academic achievement were so complex, there is a need for equally complex research methods to actually demonstrate the results.

An extensive study conducted by Morrison et al (2008) demonstrated that teachers seemed to be quite able to incorporate pedagogies that supported high academic expectations and culturally congruent understandings into everyday teaching. Unfortunately, the researchers found that the teachers fell short in developing the socio-political consciousness which is said to be a capstone for culturally relevant pedagogy because it is in changing the attitudes and developing the critical consciousness that students are given the tools to “transform their lives and ultimately the conduct of society” (p. 443). Most of the schools studied by Morrison et al were comprised of homogenous groups of African American, Latino or Aboriginal students. The question in my mind relates to how we can develop culturally relevant pedagogy in the classrooms of South Western Manitoba where the school populations are increasingly heterogeneous in terms of language, culture and ethnicity.

Powers (2006) used survey data from 240 Aboriginal students to examine how culturally relevant school practices impacted upon academic student

achievement. She concluded that culture based programs enhanced urban Aboriginal educational outcomes but was unable to provide any direct relationship. She did note the perceptions that Aboriginal students who had high senses of belonging and safety in the school showed the largest gains in student achievement. Bendro, Brokenleg and Van Bockern (1990) advocate that one of the four primary core values for Aboriginal students to achieve success includes the sense of belonging fostered through the community which includes the school as an integral part of the community. With evidence supporting the need for belonging in school as an entity related to culturally relevant pedagogy, school administrators must become part of the transformation process by finding ways to transform school sites into places where all students feel as if they have a place and a voice.

Oakes and Manday (2009) identified a number of schools that used culturally relevant pedagogy with a degree of success for Aboriginal students in terms of how high academic standards were nurtured and of how parents and community members were involved. They concluded that "... effective strategies must include the family, the community and address the social and emotional needs, and include mentoring, cognitive traditions, more hands on learning and exposure to the wider world, all in balance with cultural values"(p.8). In this study, the majority of schools studied were comprised of homogenous Aboriginal populations because these were band-operated schools.

Two studies, Powers (2006) and Warner (2006), employed a quantitative approach to the question of how culturally relevant pedagogy supports Aboriginal

student success, while the remainder of the studies used a variety of qualitative methodologies ranging from case study (Dutro, Kazemi & Lin, 2008; Orr, Murphy & Pearce, 2007; Hesch, 1999) to inquiry based (Ignas, 2007). Qualitative approaches including case studies, narrative inquiry and reflective analysis are probably best suited to studying culturally relevant pedagogy in school situations because this kind of research produces themes that suggest, “think about this and what it might mean to your context” (Quinn Paton, 2008, p.420). These studies may prove helpful for teachers who face similar situations providing that teachers practice what Bullough (2008) advocates as being “open for careful consideration how and why teachers act as they do, the influence of their thinking and acting on themselves and on their students and to open for consideration alternative possibilities” (p. 12). Ladson-Billings (1998) states that teacher reflection is critical particularly when “they’re [teachers] teaching students who are different from themselves culturally, racially, ethnically, linguistically – is to understand that they, themselves, are cultural beings” (p. 12). Qualitative approaches provide what is referred to as the thick and rich description from which readers can conceptualize similar situations thus making it easier to replicate particular practices or strategies.

Having spent much time searching for the empirical evidence that supported culturally relevant pedagogy with Aboriginal learners, I was initially disappointed that so few articles existed when I attempted to marry the concepts related to culturally relevant pedagogy and Aboriginal students. I did find numerous studies in the health and guidance areas where culturally relevant or culturally appropriate education was used. After thinking about this, I posit that this may be because

health studies generally employ a more empirical or quantifiable methodology that results in more statistical, numerical based findings to show causality or justify particular practices. In the last two decades, scholars in the field of education have been employing a more qualitative, context based approach to research, which shows results for a particular group in a particular context but not in a generalized context.

There is some research (Morrison, Robbins & Rose, 2008; Castagno & Brayboy, 2008; Ledoux, 2006; Dutro, Kazemi & Lin, 2008; Eder, 2007; Warner, 2006) to support the concept of culturally relevant or congruent practice with Aboriginal learners. I tend to concur with Castagno and Brayboy (2008) who said “the fact that we are still making arguments and trying to convince educators of the need to provide a more culturally responsive pedagogy for Aboriginal students indicates the persistence and pervasiveness of the problem”(p. 981). There seems to be numerous articles that speak to the compelling evidence (Battiste, 2009) or demographic imperative (Helin, 2006) for changing our educational practice. In the six sections of the course, *Teaching Aboriginal Perspectives* that I recently taught, the vast majority of student teachers come to class lacking the basic knowledge regarding the history of Aboriginal students, the fiduciary responsibilities regarding Aboriginal students that impact upon education or even the detrimental long-term impacts of colonial practices such as those associated with residential schools. We need to devise ways to employ what Battiste (2009) calls “two-eyed seeing” where Indigenous or Aboriginal knowledge is normalized into the curriculum so that both ways of learning are validated and values for the success of all students. Morrison et

al (2008) suggest that although culturally relevant pedagogy is multi-faceted, and difficult to enact by teachers, it remains crucial because in order for a socially just society that provides an equitable education for all to develop, teachers must rise to the challenge as individuals and members of the education profession. In addition, Howard (2003) identified the critical role that teacher educators play when he said, “teacher educators must be able to help pre-service teachers critically analyze... issues such as race, ethnicity and culture, and recognize how these important concepts shape the learning environment for many students” (p. 197). It is for this reason that I chose to engage in designing and teaching the provincially mandated APC which has become the focus of my study.

An Impetus for Change: The APC

Until the early 2000s, educational initiatives that implemented either content or pedagogical strategies to better meet the needs of the growing Aboriginal student population were done in a piece meal approach by individual teachers or school divisions. For example, Frontier School Division and Winnipeg #1 School Division have been developing curriculum and programs to better meet the needs of Aboriginal students for more than twenty years. Both of these school divisions probably began curriculum development targeted at Aboriginal students because of the nature of their student body. The majority of the Frontier School Division’s schools are located in northern, remote locations and is often “next door” to reserve communities. Winnipeg #1 School Division serves the inner city population of Winnipeg that is comprised of a large percentage of Aboriginal students in the 21 city schools within the inner city district boundaries. However, the majority of

provincial school divisions seemed to lack the knowledge, professional capacity or impetus to develop such initiatives. There seemed to be no concerted or strategic plan to address the needs of the growing Aboriginal student population in provincial schools. Lowenstein (2009) refers to this apparent lack of teacher capacity to meet the needs of Aboriginal students in curricular and pedagogic ways as being characteristic of the demographic discrepancy between the socio-cultural characteristics and prior experiences of the typical teacher and the students whom they teach. The APC was viewed as a tool for bridging the demographic divide in Manitoba schools. The impetus for and the process related to its design will be described in the following sections.

Origin of the Mandate

In January 2001, the Grand Chief of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs (AMC) contacted the Minister of Education, Citizenship and Youth (MECY) to initiate an educational partnership that would address educational issues that impact Aboriginal learners. A Joint Working Committee on Education with membership from AMC, MECY and the Manitoba First Nations Education Resource Center (MFNERC) was established with the goal of reviewing issues relevant to Aboriginal students and to make recommendations to address those issues. One of the recommendations that originated with this group was to further develop the structural and programmatic functions of the former Native Education Directorate and change its name to the Aboriginal Education Directorate (AED). The vision of this group was for the “full participation of Aboriginal people in society,” and it

crafted a mandate to provide leadership and coordination of departmental activities in Aboriginal education and training. One of the outcomes of the AED's work was a strategic plan, the *Aboriginal Education Action Plan (2004)*, for all levels of Aboriginal education. The plan promoted four objectives: to increase high school graduation rates; to increase access to and completion of post-secondary education; to increase successful entry into and participation in the labor market; and, to improve the research base for Aboriginal education and employment.

The original 2004 *Aboriginal Action Plan* was implemented and subsequently revised in the March 2007 document called *The Highlights Report*. Within this report, there was a call to address "cultural competency and diversity education" with the rationale that, "it is important that all educators are responsive to the needs of diverse learners and can communicate and interact appropriately with Aboriginal families" (2007, p.3). Based on the recognition of the rising numbers of Aboriginal students in provincial schools and the glaring inadequacies of teachers' capacities to utilize Aboriginal pedagogy and curricula as represented in the low success rates of Aboriginal students, the work of the Joint Committee on Aboriginal Education culminated in a mandate received via letter in April 2008 from the Minister of Education, Peter Bjornson, advising all faculties of Education that:

... In order to be eligible for a permanent professional certification in Manitoba upon graduation from a pre-service teacher education program at your university. The requirement to include a mandatory pre-service course on Aboriginal Perspectives has been recommended by the AED ... we have endorsed this requirement as part of the government's goals and

priorities as they relate to Aboriginal education... the course must focus on the foundational basic of Aboriginal Perspectives which may include, but are not limited to, an overview of pre-colonial contexts, colonial expansions, current trends/treaty negotiations, cultural competency and language revitalization. (Letter from Minister Bjornson to Dr. Visentin, President of Brandon University –Appendix A)

Regardless of the backlash from faculty members related to a perceived erosion of Academic Freedom, and the recognition that this mandate would impact upon the current programmatic structures of undergraduate programs in Manitoba, provincial legislation was clear that university teacher preparation programs in Manitoba had to conform to the ministerial directives in this regard. At Brandon University, initial planning for the APC began in the spring of 2007 because the Dean of Education had been apprised of the mandate prior to its release. Dr. Binda, internationally recognized Aboriginal education scholar and I, an Aboriginal Assistant Professor, were tasked with the design of the course. I teach four of the six sections of this course at Brandon University.

A Catalyst for Change

I consider the APC as a potential catalyst for changing of the status quo in teacher education. In a presentation entitled *Pedagogy of Professionals and Practitioners*, Youngblood Henderson, an Aboriginal scholar at the Canadian Council of Learning in May, 2009, noted that only 30% of Aboriginal students have Aboriginal teachers and that educators have to triple our efforts to better meet the

learning capacity of the growing numbers of Aboriginal learners in our schools. My goal in designing this course was to foster the learning of Aboriginal students in schools by developing the capacities of teachers. The process of both the course design and course delivery are synonymous with what Brant Castellano, Davis and Lahache (2000) described when talking about various initiatives in Aboriginal education as being “hopeful and possible but existing beside constraints and frustration” (p. 251). Although change is happening it is often difficult to realize the goals of Aboriginal education because we work in environments where “both the state authority [as represented by the Minister of Education, the University Senate and its related policies]; and the popular culture [represented by faculty, students and cooperating teachers and administrators] often challenge the Aboriginal efforts on political, ideological and economic levels” (Brant et al, 2000, p.251).

Dominant worldviews are often uncontested for the very reason that they represent the ideology of the dominant group in society. It is safe to suggest that the majority of the current faculty and student body at Brandon University and most certainly the Faculty of Education have been socialized by the Eurocentric worldview. One of the major roles of a university is to transmit knowledge, skills and culture to the students who attend. Hampton (1995) asserted that much of the university education that is seen in Canada is that of an assimilationist agenda because of the Eurocentric knowledge or content, structures and process that are most often used by faculty. And teacher education is not immune to this phenomena; scholarly research conducted by Hesch (1999; 1995), Grant (1995), and more recently by Vanhouwe (2007), Ireland (2009) and St. Denis (2010)

coupled with my personal experience of thirteen plus years as a faculty member in both community-based and on-campus settings suggest that there is a strong hegemonic curriculum, process and hierarchy involved with teacher education in general, and at Brandon University in particular. Schick and St. Denis (2005) discuss the phenomena in terms of the pervasive “whiteness norm” that exists in the faculties and teaching staffs in most areas of southern prairie schools and faculties of education. Schick and St. Denis (2005) assert that when dominant cultural practices and standards prevail, enormous privilege is assumed by those students and faculty members whose “histories, ethnic backgrounds, social practices, family systems, and knowledge exist in the institutions” (p. 300). This has created organizational, pedagogical and instructional challenges for both the design and implementation of the APC at the Faculty of Education.

Organizational Challenges. Following the Dean’s notification of the upcoming mandate for the APC, considerable debate, in fact, more debate that I have ever witnessed regarding a course offering, occurred during the ensuing faculty council meetings within the Faculty of Education at Brandon University. Although my colleagues seem to understand what Helin (2006) refers to as the “demographic tsunami” and what Lowenstein (2009) called the “demographic imperative,” they expressed a litany of concerns such as “they did not want Aboriginal students to be singled out, they did not want to privilege Aboriginal people over other minorities, that faculty should embrace a multi-cultural agenda.” These conversations shifted to discussions around utilizing integrated pedagogic approaches which make the

most sense given the current practice and literature supporting a more holistic, integrated way of teaching as outlined in the prominent Manitoba Education and Training curriculum document entitled *Success for all learners: A handbook on differentiating instruction continuum towards differentiated instruction* (1996). The problem was that the majority of faculty lacked the necessary content knowledge, pedagogic skills and understanding of the current realities facing Aboriginal students within the oppressive nature of education systems. It was therefore decided that a stand- alone course be developed to address the Ministerial mandate.

Dr. Binda and I worked collaboratively to develop the APC and sought collaboration from the Aboriginal Education Directorate and the staff at the Manitoba Education and Training library. Even though we had the course developed and ready to teach for the fall of 2008, the course was brought back to faculty council for further discussion and approval. Several faculty continued (and continue) to suggest that this course remains “experimental” despite the fact that it has been approved at all levels of the university and that it is supported by a Ministerial mandate. The organizational challenge relates to the placement of the course within the teacher education program because some faculty still seem to think that this course can be removed or “swept into existing courses” in order to make room for other proposed courses such as Integrated Arts and English as an Additional Language.

Another organization challenge related to the APC development is the temporary and misunderstood focus of funds designated for educational programming. For example, when the course content was mandated, the Minister of

Education gave \$10,000 to the Faculty for course development and resourcing. Dr. Binda and I, as the designated course development team, decided to use these financial resources for travel relating to collaboration with colleagues in the city, for the purchase of acquiring additional materials, and for release time designated to course development and planning. Although we were given the approval to do this, we met with administrative resistance and bureaucratic obstacles when we actually went to order materials or book release time. In the March, 2010 report entitled, *A Study of Aboriginal Teachers' Professional Knowledge and Experience in Canadian Schools*, St. Denis (2010) refers to these reactions as a subtle form of institutional racism evidenced by "a lack of support and even hostility" experienced by Aboriginal teachers that often "sabotage the efforts that were being made" (p. 9) in areas such as curriculum development. I am not sure what eventually happened to the budget given to us for course development because I simply got weary and frustrated with the obstacles presented whenever I would try to access any resources. This is not an unusual situation because I have colleagues who have had similar experiences involving subtle sabotage when trying to access resources from the *Aboriginal Academic Achievement* grant that is available to those provincial schools with Aboriginal students.

Thirdly, the lack of resident Elders at Brandon University continues to present organizational and instructional challenges. When we seek to advance Aboriginal education, it is critical that we honor and recognize the various roles that Elders play by not only linking the coming generations with the teachings of the past generations but also showing us the cultural teachings that are the foundation of

Aboriginal peoples' identity (Grant, 1995; Graveline, 1998; RCAP, 1996). Some years ago, Brandon University had a cadre of resident Elders who were available to faculty for advice, support and ceremony related to course design and implementation. Unfortunately, a controversy and subsequent grievances associated with how these Elders were being utilized and treated developed, with the collateral damage being that the Elder program was suspended. The lack of available Elders creates both organizational and instructional challenges because on one hand, Elder involvement is deemed critical for Aboriginal education yet on the other hand, the organizational structure has neither recognized such knowledge nor has it validated the knowledge and roles carried by the Elders by legitimating it within university structures and policies. As an Aboriginal instructor, I have been involving Elders by virtue of the fact that I know Elders who will come to assist me in either course design or for implementation but because of financial restraints, I provide the honoraria and tobacco associated with the protocols of Elder involvement from my own financial resources.

Another organizational challenge of implementing Aboriginal education relates to timetabling or course delivery schedules. Western education tends to be compartmentalized and taught in a decontextualized framework that contrasts with the experiential and holistic manner within which Aboriginal education is conceived. At Brandon University Faculty of Education, the core or mandatory courses, including the APC, are taught in fifty minute classes that are offered four times a week for twelve or thirteen weeks. This type of course delivery system works well for the traditional stand and deliver, lecture methods of teaching but

given the pedagogy of Aboriginal education and the numbers of students per class (30), it is difficult to implement strategies such as the sharing circle because of time constraints. It is also difficult to teach some topics such as white privilege and residential schools because of the necessary de-briefing time required by both students and faculty when such contentious topics are introduced. Yet other strategies that call for land based contexts are simply prohibited given the current course delivery method. Deloria and Wildcat (2001), from an American Indian perspective, noted similar organizational challenges when they say that “North Americans are still trying to address the problem of Aboriginal education by utilizing a curricula and pedagogy based on western worldviews, values and knowledge” (p. 19). In the same book, highly esteemed Aboriginal scholar Deloria (2001) noted that the ways of Aboriginal education and peoples do not fit conveniently into the normalized western institutions such as schools, universities, political or economic systems. As such, it seems that with the implementation of this course, a degree of lip service is given to Aboriginal ways, but until the organization adjusts itself to better accommodate authenticity in structure and process, the change that is needed cannot be realized.

A fifth organizational challenge that continues to present itself involves the lack of Aboriginal staff at the university. Brandon University, for instance, has had difficulty attracting and retaining Aboriginal staff to the Faculty of Education. There seems to be a prevailing myth that there is a lack of qualified FNMI scholars in the country to potentially fill these faculty positions yet my experience with the national FNMI scholarly community seems to indicate otherwise. For example, The Canadian

Association for Studies in Indigenous Education, formed in 2008, as an association of the Canadian Society for Studies in Education, had fifty plus members in the first year. In November, 2009, I had the opportunity to represent the Brandon University Faculty Association at the 2nd Canadian Association of University Teachers Aboriginal Academics Forum. This was an engaging two-day event where over one hundred FNMI academics from across Canada gathered to discuss what we considered to be both the milestones and the challenges of FNMI education in Canada. As such, it is my experience that the suggestion that there is a lack of qualified FNMI scholars to fill university teaching positions is a weak one.

The final organizational challenge that I see is that of staff capacity in terms of Aboriginal knowledge that fosters a dis-connect between universities and schools. On the one hand, we are training and demanding that our new teachers equip themselves with a range of Aboriginal knowledge, content, and pedagogic skills; on the other hand, there is little evidence showing that the majority of faculty are equipping themselves in similar ways. Faculties are not “walking the talk” by making demands on students to teach in ways that are unfamiliar and often times, uncomfortable to do, yet as faculty, many are not moving outside of their individual comfort zones themselves. I assert this because I attend almost all of the Aboriginal education conferences that occur in the province of Manitoba as well as many at the national and international level. Sometimes I see two or three of my teaching peers from Brandon University attending, but it is a very small minority of faculty. This speaks to capacity because in a perfect world, all faculty, regardless of cultural, social or linguistic background and credentials, would have at the very minimum,

the knowledge and skills as presented in the *Teaching Aboriginal Perspectives: A Resource for Curriculum Developers, Administrators and Teachers* document that was released by Manitoba Education and Citizenship (2003). Many faculty colleagues are still unfamiliar with this basic resource document and cloak themselves with rhetoric such as, “I don’t want to do something wrong or offend someone” or spout the right to academic freedom and being able to operate autonomously with their academic and pedagogical choices. These comments inevitably lead to a situation where little or nothing gets done to advance Aboriginal education in meaningful and respectful ways. Instead, what occurs is what Battiste (2007) calls the “add and stir” approach where students are taught “the beads and bannock approach” which serves to exoticize Aboriginal people yet does little to advance Aboriginal knowledge, worldviews and epistemologies.

Instructional and pedagogical challenges. As I previously stated, faculty and student teachers need to broaden Aboriginal content and knowledge backgrounds as well as their understanding of the pedagogies associated with Aboriginal education so that they can better understand the culture, context and realities of Aboriginal students. Numerous scholars (Battiste, 2007; Hodgson-Smith, 2000; Kirkness & Barnhardt, 1991) extended the Eurocentric definition of pedagogy from the Concise Oxford dictionary as the “science of teaching” to one that links curriculum to content and context and acknowledges the importance of culture, language and relationships to education. Leavitt (1995) declared that it is only when “teachers develop an understanding of students’ needs and knowledge of students’ communities will teachers be able to find the balance between culture and

content” (p. 136). It is important that all educators reconsider how they define pedagogy because the plethora of research in the last forty years, typically documents of deficit studies, show that “drop out rates of Aboriginal students in Canadian schools have remained high despite the vast amounts of research conducted to alleviate that problem” (Hodgson-Smith, 2000, p. 167). No doubt one of the most important challenges is for teachers to develop a pedagogic philosophy that is not just about teaching styles, methodologies and strategies that are deemed effective for Aboriginal learners but one that firstly examines the epistemologies from which Aboriginal people derive knowledge and learning. Cajete (2000), a prominent Aboriginal scholar in the area of pedagogical foundations, suggests that to further develop how we think about teaching and learning:

We must examine our habitual thought process. We are all creatures of habit. Institutions and organizations get into habits of behavior because the people who run them get into habits of thinking. We have to examine these habits because we have been through the Western world system and have been conditioned to think in a certain way about education, life, ourselves, the environment and Indigenous cultures. We have to re-examine that way of thinking. (p. 189)

Examining thought processes and habits presents a challenge because often times, teachers feel and act upon the habits, strategies and materials that has “worked for them” and it is often still effective practice providing, of course, that the students operate from the same worldview or value system as the teacher. Binda (2001) stated after decades of work with and scholarly research about Aboriginal education

that, “The colonial education system perpetuated a Eurocentric perspective which extolled the virtues of the imperial socioeconomic and political order and in the process, nearly destroyed Native values” (p. 37). It is this Eurocentric perspective and its relationship to education that presents the largest challenge in terms of pedagogy and instruction.

On June 11, 2008, Prime Minister Stephen Harper made a national public apology to Aboriginal people in Canada about the treatment received in residential schools. Harper did not mention or acknowledge the hegemonic racial and cultural assumptions that acted as the foundation for the residential school era that spanned several generations. The first offerings of the APC began in the fall of 2008, just weeks after the national apology. Interestingly enough and in spite of the national apology, I heard comments from both peers and student teachers that said, “Why don’t they [the residential school survivors] just get over it? Or, I wasn’t around when it happened, so why do I have to worry about it?” Comments such as these demonstrate the lack of knowledge about colonial impacts and their ongoing effects on education. It is precisely this kind of systemic ignorance that not only guides but also impedes progress in education. Goulet (2001) states that teachers need to understand the impact of colonization and only then will teachers be able to “adapt their teaching practice to accommodate for such things as the poverty and social issues that the students may be experiencing” (p. 76). By making this statement, Taylor (1995) supports this view by declaring that, “only when the issue of training non-Aboriginal teachers has been addressed will the teachers of Aboriginal students be better prepared to adopt and implement programs that have culturally

appropriate content and methodology” (p. 241). Content critical to the understanding the Aboriginal reality today includes pre-contact time because the history of Canada often begins with the arrival of the colonizers in the early 1500s, which fosters the idea that Aboriginal people lived devoid of social, economic, political, spiritual and value systems. This kind of content has typically been omitted from history books and it is only with the Western Canadian Curriculum movement of the 1990s that the Aboriginal voice began entering into the text and curriculum documents being used in schools today. The *British North America Act* of 1870 which defined provincial and federal jurisdiction, *The Indian Act* of 1876 and its subsequent changes in the 1950s and 1980s, the Canadian treaties and the residential school movement are critical content or knowledge pieces that must be understood by student teachers if they are to have a basic understanding of how and why Aboriginal people live in the variety of circumstances in which they find themselves today.

The challenge for teacher education programs is to branch out and include not only Aboriginal content and knowledge, but also pedagogic assumptions. Brayboy (2005) discussed how the failure to examine and reconcile differential epistemologies results in a normative form of education that fails to account for the “multiple, nuanced, and historically and geographically located epistemologies and ontologies found in Indigenous communities” (p. 427). As such, when Aboriginal students are forced to constantly think outside of their comfort zones by making what Youngblood-Henderson (2009) termed “painful adjustments and sacrifices” (p. 59) in order to conform to mainstream educational systems and mainstream

teaching methods, it is no wonder that Aboriginal students often times show poor measures of what is considered to be academic success.

Of course, it is easier said than done to suggest that teacher educators and student teachers be confronted with pedagogical and instructional methodologies that depict an Aboriginal perspective because this demands that they confront, question and often time, re-evaluate and re-learn the foundations of both their family and school teachings, which have often times been constructed on a Eurocentric and hegemonic foundation. For example, when asked the question, “Whose knowledge is important,” it has been my experience that mainstream student teachers quickly cite and quote various curriculum documents, while Aboriginal student teachers remain silent because they fear reprisal for suggesting that such learning is less important than that offered by Elders in their communities because of their minority positions in both class and the outside world. The challenge to think below the surface and examine the intersections of power, privilege and the relationship of curriculum to the interests of those being served requires a critical stance as described by such critical pedagogues such as McLaren (2000), Grande, (2004), and Freirie, (2006). The task of critical thinking or practicing “conscientization” as defined by Freirie is often restricted by what Gladwell (2005) calls the “adaptive unconscious” (p.7), which institutes a survival process that helps people avoid danger and in this instance, limits their ability to question privilege and power. Gladwell (2005) suggests that the adaptive unconscious gives us “permission to rationalize our thoughts, feelings and actions” as a means to protect one’s self or survive (p.32). In the context of the APC, I am

challenged to raise student consciousness about past and present colonial or hegemonic policies and to ask students to question their assumptions and the social impacts associated with privilege, power and colonial education systems, yet to do so in a way that does not awaken their adaptive unconscious.

Aboriginal education is based upon relationships (Battiste, 2000; Cajete, 1994, 2000; Kirkness & Barnhardt, 1991). Therefore teacher educators must model how to develop and nurture respectful, trusting relationships with student teachers prior to beginning the difficult tasks of having them learn about and question their value systems, privilege and unconscious power as a teacher and community member. To do so often requires that we put ourselves in what are considered by some to be vulnerable and public spaces, places that teachers who practice top down or Eurocentric modes of teaching are not always comfortable with doing because they have been taught to believe that the teacher is the expert within a system that legitimates their worldviews and experiences.

The Road Ahead: Hope and Perseverance

The majority of student teachers at Brandon University do not believe that racism is an issue in Canada because they have been raised and schooled with the belief that Canadians are tolerant and accepting. Multi-culturalism has been touted and spouted by both government and school systems since the early 1980s with the *Constitution Act* of 1982. Because Canada has not experienced events like the Rodney King race riot in Los Angeles, the apartheid of South Africa or the holocaust of Germany, young student teachers often hold a moral superiority as Canadians and

consider racism to be something that happens in other countries such as the United States or the big cities, but not in Brandon, Dauphin or other small communities where they have been raised. They often say that, “I have an Aboriginal friend” but when confronted with the questions around the social or life experiences of their Aboriginal friend, they often know little or hold a sanitized version of the Aboriginal reality by discussing meritocratic assumptions couched in phrases such as, “His [the Aboriginal] family worked hard.” Racism is considered to be a dirty word amongst student teachers, yet many Aboriginal scholars (Ireland, 2009; Schick & St. Denis, 2005; St. Denis, 2007) assert that “racism matters” and that teacher education systems must be willing to engage in what Schick and St. Denis (2005) term a “troubling national discourse on anti-racist” (p. 295) curriculum planning. Upon completion of research that examined teachers’ perceptions relating to integrating Aboriginal culture into a provincial high school curriculum, Kanu (2005) observed that the issues of racism in and amongst teachers continues to challenge both Aboriginal learners and those seeking to improve education systems because, “overwhelmingly, the teachers identified racist, stereotypical images of Aboriginal people held by some of their non-Aboriginal colleagues and students as the most difficult challenge” (p. 55).

Once again, I am reminded of an experience from my mother. Mom had attended college when she was in her early forties and became a registered nurse. After she had worked about fifteen years, she chose to take only night shifts. She was getting older and struggling with the sleep schedules so I asked her why she did not use her seniority to leverage day shifts. Her response was that it was “easier to

work nights” because then she only had the sick patients with whom to work. She said she was tired of being mistaken as the “cleaning lady” by the patients’ families and staff so if she worked nights, she could do the work she was trained to do. My Mom, an Indian woman (how she wished to be described) chose not to use or acknowledge the word “racism,” to describe the marginalizing treatment by families and peers so she negotiated ways, although to the detriment of her own physical health, to reduce the number of incidences she faced by taking night shifts. I have experienced a great deal of success doing the work I do with student teachers, regardless of their socio-cultural background, but there are days in my work where I wish that there were only night shifts for me when I experience the effects of institutionalized racist educational programs and policies. Metis scholar, Laroque (1991) noted that merely initiating a conversation about racism in Canada can bring about a rebuke whereby the one initiating the dialogue is viewed as “unreasonable, outrageous, unfriendly and demanding” (p. 76). I most certainly concur with this because when I have dared to initiate the discourse or dialogue about the underlying foundations for marginalizing treatment, I am told that I am using “fighting words” or that “my antennae are turned on too high.” Such actions speak to the need for anti racist (St. Denis, 2005, 2007) or critical race theory (Ladson-Billings & Donner, 2008) to be a core foundation of the teacher education program at Brandon University.

There seems to be no argument that education is at the heart of change and that teacher education plays an instrumental role in changing the status quo of the world, one where many Aboriginal people live in poverty and experience

considerably less educational success than their mainstream peers. On June 1, 2010, Association of Canadian Deans of Education signed an *Accord on Indigenous Education* that identifies goals relating to: respectful and welcoming learning environments; respectful and inclusive curricula; culturally responsive pedagogies; mechanisms for valuing and promoting Indigeneity in education; affirming and revitalizing Indigenous languages; Indigenous educational leadership; non-Indigenous learners and Indigeneity; and culturally respectful Indigenous research. The APC as mandated by the Minister of Education effective May, 2008 is but one small step in a long journey that will eventually level the playing ground for Aboriginal learners. The journey will not be void of the various bumps and obstacles that characterize most journeys. Although I have felt very critical and often times overwhelmed in the task of identifying and examining the various places where our education faculties need to further address change, I do have a hopeful spirit because change is happening. It is both re-assuring and invigorating to see the many places where Indigenous knowledge or worldviews are being recognized and promoted by world renown scientists like David Suzuki for its value and contribution to ecology, medicine, and education and by the many Aboriginal scholars who have been mentioned in this chapter and who provide hope and direction for educators to make their systems more effective for Aboriginal learners.

In closing, I wish to circle back to the story of my truck. By the way... I did not get it for free. If there was some way for me to get a truck for free, as some student teachers came into the APC believing, then I most certainly would be going to pick up a new one because mine is old, and has 310 000 kilometers on it. I will

soon have to make a decision about the mode of my future transportation. Should I just go and buy a new one? If I did that, I would have to spend some time researching new vehicles and spend a considerable sum of money. Should I try to keep this one on the road knowing that it is not that reliable and that it could cost me a fair bit of money to maintain over time? If I keep fixing this old vehicle, one day it will malfunction to the point where it is no longer feasible or safe to keep on the road. Then again, maybe what I really need to do is re-assess my transportation needs. When I purchased the vehicle 12 years ago, I had a young son, a large dog, and I regularly had to drive several hundred kilometers to do my work. Now the situation has changed. Today I can, and do, walk to work regularly, and I seldom need a vehicle other than when I go out of town.

Given the three scenarios regarding my present transportation dilemma, no matter what option I choose, I am going to spend, like Grand Chief Evans said in a recent radio interview where he spoke of educational challenges, “real problems take real time and real money in order to figure out the best solution.” I argue that we are at a similar juncture with regards to FNMI education in Manitoba. FNMI education has been made a priority in the last decade, and as time went on, plans, priorities and agendas have been created and implemented. However, in today’s context, with growing numbers of FNMI children in our schools whose success still lags behind that of non-FNMI students, we have to realize that our plans, priorities and agendas need to be replaced, repaired, re-assessed or even renewed. We can no longer be content to limp along and maintain the status quo, hoping we can get a few more kilometers out of our system. Instead, in the best interests of all

Manitobans, we have to make the decision to invest time and money proactively so that our FNMI student population is not left, broken down and stranded, within a system that does not acknowledge their life histories, their experiences, or the value they bring to the diversity and potential future of our province.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

This qualitative research study will employ Greenfield's (1974) phenomenological views of social reality articulated and analyzed using Indigenous storywork (Archibald, 2008) and story (Wilson, 2008). Although surveys and interviews are the primary data sources, my personal story and the stories of teachers' experiences are embedded throughout. In this chapter, a description and rationale for a qualitative research methodology premised upon phenomenology, storywork and story will first be provided. Following that, the study environment and context will be described, and finally, the procedural aspects such as participant selection, researcher positioning, data analysis, confidentiality and ethics will be discussed.

Qualitative Research

One of the many characteristics of qualitative research, according to Bogdan and Biklen (2007), is that it allows researchers to refine their target as they proceed with the research as opposed to beginning with a tightly focused research question. As such, qualitative research tends to begin as a sustained exploration then naturally focuses itself as the research proceeds. Qualitative research has gained acceptance as a methodological strategy in education in the past two decades. A significant difference between qualitative and quantitative research is that qualitative research typically is conducted in naturalistic or authentic environments over an extended period as opposed to the artificial, laboratory type of environments where research is conducted over shorter time frames. In

scholarship that focused on the belief systems held by pre-service teachers, Pajares (1992) noted that qualitative research is a suitable methodology for studying teacher beliefs because additional insight can be gained over an extended time frame with the participants. Other scholars studying the relationship between student teacher perceptions and praxis (Clandinin & Connelly, 1986; Munby, 1987) noted that the use of biography, metaphor and narratives could potentially provide significant understandings to researchers that facilitated analysis. Because my research was conducted over a two year period in the university classroom with student teachers and the provincial school classrooms where the participants, now teachers, are employed, a qualitative research methodology is most suitable. I wish to elicit the lived experiences of those students (now teachers) who attempted to incorporate the techniques and content outlined in the APC into their daily teaching. To do so, I needed to access the participants' experiences of the course, and the effect they perceive that it has had on their day-to-day teaching realities with FNMI students. To do so effectively, I needed to listen to the "stories" of these individuals as they told me of their experiences in fostering the learning of FNMI, and, in fact, all students.

Phenomenology

Phenomenology, from a Western perspective, has an historical role in inquiry in that Husserl, a German mathematician, first named or defined what is known as classical phenomenology in the 1800s. This particular mode of inquiry, utilizing the Eurocentric worldview or paradigm, involves a process of breaking down all concepts or perceptions into minute parts and discarding those parts that do not

directly relate to the concept or element of thinking. Greenfield (1974), a scholar of educational administration, described phenomenology as the study of structures from the first person perspective utilizing a conscious experience in the context of when and where the said experience occurred.

Greenfield is known to have taken the world of social science and, in particular, educational research to task when he presented his seminal paper entitled *Theory in the Study of Organizations and Administrative Structures: A New Perspective* to the Third International Intervisitation Programme on Educational Administration, at Bristol, England in 1974. In this paper, he suggested that eleven tenets of phenomenology be utilized as an alternative base for interpreting social reality. He began by supporting the philosophy of idealism whereby organizations can be understood to be created social realities, and that every person within the organization perceives it differently. The role of social science then becomes the mechanism for identifying how different people interpret the world in which they live. Greenfield suggests that the basic units for social reality include individuals acting collectively or singly and that the methods of understanding involve the interpretation of those subjective mechanisms that individuals use to explain their behavior or action. Theory then is constructed by those sets of meaning upon which people, either individually or collectively; use to make sense of the behavior in the world as they perceive it to be. Research then becomes the search for meaning in the relationships and the discoveries associated with their actions or consequences.

With regards to methodology, Greenfield asserts that it is critical to analyze language and meaning in the search for comparisons in the representation of reality.

He goes on to describe society as being conflicted and typically governed by those values held by the people in power. Greenfield described organizations as being dependant upon both the people and their goals, along with instruments of power that some people use in order to achieve outcomes that are relevant to them.

Greenfield (1974, p. 3b) argues that there will always be conflicts within organizations because of diversity in human goals and experiences. Ultimately, given the fact that conflicts occur over diverse goals and experiences, the means of redressing organizational “maladies” involve the identification of those values that are embedded within the organization and either changing the individuals who hold those values or the organizational values themselves.

Greenfield (1974) summarized his theory about an alternative way of interpreting organizations and social reality by saying that,

If... our ideas for understanding the world determine our action within it, then our ideas about the world—what really exists in it, how we should behave in it—are of utmost importance. And if our ideas about the world are shaped by our experience, then the interpretation of experience is also of utmost importance. (p.14)

Given the preceding literature review on the nature of teacher education programs within university organizational structures, and the attendant clash of values, worldviews and epistemologies I have argued are evidenced within those organizations, I have chosen to utilize a phenomenological approach to studying the views and attitudes that student teachers at Brandon University hold regarding

FNMI histories, knowledge and pedagogies prior to and after their enrolment in the APC.

Crotty (1998), from the nursing and health perspective, is known for his contributions towards developing what is known as radical phenomenology, the process whereby researchers try to put themselves in the place of others in an attempt to see things, the phenomena, from that person's point of view. Thinking and perceptions are divided into two categories: proactive or purposeful thinking which is an intentional format that employs analyzing, generalizing and discriminating between thoughts and experiences, and, reactive thinking that is best described as those "ah-ha" moments that one experiences when one's mind is stuck or seized by an idea. Crotty also spoke of empathetic phenomenology whereby those who actually experience particular events attach meanings and significance to those events.

More recently, in the Dictionary of Critical Thought, (2000), Macey defined phenomenology as a philosophy of inquiry built upon the premise that reality consists of objects and events as perceived or understood in human consciousness. It is a kind of philosophy that begins with the intuitive experience of what is presenting itself in the conscious or "real experience" as the starting point. Following that, a phenomenological perspective attempts to analyze or deconstruct the essential features of the experiences in addition to the essence of what an individual has experienced. Giorgi (2005) furthers this notion of phenomenology by suggesting that the major focus of phenomenology is human existence, consciousness or the nature of being. According to Creswell (2007),

phenomenology is congruent with the worldviews of individuals “who wish to seek an understanding of the world in which they live and work (p. 20). For example, when I taught in the north, I had a principal who, unknowingly, was actually trying to lead his staff into practicing a form of reactive phenomenology. This principal advised staff “perception was reality and because of that, we had to ensure that we took the time to truly hear and feel what the kids were telling us; and, to remember that we heard with our hearts, our eyes and our ears.” In a similar vein, my mother passed a well-known Aboriginal value to us in a well-known saying that went, “Grant that I never criticize my neighbor until I walk a mile in his moccasins.” In the context of this research that explores how teacher education programs can foster the growth of teacher knowledge, attitudes and pedagogies more supportive of FNMI students, phenomenology is the most useful and relevant Western methodology to utilize because it aligns with what Willis (1999) asserts as an “alternative way to human knowledge rather than through the objectification of so-called positivist science” (p. 94).

Indigenous Storywork

The Aboriginal perspective which is most in keeping with a phenomenological methodology, and with which I am more comfortable given my lived experience, is that of Indigenous storywork. Indigenous storywork, a form of narrative, has traditionally been the manner in which knowledge was stored and passed down by Indigenous people who practice an oral tradition. Minh-ha (2009) spoke about the power of the voice and the value of story in the inter-connected conceptualization of Aboriginal education when she said that, “spoken

words/sounds are one way of expressing our relatedness to each other... speech is the materialization, externalization, and internalization of the vibration of forces... everything in the universe speaks” (p. 128). Graveline (1998) contends storytelling is a form of teaching and that “those who have knowledge have a responsibility to pass it on... teachers are individuals who have taken it upon themselves to become especially knowledgeable about the world and its fundamental relationships, a knowledge that they must pass on to others” (p. 63). Archibald (2008) further delineated or refined storywork as a narrative research methodology that utilizes stories or narratives as teachers and as teaching tools. Drawing on the work of Kirkness and Barnhardt (1991) who are known for naming respect, relevance, reciprocity and responsibility as critical ingredients of Aboriginal education; and, the work of Hampton (1995) who envisioned Indigenous education as “progressing in a spiral that adds a little with each thematic repetition rather than building an Aristotelian argument step by step” (p. 6), Archibald asserts that story is a powerful teaching tool and methodology that takes on a life of its own.

Archibald (2008) further asserts that stories have the “power to make our hearts, minds and bodies work together” (p. 12) and suggests that authentic forms of Aboriginal education is dependent upon this happening. Johnston (2010) contends that unlike the written word that is absorbed by the mind and the eye, “the spoken word is meant for the ear, heart, spirit and mind, in that order” (p. 9). At the Indian Residential Truth and Reconciliation national event in Winnipeg in June of 2010, I heard Elders speaking in a similar manner about the power of story and the responsibility of the listener. The Elders asked those in the audience of the sharing

circle to listen with three ears: those two on the sides of our head and the one in our heart.

In the attempt to blend Indigenous storywork with phenomenology as the methodological framework, I follow the words of Archibald (2008) who says that the “stories challenge the listener to examine his or her emotional reactions in relationship to the characters, plot and context, and to question and reflect upon their behavior and actions in the process of listening” (p. 85). The purpose of this research is to examine how student teachers perceive their success in dealing with the “elephant in the classroom,” (the challenges, histories and worldviews of the FNMI students whom they are teaching) as a consequence of their involvement with the APC. As such, it is my hope that blending Western phenomenology and Indigenous storywork will act as the catalyst to prepare my student teachers to teach in a way that educates the heart, mind, body and spirit of themselves and the students in their charge.

The Strengths of Narrative Storywork

Bruner, an educational psychologist, noted in 1986, that there are two different methods of cognitive functioning: the scientific logical or paradigmatic mode and the narrative mode. Yet, neither paradigm can nor should be perceived to be superior to the other because both modes of cognitive processing are necessary for true understanding and development. In a review of literature supporting narrative methodology, Mitchell and Egudo (2003) suggested that narrative or stories can be used to capture data that is considered to be much richer than that found in surveys, questionnaires and other forms of qualitative data gathering

because the latter techniques are simply not sufficient to capture the deep meaning and complexity that is often found in stories. Mitchell and Egudo also noted that literature supported the use of narrative, via stories, as an “instrument to construct and communicate meaning and to impart knowledge” (p. 6). As well, stories told within their cultural context or environment can be used to promote particular values and beliefs and can contribute to both the construction and development of identity at a personal and collective or communal level. From an Aboriginal perspective, the strength of using narrative theory as sense making or story (Archibald, 2008) is that this particular methodology is gaining in both popularity and acceptance within the social sciences and is considered to be the gold standard or the most highly accepted and valued methodology by Aboriginal scholars in both national and international scholarly communities.

Although I will not completely dichotomize the issue, I argue that education, as it is currently based on Eurocentric models, tends to privilege the scientific mode whereas Aboriginal education favors narrative ways of thinking. A strength of the narrative methodology is that it can be used to bridge the western, scientific ways of teaching and learning with the Aboriginal ways of thinking and learning such that the students end up with more diverse and yet holistic strategies for learning. According to Tafoya (1995), stories are an important way of developing alternative ways of approaching something because:

Stories go in circles. They don't go in straight lines. It helps if you listen in circles because there are stories inside and between stories and finding your way through them is as easy and as hard as finding your way home. Part of

finding is getting lost, and when you are lost, you being able to open up and listen. (p. 12)

Echoing that, it has been my lived experience, firstly as an Aboriginal woman and secondly as a teacher, that the use of story is an essential pedagogical tool for helping the student teachers involved with this research understand the histories, issues, worldviews and realities of FNMI students. Gill (2001) suggests that stories provide a holistic context from which individuals can reflect upon and reconstruct (hence, better understand) the social, personal and cultural experiences of both their own and others.

Methods

According to Bogdan and Biklen (2007), methods typically refer to the specific techniques and the technical aspects of the research. The following section will explain the sources of data, study environment, participation selection, researcher positioning, data analysis, and, confidentiality and ethics involved with this research.

Sources of Data

Data is the research term used to describe those materials that are collected and subsequently analyzed by the researcher for the purposes of investigating the research question. Data can take the following three formats: materials including interview transcripts and field notes that the researcher generated; materials such as diaries, photographs and official documents that the researcher collected; and materials such as narratives, artwork, and/or poetry that the participants generated. Data is used as the evidence to inform, support or negate the research

question. Numerous studies note that triangulation should be used in the data collection. Triangulation, originally a navigational term, in the research context is used to show that more than one data source is being used so that multiple data can be accessed from a variety of sources to (hopefully) elicit similar findings, thereby promoting a sense of “reliability” in the data. Bogdan and Biklen (2007) contend that the implication for employing multiple sources, or using a triangulated data methodology, is that multiple forms or sources of data will provide a deeper and enriched understanding of the phenomena being studied. Effective research is also dependant upon doing a thorough review of the literature, relevant materials, resources and records regarding the background and context of the research question. I believe that in the context of this study, the existing body of literature provides a strong rationale for changing the existing ways of educating both Aboriginal students and those who teach Aboriginal students.

In this research, I utilized multiple, distinct data sources as a means to “corroborate, elaborate, or illuminate the research problem and its outcomes” (Stringer, 2008, p. 49). This research was conducted over a two year period, allowing me to collect the following: questionnaires from the student teachers from 2008 and 2009, field notes or teaching notes made before, during and after the classes, and interviews of ten student teachers who have since graduated and are teaching. The questionnaires can be found in Appendices B and C, and the interview protocol can be found in Appendix D. I have treated the field notes similarly to interview transcripts and use them as raw data for triangulation purposes because they contain too much confidential information related to students, class dynamics

and individual events; therefore, they are not included in an Appendix. Table 1 provides a matrix of the data sources utilized to answer each of the primary research questions.

Table 1

Data Sources Utilized to Answer the Research Questions

Research Question	Questionnaires	Interviews	Field Notes
1. What is the background knowledge that student teachers have regarding FNMI people & histories?	March 2009 Questionnaire: Question 2 a, b, c, d March 2010 Questionnaire: Questions Part A 1-10 & 14	N/A	Field notes collected throughout both years that the course was taught (my notes and collections of info)
2. What attitudes do student teachers hold about FNMI people & issues prior to and after taking the course?	March 2009 Questionnaire: Questions # 11 March 2010 Questionnaire: Questions 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18	Question 6, 7	Field Notes collected throughout both years that the course was taught
3. What impact did the course have upon the actual first year of teaching by those who took the course?	2010 Interview Questionnaire: Question 5 Questionnaire: Part C, Questions 1-3	Question 2, 5	N/A
4. To what extent is racism inherent and perpetuated within our school system and to what extent can the APC help to address its effects on individuals (teachers and students), within our educational system?	March 2009 Questionnaire #5 March 2010 Questionnaire: Part D	Question 5, 6	

Questionnaires

According to Gay and Airasian (2000), questionnaires, or the set of standardized questions that can be answered in paper and pencil or digital modes, have several advantages for use in research. Questionnaires are advantageous because they are inexpensive to administer, can be confidential, are easy to score and are standardized in terms of the items and the procedures. I chose to use questionnaires in this research because I could solicit feedback regarding the background knowledge, attitudes and experiences of students, as well as the perceptions that the student teachers had before and after taking the course.

Because I did not have the Brandon University Research Ethics Committee (BUREC) approval when I began teaching the first three sections of the course, I was able to access three sets of responses over a two-year period. I actually used two slightly different questionnaires for the different years that I taught this course (see Appendices B and C). One of the reasons for this was that I had the BUREC approval at the beginning of the second course (Appendix G) and, having taught the course for a year, I was able to develop a more refined questionnaire for the second year that could be used as a pre-test and a post-test questionnaire (Appendix C).

I developed the first survey after I had taught about half of the course in the first year of implementation. This was the period immediately after the mandate was announced and the first course was in its implementation stage. This was also the time period when much discussion was happening about why they (the student teachers) had to take the course and I was being faced with the “where do you get your free truck” kinds of comments. In retrospect, I believe that the seeds of this

dissertation were planted by the truck comments because I wanted to find out not only what the students knew about Aboriginal issues, histories and pedagogy prior to and after taking the course in order to more effectively plan lessons and learning activities that would advance Aboriginal education. As such, I applied for BUREC approval to administer the first survey immediately following the completion of the APC.

In the initial survey, generic questions were asked regarding the level of knowledge that student teachers held about FNMI history, education, treaties and current issues, and the sources of their learning both before and after taking the course (Appendix B). Student teachers were also asked to make recommendations regarding improvements to the course. The second survey, administered as both a pre and post course instrument, was developed to include more specific information regarding: a) the knowledge, attitudes and pedagogies of FNMI people; and b) how well the course design and content facilitated this understanding. For example, students were asked to use a true-false format to answer some basic knowledge questions about FNMI people in the Manitoba context, treaties and the demographics. Students were then asked to assess, using a five point Likert scale of strongly agree to strongly disagree, their experiences and attitudes regarding the social and educational realities of FNMI students. Students were asked to choose their three preferred learning formats or experiences for studying diversity issues; make specific recommendations about content and pedagogical issues regarding teaching Aboriginal students; and, make recommendations for improving the design and content of the APC.

I changed the format of the surveys or questionnaires over the two-year period for a number of reasons. After reflecting upon the content of the first survey, I found that it was fairly generic; therefore, the second survey was created to collect more specific information. By redeveloping the survey, I believe I was able to collect data that would provide a deeper and broader picture of the knowledge and attitudes (and changes to these) that student teachers brought with them at the inception and closure of the course. As one of the primary outcomes of the APC deals with pedagogy for teaching FNMI students, the second survey is more closely aligned with that outcome because there is a set of questions dealing with pedagogy and strategies for teaching. Both questionnaires asked students to comment by way of open-ended questions, on pedagogy and strategies for teaching FNMI students.

In the first year of the research, March 2009, students completed the questionnaires on the web platform called "Survey Monkey." This allowed the participants complete anonymity. In the second year of research, January – March 2010, I hired a research assistant who administered the questionnaires, collected and aggregated the results, and then destroyed the originals. There has been no point throughout this research process whereby I had access to the identity of student teachers that were completing the questionnaires.

Field Notes

Field notes are those descriptions, usually done in anecdotal format, that are composed by the researcher during the process of conducting research. Bogdan and Biklen (2007) categorize field notes as being descriptive and reflective in nature. Descriptive field notes describe, in detail, further information about the research

setting, participants or process. They are typically the detailed and written accounts of what the researcher has heard, seen, felt, or thought during a particular episode of the research process. Reflective field notes include questions and thoughts relating to the method or process of research, the point of view or frame of mind of the researcher at a given point, or potential ethical dilemmas that the researcher may be encountering.

In this research, I have used two kinds of descriptive and reflective field notes to capture both the essence of what was happening during and following the classes I taught and the reflections of what could potentially be happening. My field notes typically take the shape of what Mills (2007) calls a journal entry. For example, I often create reflective notes typically once a week or at the end of class that has dealt with sensitive issues such as residential school survivor stories or the concept of white privilege. These reflections serve as an analysis where I look for the trends of what is happening as well as the bumps or paradoxes that may be occurring. Mills further suggests that such journals are an ongoing attempt by teachers to systematically reflect upon their practice by constructing a narrative that honors their unique and powerful voice. Field notes, in the form of journals, are a way of keeping track of observations and significant events, key or transformative learning moments and illuminating experiences but also of the feelings associated with the research. These reflective field notes will be analyzed using the emergent trends lens where I will look for those key events or incidents where a transformative type of learning occurred vis a vis the intended learning outcomes for the lesson.

The other kind of field notes that I utilized, as data were the aggregations of what I call "learning logs" that are completed by the student teachers. The learning log is essentially an assessment strategy that uses, in this instance, an open-ended question where students have to show evidence of thinking and learning about the question in a specified time frame. In the first year of the APC, I used the learning log three times, twice near the beginning of the course and once at the end. Having compared the learning logs of the first course with those of the second course, it seems that I used the learning log strategy in a reactive approach during the first year because I would pose the question on the night before it was due whereas I changed the practice and timing of the learning logs for the second course such that this strategy was employed in a proactive manner.

In the second year of teaching the APC, I employed this strategy in a more systematic and proactive manner because I would post the guiding question at the beginning of the week. Students were then asked to consider the question as they were participating in all aspects of the classes including: listening to class presentations and discussions, reading materials, watching video resources or doing their own research on selected topics. At the end of the week, students would be required to hand in a five hundred word writing which I called a learning log that showed evidence of their ability to synthesize the teachings of the week in a way that was meaningful and relevant to their particular context. That is, the questions were open ended such that there was no one right answer but the response required that students show evidence of thinking by applying and evaluating what was heard, read, viewed or experienced. I utilize this particular assessment strategy

for the first four weeks of the APC when the majority of content and knowledge is being presented; therefore, I had four sets of aggregated notes. The fifth set of notes or the final learning log, due two days before the course is complete, is a question that asks students to tell me, in whatever format they might choose, what they think they learned from the course and what they think they will remember if we should meet on the street five years from now. The students have answered that question in a variety of ways including artwork, poetry, letters, blogs, songs, radio shows and concept maps. As with the other learning logs, I aggregated or collated the themes of learning from this final assignment as part of the perceived learning of the course. When assessing these weekly assignments, I collated or aggregated the responses as a means to determine if emergent themes as suggested by Guba (1981, 1984) arose based upon the teachings of the week. I have two sets of these aggregated learning logs; however, the 2009 set is not as comprehensive as the 2010 set. In retrospect, I think perhaps the major reason for this is I was trying out the strategy in the 2009 course and became better acquainted with the use and value for the 2010 course offering.

Interviews

Interviews, a form of oral, in-depth and personally administered questionnaires, are the third kind of data source that was used in this study. The advantage of using interviews is that more detailed information that might not otherwise be obtained is gathered. When using interviews, the researcher can probe in order to further investigate the phenomena of study. Interviews can be recorded and transcribed for further analysis.

In this research, semi-structured interviews were conducted with ten student teachers from the first year of the APC offering that are now practicing teachers. To recruit teachers to participate in the interviews, I approached the Director of Field Experience who has the email addresses of all those teachers who have graduated from Brandon University in the past five years. I selected the names of those who had taken my course in the 2009 term and sent a blanket email (Appendix D) soliciting participation in May of 2010. As I was looking for equal numbers of male and female participants, I simply chose the first ten participants who responded. To those people who did not get selected for an interview, I simply sent them an email thanking them for their response but indicated that because of time and timings, I had already chosen who would be interviewed and that I would perhaps be in contact with them if the others did not happen. The interview protocol (Appendix D) was developed to provide a framework for the conversation about how the content, pedagogy and process of the APC has been useful for them (or not) as practicing teachers and of course, how it could be further developed to be more useful. Prior to submitting the interview protocol to the ethics board, I discussed the interview with a professional person who teaches in another department within the Faculty of Education to get a sense of the potential length of the interview and question relevance. Although this activity was somewhat contrived because the person with whom I worked did not actually take the APC, I did receive feedback in terms of the clarity of the questions and the potential length of the interviews.

The interviews were conducted in a location that was most suitable to the participants who are busy practicing teachers. Some were conducted in schools, others in a quiet restaurant and a couple, in my office at the university. All interviews were recorded using a digital recorder. I chose to use a digital recorder because it is less intrusive or conspicuous during the actual interview. The interviews were transcribed using the standardized procedures of constant comparison discussed by Bogdan and Biklen (2007). Participants were given the option of checking the transcripts in order to verify, confirm or augment their comments.

Description of the Study Environment

The study environment for this research is primarily the Brandon University classroom where I teach the APC, but it also includes, in effect, all the classrooms in which those teachers, who volunteered to be interviewed, work. As an Assistant Professor, I have a professional obligation to conduct research and to provide the context or mandate of this particular course; I believe that the research will have significance in similar faculties of education. According to Stringer (2008), permission is not usually required when teachers engage in research directly related to their ongoing work in the classroom (p. 45). Although the primary reason that I have for conducting this research is personal in that I wish to improve both the understandings of the student teachers and my own performance as the instructor, the course is part of my teaching load at Brandon University. I started conducting this research in the Winter of 2009 and applied for and received the

BUREC ethics certificates to conduct the questionnaires and the interviews (Appendix D).

The APC is taught to those students in the last term of their two year Bachelor of Education, after degree, program. The student teachers who are in my classrooms are typically in the middle and senior years route, meaning that their program is structured such that they get theory and practice to prepare them to teach at the middle, Grades 5-8, and Senior, Grades 9-12, grades in public schools. Classes are delivered over an eight-week period. Each class lasts 50 minutes. The student numbers in the Faculty of Education are such that there are three sections of this course being offered during the term. I teach this course in the second or winter term, while another professor teaches this course to the early and middle years students during the first or fall term. I typically have a total of approximately 85 students in the combined three sections of this course. I have taught this course during the winter terms in 2009 and 2010 to a total of 154 students.

Participant Selection

As previously described, the participants of this study are the student teachers who were enrolled in the APC. The student teachers belonged to the same cohort in that they get sorted into six groups or cohorts when they enter the faculty and typically stay together for the duration of their studies.

As a faculty member who believes in developing an authentic relationship with the students, I often employ modeling as a strategy. I have shared my experiences and goals as a graduate student at the University of Manitoba with the student teachers in my classroom. Consequently, the student teachers in my class

know my views about the importance of practicing classroom-based research as a way to improve professional capacity; therefore, they seemed to be willing to participate in this research. Prior to asking the students to complete the surveys, the entire process was explained as well as the provisions made to ensure confidentiality and anonymity, voluntary participation, and voluntary withdrawal without penalty. The research assistant whom I hired was a former sessional professor whom the student teachers knew. I ensured with the engagement of the research assistant that at no time would I be aware of which students decided to volunteer for this study and which students did not. Students were made aware of this from the beginning of their invitation to participate. They also received their course grades before I ever accessed the collated data.

When selecting the student teachers who are now teaching in various schools, I simply sent out emails (Appendix E) to students who had been in the course that explained the purpose and the process involved with this particular stage of the research. As I decided to conduct ten in-depth interviews, I selected the first ones who responded, five female and five male. This may be construed as a limitation because those who responded are most likely computer geeks in that they are checking their email daily or they may be those who are sincerely interested in teaching Aboriginal students and the pedagogies that go with it. It is unlikely that those who do not sincerely care about the topic would have responded so some readers of this research may see the interview data as being "from the choir loft of the church." In any case, I am hopeful that the data from the interviews will prove to

support my research questions or, at the very least, provide me with direction as to where I can further develop research to support FNMI education.

Researcher Positioning

I will not repeat my own research positioning in this chapter, because I have identified and supported my research stance or lens from which I conducted my work in Chapters 1 and 2. In any form of research, it is critical that the individual researcher knows and is able to articulate the perspective from which she is studying and analyzing research data. I am who I am, and, according to McNiff and Whitehead (2006), it is important to know my stance. They also advise that it is important to disseminate findings because “you [the researcher] want to disrupt the current social order of the way people think, and how the way they think influences what they do” (p. 248). I make the overt claim in this research that I wish to disrupt the Western ideologies underpinning our teacher education programs that lead to teaching practices and structures that have undermined the knowledge systems and abilities of FNMI students as reinforced by the plethora of educational research that outline their lack of success in the current system.

Pajares (1992) noted that the concrete and lived experiences of student teachers, in addition to their subconscious beliefs and attitudes, form the foundation for which they will develop their professional praxis. The fortunate reality is that student teachers have experiences upon which to attach new theory and meanings; the unfortunate reality is that most student teachers do not have to re-define their experience, especially if the faculties that they enter are similar in ideology and delivery to what they have experienced. This then creates a situation where there is

a strong possibility that the student teachers will perpetuate the status quo of education. It is this phenomena or reality that I wish to disrupt with my research.

Data Analysis

In qualitative research such as this, data analysis involves a multi stage and cyclical process whereby the data collected is manipulated, sorted, dissected and interpreted. The purpose of data analysis is to summarize the findings of the data, that is, to seek the relationship between the data and the research question.

According to Gay and Airasian (2000), data analysis typically involves a four-stage process that is conducted in a circular manner and not in a linear progression. The first stage involved reading and creating memos of the data as a way to become familiar with both the data and the initial themes that were emerging. The second stage, called “describing”, involves developing detailed descriptions of the context: the participants, the activities and the environment. The third stage, called “classifying”, involves the actual categorizing or coding of themes that are emerging from the data. And the fourth stage, called “interpreting” or in very basic terms, the “so what?” stage, involves the actual interpreting of what the data means then synthesizing the data into general conclusions and findings.

This research is focused on learning about what background knowledge regarding the history and worldviews, and perceptions and experiences that student teachers hold regarding FNMI people. As such, the 2008 post-course questionnaire will be analyzed in the following manner. Descriptive statistics such as frequencies and the percentage of responses will be used to describe the student teachers overall and when categorized by ethnicity (FNMI or non-FNMI). Chi-squares were

used to analyze the data relating to knowledge and attitudinal change as a result of having taken the course for FNMI or non-FNMI students. The 2009 questionnaire was analyzed similarly, but because there existed the pre-and post design, the analysis was richer, as both the pre-test and post-test was analyzed using descriptive statistics (frequencies and percentages) to organize data for the overall sample, and disaggregated by ethnicity (FNMI or non-FNMI) and sex (male/female) for knowledge, attitudes and pedagogy items. Independent t-tests were utilized to determine significant differences on knowledge, attitude and pedagogy items based on ethnicity and sex. Finally, paired t-test were used to determine whether there exist significant differences in the scores on the pre-test and post-test. Specifically, I compared the percentage of correct knowledge item scores between the pre- and post-test, the category mean scores on attitude items, and the percentage of those who chose each of the pedagogical strategies prior to and at the end of the course.

The open-ended questions from the surveys and the interview responses were analyzed using an emergent theme method, characteristic of grounded theory (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This kind of analysis is iterative in nature in that it involves multiple readings of the data where an inductive process is employed. The data was read, sorted according to general themes then read again with each reading or coding making more specific themes within the categories.

Confidentiality and Ethics

As this research was conducted at the university classroom level where I was the instructor and the participants were the student teachers, I had to be cognizant

of the potential “power over” position I held over students as the instructor assigning grades. As such, in the first year that survey data was collected, the digital tool, “Survey Monkey” was used. By doing this, students were assured of complete anonymity because they merely logged on to the Internet location and completed the survey. The results, minus any identifying data such as email addresses, were then sent directly to an electronic site that I could access. It is also important to note that the surveys were completed after the course was over, at which time, the student teachers already had in their possession all course marks and assignments returned to them. Out of 84 students enrolled in my teaching sections that year, 68 (80.9%) chose to voluntarily complete the questionnaire.

In the second year of data collection, a research assistant was hired to administer, collect and aggregate all survey results. The same assurances of confidentiality were provided to participants. Of a total of 86 for the second year, 70 (81.3%) chose to complete the survey. Following the collation of the data by the research assistant, the research assistant destroyed the original surveys so that I could never access the surveys or any potential respondents. Once again, I did not access the data until after grades had been provided to the students at course completion.

Interviewees were recruited via email with an invitation to participate in which they were told that if they were interested in participating in the study, they could contact me directly. I had no difficulty accessing 10 participants who contacted me to indicate such an interest. For those who participated in the interviews, all names and identifying data were removed at the time of transcription

such that comments could not be traced back to the participants. The only description that was attached to the interview transcript was male or female, age range and where they worked described as "urban or rural, provincial or band operated school and grade level". The interviews were also entirely voluntarily and participants could choose to opt out at any stage of the interview process or ask that the recorder be turned off. None chose to utilize those options.

Research Quality

Guba and Lincoln (1985) suggest that all qualitative research establish validity or trustworthiness by addressing the characteristics of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. Credibility refers to how well the researcher gathered, analyzed and explained the trends that emerged in the research. I believe that credibility for this research was established by the prolonged engagement of the study that included a two-year research process with 142 participants. In addition to that, I employed multiple, distinct methods of data collection. The number and variety of data sources allowed me to practice triangulation, defined as a process of crosschecking findings using a variety of sources and methods.

Transferability is referred to as the ability of research to be applied or generalized to similar settings, settings that can be identified by those who potentially read or consume the research report. I believe that throughout this dissertation, I have provided plenty of description regarding the research site, participants, and rationale. The use of story work and narrative also supports establishing the connection of the research from the academic mind to the heart,

body and spirit of readers. It is my hope that this work resonates with the experiences of others and will transfer to a variety of contexts in which teachers of FNMI students engage in their work.

Dependability refers to the stability of the data. To address issues of dependability, I have employed multiple methods of data collection in addition to the audit trail, where I held professional conversations with my advisor, committee members, and colleagues regarding the data and the findings, while remaining cognizant of all ethical concerns and boundaries. I also provided interviewees with the opportunity to conduct member checks of their transcripts in order to confirm, augment or delete information so that the raw data could be deemed dependable for analysis.

The final validity indicator, confirmability, refers to the objective or neutral stance that the researcher has regarding the data. To establish confirmability, I routinely made reflective field notes about the particular stage of the research as well as noting my stance. I do not presume to maintain complete objectivity in my stance towards this research; however, I do believe that in acknowledging my subjectivity and positioning as an “insider” (as an Aboriginal person, as a teacher educator, and as a teacher myself), that I can perhaps understand the nuances of meaning provided in the data in ways that presumptions of objectivity cannot hope to achieve. I will also acknowledge and reflect upon my own biases and their potential impacts on my analysis in the reflections I wrote in my field notes, in my discussions with my advisor and committee members, and in my reflections with participants as I proceeded with the analysis.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to discuss and describe the methodological underpinnings and the procedural matters related to this research. Chapter four provides the statistical or quantitative findings of the study, and chapter five provides the qualitative findings and chapter six provides the conclusions of the study and implications for theory, practice and research.

Chapter Four

Quantifying the Elephant

This chapter provides the findings of the surveys that were conducted during the 2008-2009 academic year in March 2009 and the pre-and post-surveys that were conducted in January and March 2010. The first survey was conducted after the three sections of the course were completed for the academic year and students already knew their grades. Students completed the questionnaire on the web platform called "Survey Monkey." This allowed the participants complete anonymity. Generic questions were asked regarding the level of knowledge that student teachers held about FNMI history, education, treaties and current issues, and the sources of their learning both before and after taking the course (Appendix B). They were asked to respond to their levels of knowledge and use of knowledge sources on a scale of (1) little, (2) some or (3) lots. Student teachers were also asked to make recommendations regarding improvements to the course.

A research assistant administered the pre-test and post-test 2010 surveys and collated the results anonymously (Appendix C). The second survey was developed to include more specific information regarding: a) the knowledge, attitudes and pedagogies of FNMI people; and b) how well the course design and content facilitated this understanding. For example, students were asked to use a true-false format to answer some basic knowledge questions about FNMI people, treaties and demographics. Students were then asked to assess, using a five point Likert scale of (1) strongly agree to (5) strongly disagree, their experiences and attitudes about social and educational statements related to FNMI students.

Students were asked to choose their three preferred learning formats or experiences for studying diversity issues; make specific recommendations about content and pedagogical issues regarding teaching Aboriginal students; and, make recommendations for improving the design and content of the course. Both questionnaires asked students to comment open-endedly, on pedagogy and strategies for teaching FNMI students.

The following sections of this chapter will outline the results of these surveys. For the 2008-2009 survey, results are first delineated by descriptive statistics (means and frequencies) on the knowledge items and source of knowledge items for the total sample, and also by ethnicity (FNMI or non-FNMI). Independent t-tests were conducted using ethnicity as an independent variable on the knowledge items (using mean scores based on the continuum of 1 -3) and the level of usage of particular knowledge sources (using mean scores based on the continuum of 1-3). Finally, paired sample t-tests were conducted to determine if students believed that there was a change in their understanding on the knowledge items prior to and after taking the course. The limitation must be acknowledged that for this year, the before and after information was elicited in a single sitting after the course was already over, and students based their prior levels of knowledge on their memory perceptions rather than a pre-test situation.

The survey during the 2009-2010 academic year was administered in a pre-test/post-test situation. Results are first delineated by descriptive statistics (means and frequencies) on the knowledge items, attitude items and pedagogy items for the total sample, by ethnicity (FNMI or non-FNMI), and by gender (male or female).

Independent t-tests were conducted using ethnicity and gender as independent variables on the knowledge items (using mean scores of percentage correct answers) and the attitude items (using mean scores of the Likert scale from 1-5). Finally, paired sample t-tests of the knowledge and attitude items were conducted to determine if there was a change in student understanding prior to and after taking the course. Significance levels of $p < 0.10$ were utilized in all significance tests.

2009 Survey Results

The 2009 survey results are delineated by: (a) descriptive statistics of the overall scores and by ethnicity; (b) independent t-tests of the knowledge items and use of knowledge sources by ethnicity; and (c) paired samples t-tests of knowledge items prior to and after taking the APC.

Descriptive Statistics

Knowledge items. Appendix J includes the frequency and percentage charts, and corresponding charts related to knowledge items before and after taking the Aboriginal Perspective course, as well as the use of knowledge sources for accessing information related to FNMI peoples. What is most interesting to note is the change in the category of "little" knowledge prior to and after taking the course. Prior to the course, this category was acknowledged by: one-fifth (N=14; 20.9%) of the respondents for Aboriginal history; over one-half (N=37; 55.2%) of the respondents for treaties; over one-third (N=25; 37.3%) of the respondents for Aboriginal education issues; and over one-fifth (N=15; 22.4%) of the respondents for current Aboriginal issues. After taking the course, this category completely disappeared in

the responses, and the "lots" category increased dramatically, if, perhaps, somewhat over-zealously. In fact, the proportions of respondents who suggested they knew "lots" about the four areas increased prior to and after taking the course from: (a) 20.9% (N=14) to 59.7% (N=40) for Aboriginal history; (b) 9.0% (N=6) to 79.1% (N=53) for knowledge about treaties; (c) 9.0% (N=6) to 49.3% (N=33) for Aboriginal education; and (d) 20.9% (N=14) to 59.7% (N=40) for current Aboriginal issues.

The findings for knowledge items were also disaggregated by ethnicity, though it must be acknowledged that of the total sample size of 67 respondents, only 6 respondents identified themselves as FNMI. The disaggregated frequencies and percentage tables, as well as the corresponding charts can be found in Appendix K. Given this sample size limitation, it remains interesting to note that prior to taking the course, FNMI students (N=6) showed that they had "more" knowledge in all categories as compared to the non-FNMI students, except for knowledge of the treaties (N=3). After taking the course, the FNMI representation was similar to that of non-FNMI students in that the category of "little" knowledge completely disappeared from the entire sample. This indicates that all students taking the course grew in terms of FNMI knowledge.

Source of information. In terms of their use of knowledge sources for accessing information related to FNMI peoples, very few respondents in the total sample ever suggested that they used any of the sources of information "lots" (22.9% [N=15] from friends; 17.9% [N=12] from newspapers and university courses; 14.9% [N=10] from popular media sources; 13.4% [N=9] based on personal

interest; 10.4% [N=7] from school lessons). Such a finding begs the question of whether respondents have actually focused on acquiring information regarding FNMI peoples and if so, the extent to which such information is available. Of those sources accessed, it appears that information from friends is the most-used source, which brings up questions related to the accuracy of information given the lack of knowledge generally described by respondents prior to taking the course. The second most-used sources are newspapers, which tend to sensationalize FNMI issues, and university courses, which are only now becoming embedded within teacher pre-service training. It appears from the findings that for the most part, teacher candidates have either not made such learning a priority, or have not accessed information related to FNMI peoples. This might help to explain part of the resistance to taking courses such as the APC as it may in fact be an indicator of the un-acknowledgment of the elephant (systemic racism) in the classroom. Teacher candidates may either not wish to acknowledge, or in fact deliberately downplay, the issues facing FNMI people by not accessing or not noticing the information that is available.

The findings for knowledge sources were also disaggregated by ethnicity, though it must be acknowledged that of the total sample size of 67 respondents, only 6 respondents identified themselves as FNMI. The disaggregated frequencies and percentage tables, as well as the corresponding charts can be found in Appendix L. Given this sample size limitation, it remains interesting to note that FNMI students were represented in using sources "lots" for friends and newspapers (N=3; 50%) and university courses and personal interest (N=2; 33.3%). The only areas in

which they were represented in using sources "little" of the time occurred for school lessons (N=3; 50%) and friends (N=2; 33.3%). Though the sample is small, the findings do suggest that FNMI teacher candidates are more apt to search for and/or notice information related to FNMI peoples from a variety of sources, though questions remain regarding the accuracy of such information.

Independent T-Tests on Knowledge Items and Knowledge Sources by Ethnicity

Knowledge items by ethnicity. Independent t-tests were conducted to determine whether or not mean scores on the continuum of knowledge from (1) little to (3) lots were significantly different between FNMI and non-FNMI students prior to and after taking the course. It must be qualified that the FNMI category had a sample size of 6 so results must be viewed with caution. Tables 2 and 3 provide the descriptives table and ANOVA table with significant results (which provide the same results as the independent t-test when two groups are being compared) for the knowledge items prior to taking the course, and Tables 4 and 5 provide the descriptives table and ANOVA table with significant results for the knowledge items after taking the course. Using a significance level of $p < 0.10$, it was found that the mean scores of FNMI students were significantly higher than the mean scores of non-FNMI students prior to taking the course for: (a) knowledge of Aboriginal education issues (FNMI mean = 2.33, non-FNMI mean = 1.66, $p = .010$); (b) knowledge of current Aboriginal issues (FNMI mean = 2.5, non-FNMI mean = 1.93, $p = 0.45$); and (c) the total mean score of all knowledge items (FNMI mean = 2.17, non-FNMI mean = 1.80, $p = .093$). No significant differences in scores were found in the knowledge items after taking the course. Such a finding illustrates the higher level of

knowledge that FNMI students are likely to have before entering the course given that this knowledge is likely to more fully represent their life histories and

Table 2

Descriptives for Knowledge Items Prior to Taking the Course by Ethnicity

		Descriptives					
		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
History Prior to Taking Course	FNMI	6	2.33	0.52	0.21	1.79	2.88
	Non-FNMI	61	1.97	0.66	0.08	1.80	2.14
	Total	67	2.00	0.65	0.08	1.84	2.16
Treaties Prior to Taking Course	FNMI	6	1.67	0.82	0.33	0.81	2.52
	Non-FNMI	61	1.52	0.65	0.08	1.36	1.69
	Total	67	1.54	0.66	0.08	1.38	1.70
Aboriginal Education Prior to Taking Course	FNMI	6	2.33	0.52	0.21	1.79	2.88
	Non-FNMI	61	1.66	0.60	0.08	1.50	1.81
	Total	67	1.72	0.62	0.08	1.56	1.87
Current Aboriginal Issues Prior to Taking Course	FNMI	6	2.50	0.55	0.22	1.93	3.07
	Non-FNMI	61	1.93	0.65	0.08	1.77	2.10
	Total	67	1.99	0.66	0.08	1.82	2.15
Mean Score on Knowledge Items Prior to Taking Course	FNMI	6	2.17	0.49	0.20	1.65	2.68
	Non-FNMI	61	1.81	0.49	0.06	1.68	1.93
	Total	67	1.84	0.50	0.06	1.72	1.96

Table 3

ANOVA Table (T-Test Results) of Knowledge Items Prior to Taking the APC by Ethnicity

		ANOVA				
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
History Prior to Taking Course	Between Groups	0.73	1	0.73	1.75	0.19
	Within Groups	27.27	65	0.42		
	Total	28.00	66			
Treaties Prior to Taking Course	Between Groups	0.11	1	0.11	0.25	0.62
	Within Groups	28.55	65	0.44		
	Total	28.66	66			
Aboriginal Education Prior to Taking Course	Between Groups	2.51	1	2.51	7.06	*.010
	Within Groups	23.10	65	0.36		
	Total	25.61	66			
Current Aboriginal Issues Prior to Taking Course	Between Groups	1.75	1	1.75	4.17	*.045
	Within Groups	27.24	65	0.42		
	Total	28.99	66			
Mean Score of Knowledge Items Prior to Taking Course	Between Groups	0.71	1	0.71	2.91	**.093
	Within Groups	15.76	65	0.24		
	Total	16.46	66			

* p < .05
 ** p < .10

Table 4

Descriptive Table for Knowledge Items After Taking the APC by Ethnicity

		Descriptives					
		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
History After Taking Course	FNMI	6	2.67	0.52	0.21	2.12	3.21
	Non-FNMI	61	2.59	0.50	0.06	2.46	2.72
	Total	67	2.60	0.49	0.06	2.48	2.72
Treaties After Taking Course	FNMI	6	2.83	0.41	0.17	2.40	3.26
	Non-FNMI	61	2.79	0.41	0.05	2.68	2.89
	Total	67	2.79	0.41	0.05	2.69	2.89
Aboriginal Education After Taking Course	FNMI	6	2.33	0.52	0.21	1.79	2.88
	Non-FNMI	61	2.51	0.50	0.06	2.38	2.64
	Total	67	2.49	0.50	0.06	2.37	2.62
Current Aboriginal Issues After Taking Course	FNMI	6	2.83	0.41	0.17	2.40	3.26
	Non-FNMI	55	2.64	0.49	0.07	2.51	2.77
	Total	61	2.66	0.48	0.06	2.53	2.78
Mean Scores on Knowledge Items After Taking Course	FNMI	6	2.71	0.19	0.08	2.51	2.91
	Non-FNMI	60	2.57	0.41	0.05	2.46	2.68
	Total	66	2.58	0.40	0.05	2.49	2.68

Table 5

ANOVA Table (T-Test Results) for Knowledge Items After Taking the APC by

Ethnicity

		Sum of	df	Mean	F	Sig.
		Squares		Square		
History After Taking Course	Between Groups	0.03	1	0.03	0.13	0.72
	Within Groups	16.09	65	0.25		
	Total	16.12	66			
Treaties After Taking Course	Between Groups	0.01	1	0.01	0.07	0.79
	Within Groups	11.06	65	0.17		
	Total	11.08	66			
Aboriginal Education After Taking Course	Between Groups	0.17	1	0.17	0.66	0.42
	Within Groups	16.58	65	0.26		
	Total	16.75	66			
Current Aboriginal Issues After Taking Course	Between Groups	0.21	1	0.21	0.91	0.34
	Within Groups	13.56	59	0.23		
	Total	13.77	60			
Mean Score on Knowledge Items After Taking Course	Between Groups	0.10	1	0.10	0.65	0.42
	Within Groups	10.19	64	0.16		
	Total	10.29	65			

experiences. After taking the course, however, the levels of knowledge of non-FNMI students increased to the extent that no significant difference was found between the groups. This finding illustrates the growth in non-FNMI student learning as significant in this base-level course but also indicates that FNMI students may need additional enrichment opportunities in order to foster greater learning.

Sources of knowledge by ethnicity. Independent t-tests were also conducted to determine whether there were significant differences in the mean scores between FNMI students and non-FNMI students regarding the sources of

knowledge they use to access information related to FNMI people on a continuum of (1) little to (3) lots. Tables 6 and 7 provide the descriptive statistics and ANOVA results. Findings demonstrate that the mean scores of FNMI students are significantly higher than that of non-FNMI students for accessing knowledge from: (a) newspapers (FNMI = 2.5, non-FNMI = 1.97, $p = 0.035$); (b) university courses (FNMI = 2.33, non-FNMI = 1.74, $p = 0.061$); and (c) for personal interest (FNMI = 2.33, non-FNMI = 1.68, $p = 0.026$). These findings suggest that it is likely that FNMI students are more apt than non-FNMI students to take a personal interest in learning about FNMI issues and actively search out information or at least be more cognizant of information in news media sources and university coursework.

Table 6

Descriptives for Knowledge Sources by Ethnicity

Descriptives							
		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Newspapers	FNMI	6	2.50	0.55	0.22	1.93	3.07
	Non-FNMI	60	1.97	0.58	0.08	1.82	2.12
	Total	66	2.02	0.59	0.07	1.87	2.16
Courses	FNMI	6	2.33	0.52	0.21	1.79	2.88
	Non-FNMI	57	1.74	0.74	0.10	1.54	1.93
	Total	63	1.79	0.74	0.09	1.61	1.98
Personal	FNMI	6	2.33	0.52	0.21	1.79	2.88
	Non-FNMI	59	1.68	0.68	0.09	1.50	1.86
	Total	65	1.74	0.69	0.09	1.57	1.91
School	FNMI	6	1.67	0.82	0.33	0.81	2.52
	Non-FNMI	60	1.62	0.67	0.09	1.44	1.79
	Total	66	1.62	0.67	0.08	1.46	1.79
Media	FNMI	6	2.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	2.00
	Non-FNMI	61	1.90	0.65	0.08	1.74	2.07
	Total	67	1.91	0.62	0.08	1.76	2.06
Friends	FNMI	6	2.17	0.98	0.40	1.13	3.20
	Non-FNMI	60	1.73	0.78	0.10	1.53	1.93
	Total	66	1.77	0.80	0.10	1.58	1.97
Mean Score on Knowledge Sources	FNMI	6	2.71	0.19	0.08	2.51	2.91
	Non-FNMI	60	2.57	0.41	0.05	2.46	2.68
	Total	66	2.58	0.40	0.05	2.49	2.68

Table 7

ANOVA Table (T-Test Results) of Knowledge Sources by Ethnicity

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Newspapers	Between Groups	1.55	1	1.55	4.63	*.035
	Within Groups	21.43	64	0.34		
	Total	22.99	65			
Courses	Between Groups	1.93	1	1.93	3.64	** .061
	Within Groups	32.39	61	0.53		
	Total	34.32	62			
Personal	Between Groups	2.34	1	2.34	5.22	*.026
	Within Groups	28.22	63	0.45		
	Total	30.55	64			
School	Between Groups	0.01	1	0.01	0.03	0.86
	Within Groups	29.52	64	0.46		
	Total	29.53	65			
Media	Between Groups	0.05	1	0.05	0.14	0.71
	Within Groups	25.41	65	0.39		
	Total	25.46	66			
Friends	Between Groups	1.02	1	1.02	1.62	0.21
	Within Groups	40.57	64	0.63		
	Total	41.59	65			
Mean Score of Knowledge Sources	Between Groups	0.10	1	0.10	0.65	0.42
	Within Groups	10.19	64	0.16		
	Total	10.29	65			

* p<.05

** p<0.10

Paired Samples T-Test of Knowledge Items Prior to and After Taking the APC

Finally, paired samples t-tests were conducted on all the knowledge items prior to and after taking the course. Tables 8 – 10 provide the paired samples descriptives statistics and test information. Findings indicated that in all cases, the mean scores of the knowledge items were significantly higher after taking the

course than the mean scores of knowledge items prior to taking the course, with all p-levels at $p = .000$. It must be acknowledged, however, that in this survey, there was no pre-test situation for accessing prior knowledge; rather, students were asked to rate their perceptions of their prior knowledge at the same time as they rated their knowledge levels after taking the course. Therefore, it may not be surprising that respondents rated their knowledge growth significantly higher, so findings should be considered with caution.

Table 8

Paired Samples Statistics on Knowledge Items Prior to and After Taking The APC

Paired Samples Statistics					
		Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Pair 1	History Prior	2.00	67	0.65	0.08
	History After	2.60	67	0.49	0.06
Pair 2	Treaties Prior	1.54	67	0.66	0.08
	Treaties After	2.79	67	0.41	0.05
Pair 3	Education Prior	1.72	67	0.62	0.08
	Education After	2.49	67	0.50	0.06
Pair 4	Issues Prior	2.00	61	0.68	0.09
	Issues After	2.66	61	0.48	0.06
Pair 5	Mean of all Knowledge Items Prior	1.84	66	0.50	0.06
	Mean of all Knowledge Items After	2.58	66	0.40	0.05

Table 9

Paired Samples Test of Knowledge Items Prior to and After Taking The APC

		Paired Samples Test				
		Paired Differences				
		Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
					Lower	Upper
Pair 1	History Prior – History After	-0.60	0.70	0.09	-0.77	-0.43
Pair 2	Treaties Prior – Treaties After	-1.25	0.72	0.09	-1.43	-1.08
Pair 3	Education Prior – Education After	-0.78	0.73	0.09	-0.96	-0.60
Pair 4	Issues Prior – Issues After	-0.66	0.75	0.10	-0.85	-0.46
Pair 5	Mean of Knowledge Items Prior – Mean of Knowledge Items After	-0.75	0.56	0.07	-0.88	-0.61

Table 10

Paired Sample T-Test of Knowledge Items Prior to and After Taking The APC

		Paired Samples Test		
		t	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Pair 1	History Prior – History After	-7.01	66	*.000
Pair 2	Treaties Prior – Treaties After	-14.16	66	*.000
Pair 3	Education Prior – Education After	-8.65	66	*.000
Pair 4	Issues Prior – Issues After	-6.83	60	*.000
Pair 5	Mean of Knowledge Items Prior – Mean of Knowledge Items After	-10.81	65	*.000

*p < 0.01

2010 Survey Findings

The survey during the 2009-2010 academic year was administered in a pre-test/post-test situation. Results are delineated by (a) descriptive statistics (means

and frequencies) on the knowledge items, attitude items and pedagogy items for the total sample, by ethnicity (FNMI or non-FNMI), and by gender (male or female); (b) independent t-tests using ethnicity and gender as independent variables on the knowledge items (using mean scores of percentage correct answers) and the attitude items (using mean scores of the Likert scale from 1-5); and (c) paired sample t-tests of the knowledge and attitude items to determine if there was a change in their understanding prior to and after taking the course. Significance levels of $p < 0.10$ were utilized in all significance tests.

Descriptive Statistics for Pre-Test and Post-Test

Knowledge items. Appendix M offers the frequency and percentage tables, and corresponding bar charts related to the knowledge items of both the pre-test and the post-test. This appendix also presents the same information disaggregated by ethnicity and gender. Though significant differences will be outlined in subsequent sections, students gained high percentages of correct scores (over 80% of the total sample or subgroups) on the pre-test for the following items: (a) *there are at least 5 Aboriginal linguistic groups in Manitoba* (total sample: N=64, 91.4%; FNMI: N=4, 80%; non-FNMI: N=60, 92.3%; males: N=30, 93.8%; females: N=34, 89.5%); (b) *Indian people do not pay taxes when they work in the city* (total sample: N=60, 85.7%; FNMI: N=4, 80%; non-FNMI: N=56, 86.2%; males: N=29, 90.6%; females: N=31, 81.6%); (c) *treaties are an ongoing relationship with all Canadians regarding land* (total sample: N=58, 82.9%; FNMI: N=5, 100%; non-FNMI: N=53, 81.5%; males: N=26, 81.3%; females: N=32, 84.2%); and (d) *First Nations, Metis and Inuit people comprise the fastest growing population in Canada* (total sample: N=64,

91.4%; FNMI: N=4, 80%; non-FNMI: N=60, 92.3%; males: N=29, 90.6%; females: N=35, 92.1%). In addition, FNMI students gained high percentage correct scores (N=4; 80%) for the items, *the term "Indian" is legal term; only registered Indians can live on reserves; band operated schools are under provincial jurisdiction; and, in Manitoba, the majority of Aboriginal people live up north or on the reserve*. There was only one item for which very low scores (under half of the total sample) occurred; this was for the item, *Aboriginal people are under-represented in the criminal justice system* (total sample: N=23, 32.9%; FNMI: N=2, 40%; non-FNMI: N=21, 32.3%; males: N=13, 40.6%; females: N=10, 26.3%). Unfortunately, it may be that the wording of the question caused confusion and in fact may have been intuited in the opposite sense to what was intended.

Post-survey results suggest that high percentage of correct responses occurred for all but three items, including the criminal justice system question which was likely worded ambiguously: (a) *there are at least 5 Aboriginal linguistic groups in Manitoba* (total sample: N=68, 97.1%; FNMI: N=5, 100%; non-FNMI: N=63, 96.9%; males: N=32, 100%; females: N=36, 94.7%); (b) *the term "Indian" is a legal term* (total sample N=65, 92.9%; FNMI: N=5, 100%; non-FNMI: N=60, 92.3%; males: N=30, 93.8%; females: N=35, 92.1%); (c) *Indian people do not pay taxes when they work in the city* (total sample: N=65, 92.9%; FNMI: N=5, 100%; non-FNMI: N=60, 92.3%; males: N=31, 96.9%; females: N=34, 89.5%); *treaties are an ongoing relationship with all Canadians regarding land* (total sample: N=66, 94.3%; FNMI: N=4, 80%; non-FNMI: N=62, 95.4%; males: N=32, 100%; females: N=34, 89.5%); (d) *band operated schools are under provincial jurisdiction* (total sample: N=63, 90%;

FNMI: N=5, 100%; non-FNMI: N=58, 89.2%; males: N=31, 96.9%; females: N=32, 84.2%); and (e) *First Nations, Metis and Inuit people comprise the fastest growing population in Canada* (total sample: N=70, 100%; FNMI: N=5, 100%; non-FNMI: N=65, 100%; males: N=32, 100%; females: N=38, 100%). In addition, FNMI students scored highly for the items, *Indian women gained the right to vote in 1960* (N=5; 100%); *only registered Indians can live on reserves* (N=4; 80%); *in Manitoba, the majority of Aboriginal people live up north or on the reserve* (N=4; 80%). Finally, 84.4% (N=27) males scored correctly on the item, *in Manitoba, the majority of Aboriginal people live up north or on reserve*.

All of these findings support the following conclusions: (a) that knowledge growth did occur over the duration of the course; (b) that FNMI students tend to have more knowledge and experience regarding the content of the course than non-FNMI students prior to and after its duration; and (c) that females tend to have less experience than males (or at least self-declared experience) with FNMI peoples.

Attitude items. Appendix N offers the frequency and percentage tables, and corresponding bar charts related to the attitude items of both the pre-test and the post-test. This appendix also presents the same information aggregated by ethnicity and gender. Respondents were asked to rate their agreement levels from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree) on a number of items that alluded to attitudes towards issues facing FNMI people. Reverse scoring occurred for the items, *I did not sign the treaties, why should I worry about them now?* And *residential schools happened a long time ago, the government apologized so the Aboriginals should just "get over it" and move forward*. High favorable attitudes (whereby over

80% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed) occurred for the following items: (a) *there should be courses like this to develop an understanding of Aboriginal people* (total sample: N=64, 91.4%; FNMI: N=5, 100%; non-FNMI: N=59, 90.7%; males: N=29, 90.6%; females: N=35, 92.1%); and (b) *there should be courses that identify ways to work with all kinds of cultural groups* (total sample: N=65, 92.9%; FNMI: N=5, 100%; non-FNMI: N=60, 92.3%; males: N=28, 87.5%; females: N=37, 97.4%). In addition, FNMI students had high levels of agreement for the items, *I have lots of experience with Aboriginal people in my background* (N=4; 80%); *I did not sign the treaties, why should I worry about them now* (reversed scored, N=4, 80%); and *I would welcome the opportunity to teach in a classroom that has a high number of Aboriginal students* (N=4; 80%). Very low levels of agreement (whereby half or more strongly disagreed or disagreed) occurred for the items: (a) *I have traveled and spent time on a reserve or a community with many Aboriginal people* (total sample: N=39, 55.8%; non-FNMI: N=37, 56.9%; females: N=24, 63.2%); and (b) *I can name at least 10 prominent Aboriginal people* (total sample: N=47, 67.1%; FNMI: N=3, 60%; non-FNMI: N=44, 67.7%; males: N=18, 56.3%; females: N=29, 76.3%).

Similarly to the findings of the pre-test, highly favorable attitudes in the post-test were found for the items: (a) *there should be courses like this to develop an understanding of Aboriginal people* (total sample: N=66, 94.3%; FNMI: N=5, 100%; non-FNMI: N=62, 93.9%; males: N=29, 90.7%; females: N=37, 97.4%); and (b) *there should be courses that identify ways to work with all kinds of cultural groups* (total sample: N=66, 94.3%; FNMI: N=5, 100%; non-FNMI: N=61, 93.8%; males: N=31, 96.9%; females: N=35, 92.1%). In addition, FNMI students had high levels of

agreement for the items, *I have lots of experience with Aboriginal people in my background* (N=4; 80%); *I did not sign the treaties, why should I worry about them now* (reversed scored, N=4, 80%); and *residential schools happened a long time ago, the government apologized so the Aboriginals should just "get over it" and move forward* (reverse scored, N=4, 80%). Low levels of agreement were found for the item, *I have traveled and spent time on a reserve or community with many Aboriginal people* (total sample: N=42, 60%; non-FNMI: N=41, 63%; females: N=27, 71%). Finally, females acknowledged high levels of disagreement for the item, *I have lots of experience with Aboriginal people in my background* (N=20, 52.6%).

All of these findings support similar conclusions to those regarding the knowledge items: (a) that attitudes become more favorable over the duration of the course, though to a lesser extent than knowledge growth; (b) that FNMI students tend to have more favorable attitudes regarding the content of the course than non-FNMI students prior to and after its duration; and (c) that females tend to have less experience than males (or at least self-declared experience) with FNMI peoples which might have an impact on the less favorable attitudes they develop in relation to FNMI peoples.

Pedagogical items. Table 11 offers the frequency and percentage table related to the pedagogic items of both the pre-test and the post-test aggregated by total sample, ethnicity and gender. Respondents were asked to choose no more than three of the pedagogical possibilities for how they learned best about diversity issues. Of the total sample of 70 respondents, the top three responses for the pre-survey included: (a) guest speakers (N=42; 60%); (b) working with students

different from one's self (N=39; 55.7%); and (c) interacting with others outside of class or in the community (N=32; 45.7%). For the post-test, the same top three responses were mentioned, though percentages increased considerably for guest speakers (N=51; 72.9%), and the subsequent two responses switched in their ranking to interacting with others outside of class or in the community (N=35; 50%) and working with students different from one's self (N=34; 48.6%). Between the pre-test and post-test, response rates increased as mentioned previously for the categories of guest speakers and for interacting with others outside of class or in the community, and also for the category of participating in sharing circles (pre-survey N=13, 18.6% to post-survey N=25, 35.7%).

Table 11

Frequency and Percentage Table of Pedagogic Items

	Total Sample Pre-Survey	Total Sample Post-Survey	FNMI Pre-Survey	FNMI Post-Survey	Non-FNMI Pre-Survey	Non-FNMI Post-Survey	Male Pre-Survey	Male Post-Survey	Female Pre-Survey	Female Post-Survey
Working by Myself	10/70 14.3%	8/70 11.4%	0/5 0%	2/5 40%	10/65 15.4%	6/65 9.2%	4/32 12.5%	5/32 15.6%	6/38 15.8%	3/38 7.9%
Working with Similar Students	15/70 21.4%	14/70 20%	1/5 20%	1/5 20%	14/65 21.5%	13/65 20%	9/32 28.1%	4/32 12.5%	6/38 15.8%	10/38 26.3%
Working with Different Students	39/70 55.7%	34/70 48.6%	3/5 60%	3/5 60%	36/65 55.4%	31/65 47.6%	17/32 53.1%	17/32 53.1%	22/38 57.9%	17/38 44.7%
Instructor-led Discussions	23/70 32.9%	16/70 22.9%	1/5 20%	0/5 0%	22/65 33.8%	16/65 24.6%	10/32 31.3%	4/32 12.5%	13/38 34.2%	12/38 31.6%
Instructor Discussions	8/70 11.4%	6/70 8.6%	0/5 0%	1/5 20%	8/65 12.3%	5/65 7.7%	4/32 12.5%	2/32 6.3%	4/38 10.5%	4/38 10.5%
Video	26/70 37.1%	21/70 30%	2/5 40%	2/5 40%	24/65 36.9%	19/65 29.2%	13/32 40.6%	9/32 28.1%	13/38 34.2%	12/38 31.6%
Guest Speakers	42/70 60%	51/70 72.9%	2/5 40%	3/5 60%	40/65 61.5%	48/65 73.8%	19/32 59.4%	24/32 75%	23/38 60.5%	27/38 71%
Interacting Outside Class or in Community	32/70 45.7%	35/70 50%	4/5 80%	2/5 40%	28/65 43%	33/65 50.8%	15/32 46.9%	18/32 56.3%	17/38 44.7%	17/38 44.7%
Sharing Circles	13/70 18.6%	25/70 35.7%	0/5 0%	1/5 20%	13/65 20%	24/65 36.9%	3/32 9.4%	12/32 37.5%	10/38 26.3%	13/38 34.2%

The top three categories of response for FNMI students in the pre-survey included: (a) interacting with others outside of class or in the community (N=4; 80%); (b) working with students different from one's self (N=3; 60%); and (c) equal responses for use of video and guest speakers (N=2; 40%). In the post-survey, the categories with the largest representation included: guest speakers and working

with students different from one's self (N=3; 60%); and equal responses for interacting with others outside of class or in the community, use of video, and working by one's self (N=2; 40%). Categories that increased from the pre-survey to post-survey included working by one's self (pre-survey N=0, 0% to post-survey N=2; 40%); guest speakers (pre-survey N=2, 20% to post-survey N=3, 60%); and instructor lectures and sharing circles (pre-survey N=0, 0% to post-survey N=1, 20%).

In the pre-survey, non-FNMI students indicated their preferences for the following categories: (a) guest speakers (N=40, 61.5%); (b) working with students different from one's self (N=36, 55.4%); and (c) interacting with others outside of class or in the community (N=28; 43%). The same three categories were represented in the post-survey, though with higher scores for guest speakers (N=48, 73.7%), and changes in the order of interacting with others outside of class or in the community (N=33; 50.8%) and working with others different from one's self (N=31, 47.6%). Increases in the categories between the pre-survey and post-survey occurred for guest speakers and interacting outside of class or in the community (mentioned previously), and for sharing circles (pre-survey N=13, 20% to post-survey N=24, 36.9%).

Male students chose the following top categories in the pre-survey: (a) guest speakers (N=19; 59.4%); (b) working with others different from one's self (N=17, 53.1%); and interacting with others outside of class or in the community (N=15; 46.9%). In the post-survey, they chose the same three categories with a large increase for guest speakers (N=24, 75%) and changes in the order for interacting

with others outside of class or in the community (N=18, 56.3%) and working with other students different from one's self (N=17; 53.1%). Increases in category representation between the pre-survey and post-survey occurred for guest speakers, interacting with others outside of class or in the community, sharing circles (pre-survey N=3, 9.4% to post-survey N=12, 37.5%) and working by one's self (pre-survey N=4, 12/5% to post-survey N=5, 15.6%).

The categories most highly represented in the pre-survey for females included: (a) guest speakers (N=23; 60.5%); (b) working with students different from one's self (N=22; 57.9%); and (c) interacting with others outside of class or in the community (N=17; 44.7%). Post-surveys revealed an increase in the responses for guest speakers (N=27; 71%), similar responses for interacting with others outside of class or within the community and working with others different from one's self at N=17 (44.7%) respectively, and the inclusion of sharing circles (N=13; 34.2%). Categories that increased in representation from the pre-survey to the post-survey included guest speakers (mentioned prior), sharing circles (pre-survey N=10, 26.3% to post-survey N=13, 34.2%), and working with students similar to one's self (pre-survey N=6, 15.8% to post-survey N=10, 26.3%).

The above results reflect the idea that some pedagogical strategies tend to be highly favored by the majority of students, regardless of sub-category. These include guest speakers, interacting with others outside of class or in the community, and working with students different from one's self. Also in each case, sharing circles gained in popularity between the pre-test and post-test. These findings reflect an inclination towards a highly relational pedagogy that is grounded in

practice and knowledge sharing within and across diverse groups. Interestingly, however, increases in categories in the post-survey were noted for working by one's self (FNMI and males), instructor lectures (FNMI) and working with students similar to one's self (females). These findings lead me to wonder if there may be more security for FNMI students to work in these ways, particularly when FNMI enrolment numbers are small, and when the instructor takes responsibility for pushing what can sometimes be contentious content. It may also be that these findings reflect a more individualistic learning style preference for males, particularly for content that may be contentious. Finally, these findings may reflect a desire of females to maintain the relational aspects of learning, but with the security of working with others similar to one's self, possibly to avoid conflict or to offer security/agreement of belief on issues that may be contentious.

Independent T-Tests on Knowledge Items for Pre-Test and Post-Test

By ethnicity. Tables 12 and 13 provide the descriptive statistics and the ANOVA results (i.e. independent t-test results) of the pre-test knowledge items by ethnicity. Tables 14 and 15 delineate the same information for the post-test knowledge items. No differences were found in the mean percentage of correct scores on knowledge items between FNMI and non-FNMI scores in the pre-test. In the post-test, the mean scores of FNMI students were significantly higher than those of non-FNMI students for the knowledge item, *Aboriginal people are under-represented in the criminal justice system* (FNMI mean=100; non-FNMI mean=55.38; $p=.052$), and the mean score on the total percentage of correct scores on knowledge items overall was significantly higher for FNMI students than non-FNMI students

(FNMI mean=94; non-FNMI mean=81.85; $p=.021$). It must be noted, however, that findings must be viewed with caution as there were only 5 FNMI students represented in the sample, and 65 non-FNMI students.

Table 12

Descriptive Statistics of Pre-Test Knowledge Items by Ethnicity

		Descriptives					
		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Linguistic Groups	FNMI	5	80.00	44.72	20.00	24.47	135.53
	Non-FNMI	65	92.31	26.85	3.33	85.65	98.96
	Total	70	91.43	28.20	3.37	84.71	98.15
Legal Terminology	FNMI	5	80.00	44.72	20.00	24.47	135.53
	Non-FNMI	65	60.00	49.37	6.12	47.77	72.23
	Total	70	61.43	49.03	5.86	49.74	73.12
Women's' Right to Vote	FNMI	5	60.00	54.77	24.49	-8.01	128.01
	Non-FNMI	65	55.38	50.10	6.21	42.97	67.80
	Total	70	55.71	50.03	5.98	43.78	67.64
Registered Indians On Reserve	FNMI	5	80.00	44.72	20.00	24.47	135.53
	Non-FNMI	65	49.23	50.38	6.25	36.75	61.72
	Total	70	51.43	50.34	6.02	39.43	63.43
Taxes	FNMI	5	80.00	44.72	20.00	24.47	135.53
	Non-FNMI	65	86.15	34.81	4.32	77.53	94.78
	Total	70	85.71	35.25	4.21	77.31	94.12
Treaties	FNMI	5	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	100.00
	Non-FNMI	65	81.54	39.10	4.85	71.85	91.23
	Total	70	82.86	37.96	4.54	73.81	91.91
Provincial Jurisdiction	FNMI	5	80.00	44.72	20.00	24.47	135.53
	Non-FNMI	65	73.85	44.29	5.49	62.87	84.82
	Total	70	74.29	44.02	5.26	63.79	84.78
Fastest Growing Population	FNMI	5	80.00	44.72	20.00	24.47	135.53
	Non-FNMI	65	93.85	24.22	3.00	87.85	99.85
	Total	70	92.86	25.94	3.10	86.67	99.04
Living Up North or On Reserve	FNMI	5	80.00	44.72	20.00	24.47	135.53
	Non-FNMI	65	66.15	47.69	5.91	54.34	77.97
	Total	70	67.14	47.31	5.65	55.86	78.42
Criminal Justice System	FNMI	5	40.00	54.77	24.49	-28.01	108.01
	Non-FNMI	65	32.31	47.13	5.85	20.63	43.99
	Total	70	32.86	47.31	5.65	21.58	44.14

Total Percentage of Correct Scores	FNMI	5	76.00	26.08	11.66	43.62	108.38
	Non-FNMI	65	68.46	13.61	1.69	65.09	71.83
	Total	70	69.00	14.66	1.75	65.50	72.50

Table 13

ANOVA (Independent T-test) of Pre-Test Knowledge Items by Ethnicity

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Linguistic Groups	Between Groups	703.30	1	703.30	0.88	0.35
	Within Groups	54153.85	68	796.38		
	Total	54857.14	69			
Legal Terminology	Between Groups	1857.14	1	1857.14	0.77	0.38
	Within Groups	164000.00	68	2411.77		
	Total	165857.14	69			
Women's Right to Vote	Between Groups	98.90	1	98.90	0.04	0.84
	Within Groups	172615.39	68	2538.46		
	Total	172714.29	69			
Registered Indians on Reserve	Between Groups	4395.60	1	4395.60	1.75	0.19
	Within Groups	170461.54	68	2506.79		
	Total	174857.14	69			
Taxes	Between Groups	175.82	1	175.82	0.14	0.71
	Within Groups	85538.46	68	1257.92		
	Total	85714.29	69			
Treaties	Between Groups	1582.42	1	1582.42	1.10	0.30
	Within Groups	97846.15	68	1438.91		
	Total	99428.57	69			
Provincial Jurisdiction	Between Groups	175.82	1	175.82	0.09	0.77
	Within Groups	133538.46	68	1963.80		
	Total	133714.29	69			
Fastest Growing Population	Between Groups	890.11	1	890.11	1.33	0.25
	Within Groups	45538.46	68	669.68		
	Total	46428.57	69			
Living Up North or On Reserve	Between Groups	890.11	1	890.11	0.39	0.53
	Within Groups	153538.46	68	2257.92		
	Total	154428.57	69			
Criminal Justice System	Between Groups	274.73	1	274.73	0.12	0.73
	Within Groups	154153.85	68	2266.97		
	Total	154428.57	69			
Total Percentage of Correct Scores	Between Groups	263.85	1	263.85	1.23	0.27
	Within Groups	14566.15	68	214.21		

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Linguistic Groups	Between Groups	703.30	1	703.30	0.88	0.35
	Within Groups	54153.85	68	796.38		
	Total	54857.14	69			
Legal Terminology	Between Groups	1857.14	1	1857.14	0.77	0.38
	Within Groups	164000.00	68	2411.77		
	Total	165857.14	69			
Women's Right to Vote	Between Groups	98.90	1	98.90	0.04	0.84
	Within Groups	172615.39	68	2538.46		
	Total	172714.29	69			
Registered Indians on Reserve	Between Groups	4395.60	1	4395.60	1.75	0.19
	Within Groups	170461.54	68	2506.79		
	Total	174857.14	69			
Taxes	Between Groups	175.82	1	175.82	0.14	0.71
	Within Groups	85538.46	68	1257.92		
	Total	85714.29	69			
Treaties	Between Groups	1582.42	1	1582.42	1.10	0.30
	Within Groups	97846.15	68	1438.91		
	Total	99428.57	69			
Provincial Jurisdiction	Between Groups	175.82	1	175.82	0.09	0.77
	Within Groups	133538.46	68	1963.80		
	Total	133714.29	69			
Fastest Growing Population	Between Groups	890.11	1	890.11	1.33	0.25
	Within Groups	45538.46	68	669.68		
	Total	46428.57	69			
Living Up North or On Reserve	Between Groups	890.11	1	890.11	0.39	0.53
	Within Groups	153538.46	68	2257.92		
	Total	154428.57	69			
Criminal Justice System	Between Groups	274.73	1	274.73	0.12	0.73
	Within Groups	154153.85	68	2266.97		
	Total	154428.57	69			
	Between Groups	263.85	1	263.85	1.23	0.27
	Within Groups	14566.15	68	214.21		
	Total	14830.000	69			

Table 14

Descriptive Statistics of Post-Test Knowledge Items by Ethnicity

Descriptives							
		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Linguistic Groups	FNMI	5	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	100.00
	Non-FNMI	65	96.92	17.40	2.16	92.61	101.24
	Total	70	97.14	16.78	2.01	93.14	101.14
Legal Terminology	FNMI	5	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	100.00
	Non-FNMI	65	92.31	26.85	3.33	85.65	98.96
	Total	70	92.86	25.94	3.10	86.67	99.04
Women's Right to Vote	FNMI	5	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	100.00
	Non-FNMI	65	76.92	42.46	5.27	66.40	87.44
	Total	70	78.57	41.33	4.94	68.72	88.43
Registered Indians on Reserve	FNMI	5	80.00	44.72	20.00	24.47	135.53
	Non-FNMI	65	52.31	50.34	6.24	39.84	64.78
	Total	70	54.29	50.18	6.00	42.32	66.25
Taxes	FNMI	5	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	100.00
	Non-FNMI	65	92.31	26.85	3.33	85.65	98.96
	Total	70	92.86	25.94	3.10	86.67	99.04
Treaties	FNMI	5	80.00	44.72	20.00	24.47	135.53
	Non-FNMI	65	95.38	21.15	2.62	90.15	100.62
	Total	70	94.29	23.38	2.79	88.71	99.86
Provincial Jurisdiction	FNMI	5	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	100.00
	Non-FNMI	65	89.23	31.24	3.87	81.49	96.97
	Total	70	90.00	30.22	3.61	82.80	97.20
Fastest Growing Population	FNMI	5	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	100.00
	Non-FNMI	65	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	100.00
	Total	70	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	100.00
Living Up North or On Reserve	FNMI	5	80.00	44.72	20.00	24.47	135.53
	Non-FNMI	65	72.31	45.10	5.59	61.13	83.48
	Total	70	72.86	44.79	5.35	62.18	83.54
Criminal Justice System	FNMI	5	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	100.00
	Non-FNMI	65	55.38	50.10	6.21	42.97	67.80
	Total	70	58.57	49.62	5.93	46.74	70.40

Total Percentage of Correct Scores	FNMI	5	94.00	8.94	4.00	82.89	105.11
	Non-FNMI	65	81.85	11.17	1.39	79.08	84.61
	Total	70	82.71	11.41	1.36	79.99	85.44

Table 15

ANOVA (Independent T-test) of Post-Test Knowledge Items by Ethnicity

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Linguistic Groups	Between Groups	43.96	1	43.96	0.15	0.70
	Within Groups	19384.62	68	285.07		
	Total	19428.57	69			
Legal Terminology	Between Groups	274.73	1	274.73	0.41	0.53
	Within Groups	46153.85	68	678.73		
	Total	46428.57	69			
Women's Right to Vote	Between Groups	2472.53	1	2472.53	1.46	0.23
	Within Groups	115384.62	68	1696.83		
	Total	117857.14	69			
Registered Indians on Reserve	Between Groups	3560.44	1	3560.44	1.42	0.24
	Within Groups	170153.85	68	2502.26		
	Total	173714.29	69			
Taxes	Between Groups	274.73	1	274.73	0.41	0.53
	Within Groups	46153.85	68	678.73		
	Total	46428.57	69			
Treaties	Between Groups	1098.90	1	1098.90	2.04	0.16
	Within Groups	36615.39	68	538.46		
	Total	37714.29	69			
Provincial Jurisdiction	Between Groups	538.46	1	538.46	0.59	0.45
	Within Groups	62461.54	68	918.55		
	Total	63000.00	69			
Fastest Growing Population	Between Groups	0.00	1	0.00	.	.
	Within Groups	0.00	68	0.00		
	Total	0.00	69			
Living Up North or On Reserve	Between Groups	274.73	1	274.73	0.14	0.71
	Within Groups	138153.85	68	2031.67		
	Total	138428.57	69			
Criminal Justice System	Between Groups	9241.76	1	9241.76	3.91	*.052
	Within Groups	160615.39	68	2361.99		
	Total	169857.14	69			
Total Percentage of Correct Scores	Between Groups	685.82	1	685.82	5.62	**0.021
	Within Groups	8298.46	68	122.04		

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Linguistic Groups	Between Groups	43.96	1	43.96	0.15	0.70
	Within Groups	19384.62	68	285.07		
	Total	19428.57	69			
Legal Terminology	Between Groups	274.73	1	274.73	0.41	0.53
	Within Groups	46153.85	68	678.73		
	Total	46428.57	69			
Women's Right to Vote	Between Groups	2472.53	1	2472.53	1.46	0.23
	Within Groups	115384.62	68	1696.83		
	Total	117857.14	69			
Registered Indians on Reserve	Between Groups	3560.44	1	3560.44	1.42	0.24
	Within Groups	170153.85	68	2502.26		
	Total	173714.29	69			
Taxes	Between Groups	274.73	1	274.73	0.41	0.53
	Within Groups	46153.85	68	678.73		
	Total	46428.57	69			
Treaties	Between Groups	1098.90	1	1098.90	2.04	0.16
	Within Groups	36615.39	68	538.46		
	Total	37714.29	69			
Provincial Jurisdiction	Between Groups	538.46	1	538.46	0.59	0.45
	Within Groups	62461.54	68	918.55		
	Total	63000.00	69			
Fastest Growing Population	Between Groups	0.00	1	0.00		
	Within Groups	0.00	68	0.00		
	Total	0.00	69			
Living Up North or On Reserve	Between Groups	274.73	1	274.73	0.14	0.71
	Within Groups	138153.85	68	2031.67		
	Total	138428.57	69			
Criminal Justice System	Between Groups	9241.76	1	9241.76	3.91	*.052
	Within Groups	160615.39	68	2361.99		
	Total	169857.14	69			
	Between Groups	685.82	1	685.82	5.62	**0.021
	Within Groups	8298.46	68	122.04		
	Total	8984.29	69			

- sig <0.10
- sig <0.05

By gender. Tables 16 and 17 provide the descriptive statistics and the ANOVA results (i.e. independent t-test results) of the pre-test knowledge items by gender. Tables 18 and 19 delineate the same information for the post-test knowledge items. There were no significant differences in the mean scores on knowledge items for males and females in the pre-test. However, on the post-test, male scores were significantly higher than that of females for the following items: (a) *treaties are an ongoing relationship with all Canadians regarding land* (male mean=100; female mean=89.47, $p=.060$); (b) *band operated schools are under provincial jurisdiction* (male mean=96.88; female mean=84.21; $p=0.081$); (c) *in Manitoba, the majority of Aboriginal people live up north or on the reserve* (male mean=84.38; female mean=63.16; $p=0.048$); and (d) *the total percentage of correct scores on knowledge items* (male mean=85.63; female mean=80.26, $p=0.049$).

Table 16 Descriptive Statistics of Pre-Test Knowledge Items by Gender

Descriptives							
		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Linguistic Groups	Male	32	93.75	24.59	4.35	84.88	102.62
	Female	38	89.47	31.10	5.05	79.25	99.70
	Total	70	91.43	28.20	3.37	84.71	98.15
Legal Terminology	Male	32	68.75	47.09	8.32	51.77	85.73
	Female	38	55.26	50.39	8.17	38.70	71.83
	Total	70	61.43	49.03	5.86	49.74	73.12
Women's Right to Vote	Male	32	46.88	50.70	8.96	28.60	65.15
	Female	38	63.16	48.89	7.93	47.09	79.23
	Total	70	55.71	50.03	5.98	43.78	67.64
Registered Indians on Reserve	Male	32	50.00	50.80	8.98	31.68	68.32
	Female	38	52.63	50.60	8.21	36.00	69.26
	Total	70	51.43	50.34	6.02	39.43	63.43
Taxes	Male	32	90.63	29.61	5.24	79.95	101.30
	Female	38	81.58	39.29	6.37	68.67	94.49
	Total	70	85.71	35.25	4.21	77.31	94.12
Treaties	Male	32	81.25	39.66	7.01	66.95	95.55
	Female	38	84.21	36.95	5.99	72.06	96.36
	Total	70	82.86	37.96	4.54	73.81	91.91
Provincial Jurisdiction	Male	32	75.00	43.99	7.78	59.14	90.86
	Female	38	73.68	44.63	7.24	59.02	88.35
	Total	70	74.29	44.02	5.26	63.79	84.78
Fastest Growing Population	Male	32	93.75	24.59	4.35	84.88	102.62
	Female	38	92.11	27.33	4.43	83.12	101.09
	Total	70	92.86	25.94	3.10	86.67	99.04
Living Up North or On Reserve	Male	32	75.00	43.99	7.78	59.14	90.86
	Female	38	60.53	49.54	8.04	44.24	76.81
	Total	70	67.14	47.31	5.65	55.86	78.42
Criminal Justice System	Male	32	40.63	49.90	8.82	22.63	58.62
	Female	38	26.32	44.63	7.24	11.65	40.98
	Total	70	32.86	47.31	5.65	21.58	44.14
Total Percentage of Correct Scores	Male	32	70.94	13.53	2.39	66.06	75.81
	Female	38	67.37	15.54	2.52	62.26	72.48

Descriptives							
		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Linguistic Groups	Male	32	93.75	24.59	4.35	84.88	102.62
	Female	38	89.47	31.10	5.05	79.25	99.70
	Total	70	91.43	28.20	3.37	84.71	98.15
Legal Terminology	Male	32	68.75	47.09	8.32	51.77	85.73
	Female	38	55.26	50.39	8.17	38.70	71.83
	Total	70	61.43	49.03	5.86	49.74	73.12
Women's Right to Vote	Male	32	46.88	50.70	8.96	28.60	65.15
	Female	38	63.16	48.89	7.93	47.09	79.23
	Total	70	55.71	50.03	5.98	43.78	67.64
Registered Indians on Reserve	Male	32	50.00	50.80	8.98	31.68	68.32
	Female	38	52.63	50.60	8.21	36.00	69.26
	Total	70	51.43	50.34	6.02	39.43	63.43
Taxes	Male	32	90.63	29.61	5.24	79.95	101.30
	Female	38	81.58	39.29	6.37	68.67	94.49
	Total	70	85.71	35.25	4.21	77.31	94.12
Treaties	Male	32	81.25	39.66	7.01	66.95	95.55
	Female	38	84.21	36.95	5.99	72.06	96.36
	Total	70	82.86	37.96	4.54	73.81	91.91
Provincial Jurisdiction	Male	32	75.00	43.99	7.78	59.14	90.86
	Female	38	73.68	44.63	7.24	59.02	88.35
	Total	70	74.29	44.02	5.26	63.79	84.78
Fastest Growing Population	Male	32	93.75	24.59	4.35	84.88	102.62
	Female	38	92.11	27.33	4.43	83.12	101.09
	Total	70	92.86	25.94	3.10	86.67	99.04
Living Up North or On Reserve	Male	32	75.00	43.99	7.78	59.14	90.86
	Female	38	60.53	49.54	8.04	44.24	76.81
	Total	70	67.14	47.31	5.65	55.86	78.42
Criminal Justice System	Male	32	40.63	49.90	8.82	22.63	58.62
	Female	38	26.32	44.63	7.24	11.65	40.98
	Total	70	32.86	47.31	5.65	21.58	44.14
	Male	32	70.94	13.53	2.39	66.06	75.81
	Female	38	67.37	15.54	2.52	62.26	72.48
	Total	70	69.00	14.66	1.75	65.50	72.50

Table 17 ANOVA (Independent T-test) of Pre-Test Knowledge Items by Gender

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Linguistic Groups	Between Groups	317.67	1	317.67	0.40	0.53
	Within Groups	54539.47	68	802.05		
	Total	54857.14	69			
Legal Terminology	Between Groups	3159.77	1	3159.77	1.32	0.26
	Within Groups	162697.37	68	2392.61		
	Total	165857.14	69			
Women's Right to Vote	Between Groups	4605.73	1	4605.73	1.86	0.18
	Within Groups	168108.55	68	2472.19		
	Total	172714.29	69			
Registered Indians on Reserve	Between Groups	120.30	1	120.30	0.05	0.83
	Within Groups	174736.84	68	2569.66		
	Total	174857.14	69			
Taxes	Between Groups	1421.52	1	1421.52	1.15	0.29
	Within Groups	84292.76	68	1239.60		
	Total	85714.29	69			
Treaties	Between Groups	152.26	1	152.26	0.10	0.75
	Within Groups	99276.32	68	1459.95		
	Total	99428.57	69			
Provincial Jurisdiction	Between Groups	30.08	1	30.08	0.02	0.90
	Within Groups	133684.21	68	1965.94		
	Total	133714.29	69			
Fastest Growing Population	Between Groups	46.99	1	46.99	0.07	0.79
	Within Groups	46381.58	68	682.08		
	Total	46428.57	69			
Living Up North or On Reserve	Between Groups	3639.10	1	3639.10	1.64	0.21
	Within Groups	150789.47	68	2217.49		
	Total	154428.57	69			
Criminal Justice System	Between Groups	3556.86	1	3556.86	1.60	0.21
	Within Groups	150871.71	68	2218.70		
	Total	154428.57	69			
Total Percentage of Correct Scores	Between Groups	221.28	1	221.28	1.03	0.31
	Within Groups	14608.72	68	214.83		
	Total	14830.00	69			

Table 18

Descriptive Statistics of Post-Test Knowledge Items by Gender

Descriptives							
		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Linguistic Groups	Male	32	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	100.00
	Female	38	94.74	22.63	3.67	87.30	102.18
	Total	70	97.14	16.78	2.01	93.14	101.14
Legal Terminology	Male	32	93.75	24.59	4.35	84.88	102.62
	Female	38	92.11	27.33	4.43	83.12	101.09
	Total	70	92.86	25.94	3.10	86.67	99.04
Womens' Right to Vote	Male	32	78.13	42.00	7.42	62.98	93.27
	Female	38	78.95	41.32	6.70	65.37	92.53
	Total	70	78.57	41.33	4.94	68.72	88.43
Registered Indians on Reserve	Male	32	59.38	49.90	8.82	41.38	77.37
	Female	38	50.00	50.67	8.22	33.34	66.66
	Total	70	54.29	50.18	6.00	42.32	66.25
Taxes	Male	32	96.88	17.68	3.13	90.50	103.25
	Female	38	89.47	31.10	5.05	79.25	99.70
	Total	70	92.86	25.94	3.10	86.67	99.04
Treaties	Male	32	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	100.00
	Female	38	89.47	31.10	5.05	79.25	99.70
	Total	70	94.29	23.38	2.79	88.71	99.86
Provincial Jurisdiction	Male	32	96.88	17.68	3.13	90.50	103.25
	Female	38	84.21	36.95	5.99	72.06	96.36
	Total	70	90.00	30.22	3.61	82.80	97.20
Fastest Growing Population	Male	32	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	100.00
	Female	38	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	100.00
	Total	70	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	100.00
Living Up North or On Reserve	Male	32	84.38	36.89	6.52	71.07	97.68
	Female	38	63.16	48.89	7.93	47.09	79.23
	Total	70	72.86	44.79	5.35	62.18	83.54
Criminal Justice System	Male	32	50.00	50.80	8.98	31.68	68.32
	Female	38	65.79	48.08	7.80	49.99	81.59
	Total	70	58.57	49.62	5.93	46.74	70.40

Total Percentage of Correct Scores	Male	32	85.63	9.48	1.68	82.21	89.04
	Female	38	80.26	12.41	2.01	76.18	84.34
	Total	70	82.71	11.41	1.36	79.99	85.44

Table 19

ANOVA (Independent T-test) of Post-Test Knowledge Items by Gender

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Linguistic Groups	Between Groups	481.20	1	481.20	1.73	0.19
	Within Groups	18947.37	68	278.64		
	Total	19428.57	69			
Legal Terminology	Between Groups	46.99	1	46.99	0.07	0.79
	Within Groups	46381.58	68	682.08		
	Total	46428.57	69			
Women's Right to Vote	Between Groups	11.75	1	11.75	0.01	0.94
	Within Groups	117845.40	68	1733.02		
	Total	117857.14	69			
Registered Indians on Reserve	Between Groups	1526.79	1	1526.79	0.60	0.44
	Within Groups	172187.50	68	2532.17		
	Total	173714.29	69			
Taxes	Between Groups	951.60	1	951.60	1.42	0.24
	Within Groups	45476.97	68	668.78		
	Total	46428.57	69			
Treaties	Between Groups	1924.81	1	1924.81	3.66	*.060
	Within Groups	35789.47	68	526.32		
	Total	37714.29	69			
Provincial Jurisdiction	Between Groups	2786.18	1	2786.18	3.15	*.081
	Within Groups	60213.82	68	885.50		
	Total	63000.00	69			
Fastest Growing Population	Between Groups	0.00	1	0.00	.	.
	Within Groups	0.00	68	0.00		
	Total	0.00	69			
Living Up North or On Reserve	Between Groups	7820.02	1	7820.02	4.07	** .048
	Within Groups	130608.55	68	1920.71		
	Total	138428.57	69			
Criminal Justice System	Between Groups	4330.83	1	4330.83	1.78	0.19
	Within Groups	165526.32	68	2434.21		
	Total	169857.14	69			
Total Percentage of Correct Scores	Between Groups	499.42	1	499.42	4.00	** .049
	Within Groups	8484.87	68	124.78		

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Linguistic Groups	Between Groups	481.20	1	481.20	1.73	0.19
	Within Groups	18947.37	68	278.64		
	Total	19428.57	69			
Legal Terminology	Between Groups	46.99	1	46.99	0.07	0.79
	Within Groups	46381.58	68	682.08		
	Total	46428.57	69			
Women's Right to Vote	Between Groups	11.75	1	11.75	0.01	0.94
	Within Groups	117845.40	68	1733.02		
	Total	117857.14	69			
Registered Indians on Reserve	Between Groups	1526.79	1	1526.79	0.60	0.44
	Within Groups	172187.50	68	2532.17		
	Total	173714.29	69			
Taxes	Between Groups	951.60	1	951.60	1.42	0.24
	Within Groups	45476.97	68	668.78		
	Total	46428.57	69			
Treaties	Between Groups	1924.81	1	1924.81	3.66	*.060
	Within Groups	35789.47	68	526.32		
	Total	37714.29	69			
Provincial Jurisdiction	Between Groups	2786.18	1	2786.18	3.15	*.081
	Within Groups	60213.82	68	885.50		
	Total	63000.00	69			
Fastest Growing Population	Between Groups	0.00	1	0.00		
	Within Groups	0.00	68	0.00		
	Total	0.00	69			
Living Up North or On Reserve	Between Groups	7820.02	1	7820.02	4.07	**0.048
	Within Groups	130608.55	68	1920.71		
	Total	138428.57	69			
Criminal Justice System	Between Groups	4330.83	1	4330.83	1.78	0.19
	Within Groups	165526.32	68	2434.21		
	Total	169857.14	69			
	Between Groups	499.42	1	499.42	4.00	**0.049
	Within Groups	8484.87	68	124.78		
	Total	8984.29	69			

- sig <0.10

- sig <0.05

Independent T-Tests on Attitude Items for Pre-Test and Post-Test

By ethnicity. Tables 20 and 21 provide the descriptive statistics and the ANOVA results (i.e. independent t-test results) of the pre-test attitude items by ethnicity. Respondents were asked to agree or disagree with items on a scale of 1=strongly agree to 5 strongly disagree. Tables 22 and 23 delineate the same information for the post-test attitude items. FNMI students were found to have significantly lower mean scores (indicating higher agreement levels) than non-FNMI students for the following items: (a) *I have lots of experience with Aboriginal people in my background* (FNMI mean=2.2; non-FNMI mean=3.18, $p=0.076$); (b) *I would welcome the opportunity to teach in a classroom that has a high number of Aboriginal students* (FNMI mean=2.1; non-FNMI mean=2.56; $p=0.068$); and (c) total mean score on all attitude items (FNMI mean=2.1; non-FNMI mean=2.56; $p=.029$). For the post-test, FNMI mean scores were significantly lower than those of non-FNMI students for the items: (a) *I have lots of experience with Aboriginal people in my background* (FNMI mean=1.8; non-FNMI mean=3.03; $p=.025$); (b) *I have travelled and spent time on a reserve or community with many Aboriginal people* (FNMI mean=2.2; non-FNMI mean=3.63; $p=.023$); and (c) total mean score on all attitude items (FNMI mean=1.85; non-FNMI mean=2.34; $p=.044$). As in the case with knowledge items, the sample size for FNMI students is low; however, the findings demonstrate a general lack of awareness, experience and engagement of non-FNMI students with FNMI people, and less open attitudes towards the issues faced by FNMI peoples as a consequence.

Table 20

Descriptive Statistics of Pre-Test Attitude Items by Ethnicity

		Descriptives					
		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Experiential Background	FNMI	5	2.20	1.64	0.74	0.16	4.24
	Non-FNMI	65	3.18	1.14	0.14	2.90	3.47
	Total	70	3.11	1.20	0.14	2.83	3.40
Courses for Understanding	FNMI	5	1.60	0.55	0.25	0.92	2.28
	Non-FNMI	65	1.75	0.61	0.08	1.60	1.91
	Total	70	1.74	0.61	0.07	1.60	1.89
Spending Time with Aboriginal People	FNMI	5	2.80	1.79	0.80	0.58	5.02
	Non-FNMI	65	3.48	1.43	0.18	3.12	3.83
	Total	70	3.43	1.45	0.17	3.08	3.77
Prominent People	FNMI	5	3.20	1.64	0.74	1.16	5.24
	Non-FNMI	65	3.66	1.07	0.13	3.40	3.93
	Total	70	3.63	1.11	0.13	3.36	3.89
Working with Cultural Groups	FNMI	5	1.40	0.55	0.25	0.72	2.08
	Non-FNMI	65	1.60	0.79	0.10	1.41	1.79
	Total	70	1.59	0.77	0.09	1.40	1.77
Worry About Treaties	FNMI	5	2.00	0.71	0.32	1.12	2.88
	Non-FNMI	65	2.03	0.94	0.12	1.80	2.26
	Total	70	2.03	0.92	0.11	1.81	2.25
Residential Schools	FNMI	5	2.00	1.00	0.45	0.76	3.24
	Non-FNMI	65	2.26	0.87	0.11	2.05	2.48
	Total	70	2.24	0.88	0.11	2.03	2.45
Opportunities to Teach	FNMI	5	1.60	0.89	0.40	0.49	2.71
	Non-FNMI	65	2.35	0.87	0.11	2.14	2.57
	Total	70	2.30	0.89	0.11	2.09	2.51
Mean Score on Attitude Items	FNMI	5	2.10	0.87	0.39	1.02	3.18
	Non-FNMI	64	2.57	0.41	0.05	2.47	2.67
	Total	69	2.53	0.46	0.06	2.42	2.65

Table 21

ANOVA (Independent T-test) of Pre-Test Attitude Items by Ethnicity

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Experiential Background	Between Groups	4.50	1	4.50	3.24	*.076
	Within Groups	94.59	68	1.39		
	Total	99.09	69			
Courses for Understanding	Between Groups	0.11	1	0.11	0.30	0.59
	Within Groups	25.26	68	0.37		
	Total	25.37	69			
Spending Time with Aboriginal People	Between Groups	2.13	1	2.13	1.01	0.32
	Within Groups	143.02	68	2.10		
	Total	145.14	69			
Prominent People	Between Groups	0.99	1	0.99	0.81	0.37
	Within Groups	83.35	68	1.23		
	Total	84.34	69			
Working with Cultural Groups	Between Groups	0.19	1	0.19	0.31	0.58
	Within Groups	40.80	68	0.60		
	Total	40.99	69			
Worry About Treaties	Between Groups	0.00	1	0.00	0.01	0.94
	Within Groups	57.94	68	0.85		
	Total	57.94	69			
Residential Schools	Between Groups	0.32	1	0.32	0.41	0.52
	Within Groups	52.55	68	0.77		
	Total	52.87	69			
Opportunities to Teach	Between Groups	2.64	1	2.64	3.45	*.068
	Within Groups	52.06	68	0.77		
	Total	54.70	69			
Mean Score on Attitude Items	Between Groups	1.02	1	1.02	5.00	** .029
	Within Groups	13.64	67	0.20		
	Total	14.65	68			

*sig <0.10

*sig <0.05

Table 22

Descriptive Statistics of Post-Test Attitude Items by Ethnicity

Descriptives							
		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Experiential Background	FNMI	5	1.80	0.84	0.37	0.76	2.84
	Non-FNMI	65	3.03	1.17	0.15	2.74	3.32
	Total	70	2.94	1.19	0.14	2.66	3.23
Courses for Understanding	FNMI	5	1.40	0.55	0.25	0.72	2.08
	Non-FNMI	65	1.63	0.60	0.08	1.48	1.78
	Total	70	1.61	0.60	0.07	1.47	1.76
Spending Time with Aboriginal People	FNMI	5	2.20	1.30	0.58	0.58	3.82
	Non-FNMI	65	3.63	1.33	0.17	3.30	3.96
	Total	70	3.53	1.37	0.16	3.20	3.86
Prominent People	FNMI	5	2.00	1.00	0.45	0.76	3.24
	Non-FNMI	65	2.88	1.17	0.15	2.59	3.17
	Total	70	2.81	1.17	0.14	2.54	3.09
Working with Cultural Groups	FNMI	5	1.40	0.55	0.25	0.72	2.08
	Non-FNMI	65	1.45	0.73	0.09	1.27	1.63
	Total	70	1.44	0.72	0.09	1.27	1.61
Worry About Treaties	FNMI	5	2.00	0.71	0.32	1.12	2.88
	Non-FNMI	65	1.98	0.84	0.10	1.78	2.19
	Total	70	1.99	0.83	0.10	1.79	2.18
Residential Schools	FNMI	5	2.00	0.71	0.32	1.12	2.88
	Non-FNMI	65	2.18	1.04	0.13	1.93	2.44
	Total	70	2.17	1.02	0.12	1.93	2.41
Opportunities to Teach	FNMI	5	2.00	1.00	0.45	0.76	3.24
	Non-FNMI	65	2.03	0.77	0.10	1.84	2.22
	Total	70	2.03	0.78	0.09	1.84	2.21
Mean Score on Attitude Items	FNMI	5	1.85	0.71	0.32	0.96	2.74
	Non-FNMI	65	2.35	0.51	0.06	2.22	2.47
	Total	70	2.31	0.53	0.06	2.18	2.44

Table 23

ANOVA (Independent T-test) of Post-Test Attitude Items by Ethnicity

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Experiential Background	Between Groups	7.03	1	7.03	5.27	**0.025
	Within Groups	90.74	68	1.33		
	Total	97.77	69			
Courses for Understanding	Between Groups	0.25	1	0.25	0.69	0.41
	Within Groups	24.34	68	0.36		
	Total	24.59	69			
Spending Time with Aboriginal People	Between Groups	9.50	1	9.50	5.39	**0.023
	Within Groups	119.94	68	1.76		
	Total	129.44	69			
Prominent People	Between Groups	3.57	1	3.57	2.67	0.11
	Within Groups	91.02	68	1.34		
	Total	94.59	69			
Working with Cultural Groups	Between Groups	0.01	1	0.01	0.02	0.89
	Within Groups	35.26	68	0.52		
	Total	35.27	69			
Worry About Treaties	Between Groups	0.00	1	0.00	0.00	0.97
	Within Groups	46.99	68	0.69		
	Total	46.99	69			
Residential Schools	Between Groups	0.16	1	0.16	0.15	0.70
	Within Groups	71.79	68	1.06		
	Total	71.94	69			
Opportunities to Teach	Between Groups	0.00	1	0.00	0.01	0.93
	Within Groups	41.94	68	0.62		
	Total	41.94	69			
Mean Score on Attitude Items	Between Groups	1.14	1	1.14	4.21	**0.044
	Within Groups	18.44	68	0.27		
	Total	19.58	69			

**sig <0.05

By gender. Tables 24 and 25 provide the descriptive statistics and the ANOVA results (i.e. independent t-test results) of the pre-test attitude items by gender. Tables 26 and 27 delineate the same information for the post-test attitude items. No significant differences in the mean attitude scores between males and females were found in either the pre-test or post-test scores. Such a finding could demonstrate that significant differences in attitude are more likely to occur based on ethnicity than they are by gender for a course that is deliberately organized around the issues faced by FNMI peoples.

Table 24

Descriptive Statistics of Pre-Test Attitude Items by Gender

Descriptives							
		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Experiential Background	Male	32	2.88	1.13	0.20	2.47	3.28
	Female	38	3.32	1.23	0.20	2.91	3.72
	Total	70	3.11	1.20	0.14	2.83	3.40
Courses for Understanding	Male	32	1.81	0.59	0.11	1.60	2.03
	Female	38	1.68	0.62	0.10	1.48	1.89
	Total	70	1.74	0.61	0.07	1.60	1.89
Spending Time with Aboriginal People	Male	32	3.16	1.44	0.25	2.64	3.68
	Female	38	3.66	1.44	0.23	3.19	4.13
	Total	70	3.43	1.45	0.17	3.08	3.77
Prominent People	Male	32	3.44	1.08	0.19	3.05	3.83
	Female	38	3.79	1.12	0.18	3.42	4.16
	Total	70	3.63	1.11	0.13	3.36	3.89
Working with Cultural Groups	Male	32	1.75	0.95	0.17	1.41	2.09
	Female	38	1.45	0.56	0.09	1.26	1.63
	Total	70	1.59	0.77	0.09	1.40	1.77
Worry About Treaties	Male	32	1.94	0.91	0.16	1.61	2.27
	Female	38	2.11	0.92	0.15	1.80	2.41
	Total	70	2.03	0.92	0.11	1.81	2.25
Residential Schools	Male	32	2.16	0.85	0.15	1.85	2.46
	Female	38	2.32	0.90	0.15	2.02	2.61
	Total	70	2.24	0.88	0.11	2.03	2.45
Opportunities to Teach	Male	32	2.31	0.97	0.17	1.96	2.66
	Female	38	2.29	0.84	0.14	2.01	2.56
	Total	70	2.30	0.89	0.11	2.09	2.51
Mean Score on Attitude Items	Male	32	2.44	0.50	0.09	2.26	2.62
	Female	37	2.61	0.42	0.07	2.47	2.75
	Total	69	2.53	0.46	0.06	2.42	2.65

Table 25

ANOVA (Independent T-test) of Pre-Test Attitude Items by Gender

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Experiential Background	Between Groups	3.38	1	3.38	2.40	0.13
	Within Groups	95.71	68	1.41		
	Total	99.09	69			
Courses for Understanding	Between Groups	0.29	1	0.29	0.78	0.38
	Within Groups	25.09	68	0.37		
	Total	25.37	69			
Spending Time with Aboriginal People	Between Groups	4.37	1	4.37	2.11	0.15
	Within Groups	140.77	68	2.07		
	Total	145.14	69			
Prominent People	Between Groups	2.15	1	2.15	1.78	0.19
	Within Groups	82.19	68	1.21		
	Total	84.34	69			
Working with Cultural Groups	Between Groups	1.59	1	1.59	2.75	0.10
	Within Groups	39.40	68	0.58		
	Total	40.99	69			
Worry About Treaties	Between Groups	0.49	1	0.49	0.58	0.45
	Within Groups	57.45	68	0.85		
	Total	57.94	69			
Residential Schools	Between Groups	0.44	1	0.44	0.57	0.45
	Within Groups	52.43	68	0.77		
	Total	52.87	69			
Opportunities to Teach	Between Groups	0.01	1	0.01	0.01	0.92
	Within Groups	54.69	68	0.80		
	Total	54.70	69			
Mean Score on Attitude Items	Between Groups	0.52	1	0.52	2.45	0.12
	Within Groups	14.14	67	0.21		
	Total	14.65	68			

Table 26

Descriptive Statistics of Post-Test Attitude Items by Gender

Descriptives							
		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Experiential Background	Male	32	2.72	1.09	0.19	2.33	3.11
	Female	38	3.13	1.26	0.20	2.72	3.54
	Total	70	2.94	1.19	0.14	2.66	3.23
Courses for Understanding	Male	32	1.66	0.65	0.12	1.42	1.89
	Female	38	1.58	0.55	0.09	1.40	1.76
	Total	70	1.61	0.60	0.07	1.47	1.76
Spending Time with Aboriginal People	Male	32	3.25	1.44	0.25	2.73	3.77
	Female	38	3.76	1.28	0.21	3.34	4.18
	Total	70	3.53	1.37	0.16	3.20	3.86
Prominent People	Male	32	2.63	1.19	0.21	2.20	3.05
	Female	38	2.97	1.15	0.19	2.60	3.35
	Total	70	2.81	1.17	0.14	2.54	3.09
Working with Cultural Groups	Male	32	1.44	0.56	0.10	1.23	1.64
	Female	38	1.45	0.83	0.13	1.18	1.72
	Total	70	1.44	0.72	0.09	1.27	1.61
Worry About Treaties	Male	32	2.03	1.00	0.18	1.67	2.39
	Female	38	1.95	0.66	0.11	1.73	2.16
	Total	70	1.99	0.83	0.10	1.79	2.18
Residential Schools	Male	32	2.09	1.06	0.19	1.71	2.48
	Female	38	2.24	1.00	0.16	1.91	2.56
	Total	70	2.17	1.02	0.12	1.93	2.41
Opportunities to Teach	Male	32	2.06	0.76	0.13	1.79	2.34
	Female	38	2.00	0.81	0.13	1.74	2.26
	Total	70	2.03	0.78	0.09	1.84	2.21
Mean Score on Attitude Items	Male	32	2.23	0.54	0.10	2.04	2.43
	Female	38	2.37	0.52	0.08	2.20	2.55
	Total	70	2.31	0.53	0.06	2.18	2.44

Table 27

ANOVA (Independent T-test) of Post-Test Attitude Items by Gender

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Experiential Background	Between Groups	2.96	1	2.96	2.12	0.15
	Within Groups	94.81	68	1.39		
	Total	97.77	69			
Courses for Understanding	Between Groups	0.10	1	0.10	0.29	0.59
	Within Groups	24.48	68	0.36		
	Total	24.59	69			
Spending Time with Aboriginal People	Between Groups	4.57	1	4.57	2.49	0.12
	Within Groups	124.87	68	1.84		
	Total	129.44	69			
Prominent People	Between Groups	2.11	1	2.11	1.55	0.22
	Within Groups	92.47	68	1.36		
	Total	94.59	69			
Working with Cultural Groups	Between Groups	0.00	1	0.00	0.00	0.96
	Within Groups	35.27	68	0.52		
	Total	35.27	69			
Worry About Treaties	Between Groups	0.12	1	0.12	0.18	0.68
	Within Groups	46.86	68	0.69		
	Total	46.99	69			
Residential Schools	Between Groups	0.36	1	0.36	0.34	0.56
	Within Groups	71.59	68	1.05		
	Total	71.94	69			
Opportunities to Teach	Between Groups	0.07	1	0.07	0.11	0.74
	Within Groups	41.88	68	0.62		
	Total	41.94	69			
Mean Score on Attitude Items	Between Groups	0.34	1	0.34	1.20	0.28
	Within Groups	19.24	68	0.28		
	Total	19.58	69			

Paired Samples T-Test on Knowledge Items for Pre-Test and Post-Test

Tables 28 – 30 provide the paired samples T-Test findings on the knowledge item scores for the pre-test and post-test. Post-test mean scores on the percentage of correct knowledge items were significantly higher than mean scores on the pre-test for the following items: (a) *the term "Indian" is a legal term* (pre-survey mean=61.42; post-survey mean=92.85; p=.000); (b) *Indian women gained the right to vote in 1960* (pre-survey mean=55.71; post-survey mean=78.57; p=.003); (c) *treaties are an ongoing relationship with all Canadians regarding land* (pre-survey mean=82.85; post-survey mean=94.28; p=.031); (d) *band operated schools are under provincial jurisdiction* (pre-survey mean=74.28; post-survey mean=90; p=.007); (e) *First Nations, Metis and Inuit people comprise the fastest growing population in Canada* (pre-survey mean=92.85; post-survey mean=100; p=.024); (f) *Aboriginal people are under-represented in the criminal justice system* (pre-survey mean=32.85; post-survey mean=58.57; p=.000); and (g) the mean score across all knowledge items (pre-survey mean=69; post-survey mean=82.71; p=.000). This finding demonstrates that significant knowledge growth occurred for six of the 10 knowledge items tested in the pre-test to post-test situation, which suggests that growth in base-level knowledge does occur over the duration of the APC.

Table 28

Paired Samples Statistics on Pre-Test and Post-Test Knowledge Items

Paired Samples Statistics					
		Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Pair 1	Pre-Survey Linguistic Groups	91.43	70	28.20	3.37
	Post-Survey Linguistic Groups	97.14	70	16.78	2.01
Pair 2	Pre-Survey Legal Terminology	61.43	70	49.03	5.86
	Post-Survey Legal Terminology	92.86	70	25.94	3.10
Pair 3	Pre-Survey Womens' Right to Vote	55.71	70	50.03	5.98
	Post-Survey Womens' Right to Vote	78.57	70	41.33	4.94
Pair 4	Pre-Survey Registered Indians On Reserve	51.43	70	50.34	6.02
	Post-Survey Registered Indians On Reserve	54.29	70	50.18	6.00
Pair 5	Pre-Survey Taxes	85.71	70	35.25	4.21
	Post-Survey Taxes	92.86	70	25.94	3.10
Pair 6	Pre-Survey Treaties	82.86	70	37.96	4.54
	Post-Survey Treaties	94.29	70	23.38	2.79
Pair 7	Pre-Survey Provincial Jurisdiction	74.29	70	44.02	5.26
	Post-Survey Provincial Jurisdiction	90.00	70	30.22	3.61
Pair 8	Pre-Survey Fastest Growing Population	92.86	70	25.94	3.10
	Post-Survey Fastest Growing Population	100.00	70	0.00	0.00
Pair 9	Pre-Survey Living Up North or On Reserve	67.14	70	47.31	5.65
	Post-Survey Living Up North or On Reserve	72.86	70	44.79	5.35
Pair 10	Pre-Survey Criminal Justice System	32.86	70	47.31	5.65

	Post-Survey Criminal Justice System	58.57	70	49.62	5.93
Pair 11	Pre-Survey Mean Knowledge Score	69.00	70	14.66	.1.752
	Post-Survey Mean Knowledge Score	82.71	70	11.41	1.36

Table 29

Paired Samples Test on Pre-Survey and Post-Survey Knowledge Items

Paired Samples Test						
		Paired Differences				
		Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
					Lower	Upper
Pair 1	PreLG – PostLG	-5.71	28.92	3.46	-12.61	1.18
Pair 2	PreLT – PostLT	-31.43	49.76	5.95	-43.29	-19.56
Pair 3	PreWRV – PostWRV	-22.86	61.79	7.39	-37.59	-8.12
Pair 4	PreRI – PostRI	-2.86	56.39	6.74	-16.30	10.59
Pair 5	PreTaxes – PostTaxes	-7.14	46.07	5.51	-18.13	3.84
Pair 6	PreTreaties – PostTreaties	-11.43	43.55	5.21	-21.81	-1.04
Pair 7	PrePJ – PostPJ	-15.71	47.05	5.62	-26.93	-4.50
Pair 8	PrePop – PostPop	-7.14	25.94	3.10	-13.33	-0.96
Pair 9	PreLive – PostLive	-5.71	61.11	7.30	-20.29	8.86
Pair 10	PreCJS – PostCJS	-25.71	55.65	6.65	-38.98	-12.44
Pair 11	PreMeanKnowledge – PostMeanKnowledge	-13.71	14.16	1.69	-17.09	-10.34

Table 30

Paired Samples T-Test on Pre-Survey and Post-Sample Knowledge Items

Paired Samples Test				
		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Pair 1	PreLG – PostLG	-1.65	69	0.10
Pair 2	PreLT – PostLT	-5.28	69	** .000
Pair 3	PreWRV – PostWRV	-3.10	69	** .003
Pair 4	PreRI – PostRI	-0.42	69	0.67
Pair 5	PreTaxes – PostTaxes	-1.30	69	0.20
Pair 6	PreTreaties – PostTreaties	-2.20	69	** .031
Pair 7	PrePJ – PostPJ	-2.80	69	** .007
Pair 8	PrePop – PostPop	-2.30	69	** .024
Pair 9	PreLive – PostLive	-0.78	69	0.44
Pair 10	PreCJS – PostCJS	-3.87	69	** .000
Pair 11	PreMeanKnowledge – PostMeanKnowledge	-8.10	69	** .000

*sig <0.10

**sig <0.05

Paired Samples T-Test on Attitude Items for Pre-Test and Post-Test

Tables 31-33 provide the paired samples T-Test findings on the attitude item scores for the pre-test and post-test. Findings indicate that the post-survey mean attitude item scores were significantly lower than pre-test scores (indicating more favorable attitudes) for the following items: (a) *there should be courses like this to develop an understanding of Aboriginal people* (pre-test mean=1.74; post-test mean=1.61, $p=.095$); (b) *I can name at least 10 prominent Aboriginal people* (pre-test mean=3.63; post-test mean=2.81; $p=.000$); (c) *I would welcome the opportunity to teach in a classroom that has a high number of Aboriginal students* (pre-test mean=2.3; post-test mean=2.03; $p=.007$); and (d) mean attitude score across all attitude items (pre-test mean=2.53; post-test mean=2.29; $p=.000$). The fact that there were less items for which there were significant differences may indicate that it remains more difficult to change overall attitudes within the confines of a single course in a single semester than it is to foster growth in knowledge. However, the fact that the overall mean attitude scores were significantly different suggests that student attitudes have improved overall and provides evidence of the need for a course for teachers whose backgrounds may not support the theoretical, practical or experiential knowledge and attitudes necessary for working with increasing numbers of Aboriginal students.

Table 31

Paired Samples Statistics on Pre-Test and Post-Test Attitude Items

Paired Samples Statistics					
		Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Pair 1	Pre-Survey Experiential Background	3.11	70	1.20	0.14
	Post-Survey Experiential Background	2.94	70	1.19	0.14
Pair 2	Pre-Survey Courses for Understanding	1.74	70	0.61	0.07
	Post-Survey Courses for Understanding	1.61	70	0.60	0.07
Pair 3	Pre-Survey SpendingTime with Aboriginal People	3.43	70	1.45	0.17
	Post-Survey SpendingTime with Aboriginal People	3.53	70	1.37	0.16
Pair 4	Pre-Survey Prominent People	3.63	70	1.11	0.13
	Post-Survey Prominent People	2.81	70	1.17	0.14
Pair 5	Pre-Survey Working with Cultural Groups	1.59	70	0.77	0.09
	Post-Survey Working with Cultural Groups	1.44	70	0.72	0.09
Pair 6	Pre-Survey Worry About Treaties	2.03	70	0.92	0.11
	Post-Survey Worry About Treaties	1.99	70	0.83	0.10
Pair 7	Pre-Survey Residential Schools	2.24	70	0.88	0.11
	Post-Survey Residential Schools	2.17	70	1.02	0.12
Pair 8	Pre-Survey Opportunities to Teach	2.30	70	0.89	0.11
	Post-Survey Opportunities to Teach	2.03	70	0.78	0.09
Pair 9	Pre-Survey Mean Attitude Score	2.53	69	0.46	0.06
	Post-Survey Mean Attitude Score	2.30	69	0.52	0.06

Table 32

Paired Samples Tests on Pre-Test and Post-Test Attitude Items

Paired Samples Test						
		Paired Differences				
		Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
					Lower	Upper
Pair 1	PreExper – PostExper	0.17	0.90	0.11	-0.04	0.39
Pair 2	PreCourses – PostCourses	0.13	0.64	0.08	-0.02	0.28
Pair 3	PreTime – PostTime	-0.10	1.21	0.14	-0.39	0.19
Pair 4	PrePromPeople – PostPromPeople	0.81	1.21	0.14	0.53	1.10
Pair 5	PreCulGroups – PostCulGroups	0.14	1.03	0.12	-0.10	0.39
Pair 6	PreWorry – PostWorry	0.04	1.08	0.13	-0.22	0.30
Pair 7	PreResSchools – PostResSchools	0.07	1.09	0.13	-0.19	0.33
Pair 8	PreTeach – PostTeach	0.27	0.82	0.10	0.08	0.47
Pair 9	PreMeanAttitude - PostMeanAttitude	0.24	0.40	0.05	0.14	0.33

Table 33

Paired Samples T-Test on Pre-Test and Post-Test Attitude Items

Paired Samples Test				
		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Pair 1	PreExper – PostExper	1.59	69	0.12
Pair 2	PreCourses – PostCourses	1.69	69	*.095
Pair 3	PreTime – PostTime	-0.69	69	0.49
Pair 4	PrePromPeople - PostPromPeople	5.64	69	**0.000
Pair 5	PreCulGroups - PostCulGroups	1.17	69	0.25
Pair 6	PreWorry – PostWorry	0.33	69	0.74
Pair 7	PreResSchools - PostResSchools	0.55	69	0.59
Pair 8	PreTeach – PostTeach	2.79	69	**0.007
Pair 9	PreMeanAttitude - PostMeanAttitude	4.95	68	**0.000

*sig < 0.10

**sig < 0.05

Summary

Chapter four has provided the descriptive and comparative statistical analysis of data for the 2009 and 2010 pre-test and post-test questionnaires by total sample, and disaggregated by ethnicity and gender. Chapter five will outline the findings of the open-ended questions from these surveys as well as the qualitative data from interviews and field notes.

Chapter 5

Qualifying The Elephant

This chapter will present the qualitative data findings from the teachers interviewed who had completed the APC in March 2009 and had completed their first year of teaching at the time of the interview. School and participant characteristics, the interview process and the data findings will be presented. In qualitative research, the language derived from the transcribed interviews acts as the data, which the researcher can then utilize for the purposes of analysis. Lichtman (2006) suggests that when writing about the qualitative findings, “a first person voice be used because it is engaging, it brings the reader into the story and it acknowledges your role as the researcher” (p. 180). A prominent Aboriginal scholar, Archibald (2008) relates the value of utilizing stories as powerful teaching and learning tools when she states, “Indigenous storywork brings the heart, mind, body, and spirit together for quality education” (p. 153). As such, I will honour Lichtman and Archibald and present the findings using story, the first person perspective and the data that originated from the interviews, and the various field memos representing various steps in the research journey.

Participant Characteristics

For this research, the 10 teachers were interviewed using the interview protocol (Appendix D). Table 34 shows the codes for how school size, geography of the school and grade level were defined. Table 35 shows the characteristics of the teachers in terms of ethnicity, gender, age, grade level taught and kind of school system.

Table 34

Codes Used to Characterize the Places Where Teachers Taught

School Size	Small – under 200 students	Large – over 200 students	
Geographical Location of School	Remote: limited road accessibility	Rural: small community, farming based	Urban: identified as a city
Grade level	Early: K-Gr. 4	Middle: Gr. 5-8	Senior: Gr. 9-12

As the quantitative data was analyzed in terms of gender and ethnicity, I purposefully chose five male and five female teachers to interview from those who responded to the email request for participation. A limitation with the interview data is that I had only one FNMI teacher (10%), Nathan, {pseudonym} respond to the request for participation. This is not unlike the numbers found in the statistical data of Chapter 4 where there were only 6 of the 67 or 11% of FNMI participants in the 2009 survey and 5 of the 70 or 7% of FNMI participants in the 2010 pre and post course survey. This is also similar to the statistics which indicate that Aboriginal or FNMI teachers occupy 1 488 or approximately 10% of the total Manitoba teaching population (*Aboriginal Teachers Questionnaire Report, 2009*). I can conclude that the interview sample is representative of the actual teacher demographic that exists in the province in terms of FNMI and non-FNMI characteristics.

Table 35

Characteristics of Teachers Interviewed Who Completed the APC

Interview code	Ethnicity	Gender	Age	Grade level	Kind of school
Bill	Non-FNMI	Male	Mid 20's	Middle/Senior phys.ed, math	Remote, small, provincial
Harry	Non-FNMI	Male	Early 30's	Senior alternative	Small, rural, Provincial/band
Robert	Non-FNMI	Male	Early 30's	Senior sciences/chemistry	Large, urban, provincial
Kathy	Non-FNMI	Female	Late 40's	Early/middle	Urban, large, provincial
Carol	Non-FNMI	Female	Mid 20's	Music- two schools	Rural, small, provincial
Brenda	Non FNMI	Female	Mid 20's	Senior English, home. economics	Rural, large, provincial
Dave	Non FNMI	Male	Mid 20s	Senior Math, Science	Rural, large, provincial
Shelley	Non FNMI	Female	Late 30's	Middle all subjects	Rural, small, provincial
Nathan	FNMI	Male	Late 30's	Phys. Ed K-8	Rural, small, Band operated
Linda	Non FNMI	Female	Mid 20's	Senior English	Large, urban, provincial

Teaching And School Context

As previously noted, nine of the 10 teachers were employed in provincial school systems. Five females and five males were interviewed. Nathan, the sole FNMI interview participant, was a male physical education teacher who worked in a small K-8 Band or locally controlled school with less than 200 students. This teacher is in his late 30's and is considered to be a traditional man in that he annually travels the pow wow dancing circuit, he speaks English as his second language, and he was raised by his grandparents therefore he knows the traditional values and stories. As such, analysis of his interview transcript necessitated sensitivity to the fact that his

responses are not as clear and straightforward as are those who have spent their entire lives embodied in western world ways, thinking and language.

The remaining nine teachers were all employed in provincially controlled school systems. One interesting contextual development was that Harry was employed in an alternative high school classroom where there was a proposed partnership between the provincial school division and the local band authority. As of the time of the interview in mid-November, the negotiations had been completed but the final paperwork had not yet been signed, leaving Harry in an off-campus environment that he described as “being in a life raft” that is “basically the last stop for students who through poor choices had not been able to succeed in a regular classroom.” Although there are 49 students registered in this alternative classroom, the attendance on any given day is approximately 18-22 students. The students in this alternative classroom are registered with the goal of completing the Mature Student Program, essentially eight courses, four at the Grade 12 level and four courses at other grade levels. The teacher indicated that the students were at varying levels of academic abilities, many had experienced both behavior and attendance problems and all were registered to study using the self directed learning courses which are an independent, module type of learning. A major responsibility of this teacher was to assess and assign individual students with the starting point for the learning modules, then to guide, coach and monitor their progress.

Three teachers were employed in small, under 200-student population; rural and provincially controlled school systems. Two teachers taught high school

courses in large, rural, provincially operated high schools. Two teachers taught high school subjects in large, urban, provincially operated high schools and one teacher taught Gr. 6-12 Physical Education to FNMI students in a small, remote, provincially operated school system. When describing their teaching context, much of what the teachers reported resonates with existing statistics (Battiste & McLean, 2005; Cappon, 2008; Richards, 2008) that show FNMI students exhibiting vast ranges of academic abilities within a particular grade level. For example, it is not uncommon, according to Dave to “see students in a grade level that are four to five years behind their peers so if you had a Grade 9 ELA class, you might have kids who were reading at a grade four level.” Other teachers said that there are high numbers of FNMI students in the Grade 9 mathematics, English and Sciences classes as described by Brenda who said, “we see a bottleneck in the Grade 9’s and 10’s but they routinely do not make it to the Grade 12 classes.” These novice teachers were challenged by the apparent sporadic attendance of FNMI students at the middle and high school levels. And in the big picture, such attendance patterns most likely contributed to the wide range of academic abilities that are also being cited as a challenge for teaching FNMI students in provincial school systems.

Interview Process

The interviews were scheduled at the convenience of the teachers’ schedules and took place in a variety of venues with the most popular venue being the teacher's classroom. The interviews ranged in time from 48 to 75 minutes, which resulted in the transcriptions ranging from five to 21 pages. The interview transcriptions averaged 14 pages in length.

There were technological difficulties with one interview, with the transcription being five pages long, conducted with Carol, who was teaching in a provincially controlled school outside of Manitoba with a high number of FNMI students from two local reserves. This particular participant was one of the first to respond to the email participation request but the distance and professional commitments of both the participant and the researcher made it difficult to schedule a face-to-face interview. As such, we decided that it was feasible to conduct the interview using SKYPE, an Internet videophone call. I emailed the letter of consent and we chose a mutually convenient time to conduct the SKYPE call. During the first few minutes of the interview, all seemed to be going well but the participant lives in a rural area and has ExploreNet as her Internet service provider. The ExploreNet bandwidth is often squeezed due to high usage volume; therefore, we lost both the video and audio connection several times. Though we were both committed to conducting the interview, after about 20 minutes of troubleshooting technology, the participant requested, "Perhaps the questions could just be emailed to her." I emailed the interview protocol to her, and she completed the questions and emailed them back within an hour. Although her emailed responses answered the questions, the data are not as rich as they may have been had we been able to conduct a face-to-face interview or even an interview whereby SKYPE would have worked for the duration. I contemplated not using this data and conducting another interview but when I re-read the responses given, I thought that the responses were sufficient to be considered as a valid data source.

The other nine interviews were recorded using a digital recorder then transcribed by me, the researcher, verbatim. As per the confidentiality agreement, any data that could potentially indicate who the participant was or where they worked was removed at time of transcription. I used the NVivo, computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software to organize and sort the data of the transcriptions into emergent, consensus, supported and individual themes.

Exploratory Analysis – 1st Reading

The following section will present findings from the exploratory analysis whereby the interview transcripts were read with the lens of identifying emergent themes, patterns and potential categories. The process involved two readings of the transcripts. The first reading acted to re-familiarize me with the text and language of the interviews. During the second reading, I began noting general emergent themes and phrases that could be used to exemplify the themes or patterns. Table 36 illustrates the themes or patterns identified, the number of participants who spoke to those themes and the number of references made regarding the themes. The exploratory analysis indicated that the teachers were most likely to discuss the challenges that they had in terms of implementing FNMI perspectives or addressing the needs of FNMI students in their current teaching context and least likely to discuss attitude changes that they had as a result of taking the APC.

Table 36
Exploratory Analyses – Emergent Themes

Theme	# of interviews this theme was identified	# of references
Challenges for implementation of FNMI perspectives and content	10	130
What teachers remember learning	10	41
Classroom Context	10	29
Importance of FNMI perspectives in the classroom	9	31
Suggestions or recommendations	9	29
FNMI implementation supports	8	23
Value of the course	7	24
Philosophy of teaching	7	16
What teachers wish they had learned	7	25
Teaching subject	6	8
Attitude change	5	12

This chart represents the beginning of the inductive process whereby the initial sifting and sorting of the large chunks of data begins. This process is described as being iterative by Lichtman (2006) because the process of qualitative data analysis involves several stages or steps to establish findings.

Analytical Analysis- 3rd Reading

During the third reading episode using an analytic analysis lens, I began with the 10 codes identified as a result of merging and clarifying some of the themes from the exploratory analysis episode, and from the questions that were asked as per the interview protocol. Analysis of the textual references associated with the emergent codes demonstrated an overlap in terms of where particular references might best fit. Therefore, I defined each theme on a note card and had these themes

prominently displayed as I conducted the second analysis. I found that this helped me to sort the data represented by the textual chunks of the interviews into more specific themes. Findings that show the themes, the number of interviews where these themes were identified, and the number of references per theme are displayed in Table 37.

The second analysis shows more references made for almost all (90%) of the general themes from the first reading with the exception being the theme “what the teachers wish they had learned.” This is most likely due to the fact that I coded the data in a more systematic, precise manner during the second analysis as opposed to the first analysis where I was beginning with no predetermined criteria but rather looking for what was emerging from the data. For example, when I compared the data banks for “what teachers wished they had learned” I noted that in the initial coding, I was combining recommendations with wishes. In the second coding using the 10 codes from the first analysis, I looked specifically for those places where participants used the words “wished,” with the result being more specificity in the coding.

Table 37

3rd Reading Transcripts – Themes

Theme	# of interviews this theme was identified	# of references made to support this theme
Challenges for implementing FNMI perspectives	10	146
Recommendations made by teachers	10	74
What teachers remember learning	10	59
How teachers integrated FNMI perspectives	10	50
Perceived value of the APC	9	40
Implications of context on teaching FNMI perspectives and students	9	32
Supports for implementing FNMI content and perspectives	9	32
Beliefs about teaching	8	46
Attitude change	7	15
What teachers wish they had learned in the APC	6	12

There also was a discrepancy between the initial and second coding in both the number of references made and the number of participants who responded to the questions of “teaching context” and “school content.” In the initial coding, I ended up categorizing several of the comments made for teaching context as school context and vice versa. The 2nd coding for these categories seemed to help me be more specific with data categorization.

Specific Findings After 2nd Coding

The constant comparison method of data analysis initially identified by Glaser and Straus (1967) has been used as the gold standard for the analysis of qualitative

research findings. Lincoln and Guba (1985, p. 335) cite Goetz and LeCompte (1981) in describing the process and characteristics of constant comparison by saying that constant comparison:

Combines inductive category coding with a simultaneous comparison of all social incidents observed. As social phenomena are recorded and classified, they are also compared across categories. Thus, the discovery of relationships, that is, hypothesis generation begins with the analysis of initial observations undergoes continuous refinement throughout the data collection and analysis process, and continuously feeds back into the process of category coding. As units are constantly compared with previous events, new typological dimensions as well as new relationships may be discovered. (Goetz & Lecompte, 1981, p.58)

Following this process for the second coding, I further delineated the major themes so that sub-themes were identified from the data found in the interviews. In the following section, I will first present the findings related to the implications of context on implementing FNMI perspectives in the classroom and teaching FNMI students. Following that, I will present the findings related to the remaining nine themes with the largest theme, that of perceived challenges to implementing FNMI content, perspectives and working with FNMI students being discussed first.

Implications Of Context For Teaching FNMI Perspectives And Students

Attendance was a central theme identified by all seven high school teachers interviewed when they discussed their teaching context. The two teachers who did not identify attendance as an issue in their teaching context were Nathan, the male

FNMI physical education teacher and Carol, the female itinerant music teacher who worked at two small, provincial schools, both of which had high numbers of FNMI students. One potential explanation for this might be that both teachers were specialty teachers who would see multiple classes during the course of their teaching day. Given their teaching schedules with high numbers of students, these specialty teachers may be less apt to notice the attendance issues of individual students. The other explanation might be that the smaller nature of their schools offered more opportunity for the FNMI students to feel as if they belonged and were an integral part of the school community; therefore there were no attendance issues to report.

When describing the school context of where they taught with regards to FNMI students and FNMI content integration, two teachers in large, rural high schools, Brenda and Dave, made comments that reflect the demographic tsunami (Helin, 2006) and the high drop out rates of FNMI students as reported in *Census Report on the Aboriginal Peoples in Canada* (2006). They spoke of how “the FNMI school population in the last five years has went from 10% to 60%.” Linda, a teacher in a large, urban high school noted that, “there are high numbers {25-40%} of Aboriginal students in Grade Nine but as the years progress, the numbers decline.” Robert, a high school science teacher in a large urban high school said, “Some of the big struggles were attendance, getting them to class, and when they are in class, getting them involved in class.”

Engec (2006) and Rumberger (2003) have cited the transient and mobile nature of students as being a disadvantage to the academic achievement of students.

With specific reference to FNMI students, Shelley, a middle years teacher at a small, rural school noted that the Aboriginal population in her school and community was high but transient because “it is a low rental community so they {Aboriginal families} come in looking for housing and often come from another small town. They have heard from a friend or family member that they can rent a home here pretty cheap so they come but then they leave because they can’t afford to pay the rent and get chased out of the house so they have to move to yet another community and then it becomes a revolving door for these kids.”

Linda, teaching in a large, urban high school unequivocally stated that, “I just see that it {Aboriginal perspectives and students} are not a priority for lots of teachers and for teachers who have been here for awhile.” Interestingly enough, when asked to make either specific course related recommendations or generic recommendations to improve the academic success of FNMI students, this same teacher suggested “mandatory professional development for teachers who had not taken the course,” which included those teachers who were already teaching at the time when the ministerial mandate was made for the APC.

In speaking about their school content and integrating FNMI content and perspectives, five teachers noted that they felt that this was a contentious issue given the school and community context. For example, Dave, teaching in a large, rural high school said that, “it is tough to teach the understanding and acceptance of other cultures in an area where everyone is so set in their ways, for generations... they {community members} always blame Aboriginal people for the things that go bad in this area.” Linda, teaching in a large urban high school simply stated that, “I

don't feel that this is something that I have seen as a priority." Another teacher, Kathy, in a middle years, large urban school spoke about her hesitancy or perhaps fear of integrating FNMI content and perspectives into the curriculum when she stated that, "I think sometimes the challenges are being scared of being overheard by the European majority {other teachers}. They might wonder what and why I am saying something and not know the context." Robert, the science teacher in a large urban high school said that, " there is no focus right now on that {the integration of FNMI content and perspectives} even though it has been thrown into meetings that it should be a part of our school plan and I really think that is should be. Our demographics scream that we should be doing that.... There is a tension between the kids {FNMI and non-FNMI} and there are a number of altercations now, it is a growing problem." Shelly, in a small, rural middle years school indicated that she felt nervous about integrating Aboriginal content because she feared, for example, that the students would "go home and say, Mrs.--- said that they stole kids from the homes and put them in schools that were like jails then the parents would come and say, What is she {this teacher} thinking and what is she teaching?" Analysis of these comments suggest that the schools and community context is riddled with both mistrust of FNMI people and incorrect information or knowledge about FNMI people, content and perspectives. The result of this creates a teaching context whereby the novice teachers know the value and rationale for incorporating and integrating FNMI content and perspectives into their teaching but are hesitant to do so.

Challenges For Implementing FNMI Perspectives

This theme was discussed the most by all 10 teachers interviewed in that 146 textual references regarding perceived challenges were coded from the interview transcripts during the second analytic sequence. Given that this was such a high number, I conducted two additional readings to further distil and categorize the perceived findings which developed into the following subthemes: personal teaching challenges, materials and resources, barriers encountered by FNMI students, jurisdictional issues, and the ...isms perceived by teachers.

Personal teaching challenges. This theme related to the 12 comments made by nine of the 10 teachers who spoke about their personal teaching situation in that they are, as Bill noted, “first year teachers just trying to survive.” Brenda extended this notion by saying that “time restraints in learning how to teach the range of subjects was a huge challenge.” Many high school teachers felt threatened by the exams that were, Linda said, “constantly looming over our heads.” Robert summarized his perception of where he was at as a new teacher by saying, “It was just trying to survive, now I am comfortably on a life preserver and am trying to get into the raft.” The majority of the comments made in this category were related to common concerns of new teachers as they adjust to the realities of their careers and try to find the balance between delivering expected curriculum content and teacher autonomy. My experience as a teacher educator has shown me that first year teachers, regardless of where they are teaching, feel an incredible amount of personal pressure as they attempt to meet their professional obligations. Thus these

comments could potentially be applicable to the integration of any topic and not specifically directed at FNMI content, knowledge and students.

Materials and resources. The comments made by seven teachers who identified resources as a challenge to implementing FNMI content, knowledge and perspectives were typically directed at the lack of pre-packaged units that were available for specific high school subject areas. For example, Linda suggested that “there is not a lot out there {units} and you can create your own obviously but that is a big job and I feel like a lot of teachers won’t {do this} on their own, if they don’t have it right there.” Bill, when discussing the materials and resources said, “the stuff is there but you gotta look for it and this can be frustrating because then you look at how much work it would take and say to yourself, ‘I don’t know if I can do this.’” Nathan stated that, “when the resources aren’t there, we{the teachers} just go day by day.”

Two teachers, Shelley and Kathy, both of whom were middle years teachers, identified that finding materials relating to FNMI content and students was not that as great of a challenge as was that locating age appropriate materials that identified the sensitive issues when attempting to implement FNMI content, issues and history. For example, Shelley stated that, “In university, I was in the high school stream so I focused most of my resources there and now, I struggle to find those materials that I can use for the younger kids like how do I talk to them about stereotypes and have materials at their age level. That is where I struggle... I want to do those things but don’t have the resources.”

Barriers encountered by FNMI students. All 10 teachers interviewed identified various barriers that FNMI students encountered that had a direct negative impact on academic success. These teachers suggested that often the barriers were beyond the individual student or teacher's control, yet still impeded the academic success of FNMI students. Robert addressed the concept of barriers that FNMI students faced when he stated, "because there may be some underlying things going on that are not in their control. They may want to come to school but there may be barriers that teachers are not aware of." Another high school teacher, Brenda, noted that "it becomes a vicious circle because we have kids through no fault of their own, are so far behind because the bus is broken or whatever, the kid wants to go to school but then they end up so far behind that they just give up." Shelley, Brenda and Dave all noted that FNMI students had to travel long distances to attend the provincial school and that there were times when the busses did not run for days at a time.

Three teachers from rural high schools mentioned that FNMI students often had a lot of family responsibilities that tended to detract from their ability to focus on academic pursuits. For example, FNMI students who were bussed from the reserve to the town school often had to do errands such as picking up pharmacy prescriptions to support their families back on the reserve. In doing these errands, these particular students often were late returning to school after the lunch hour creating a situation where the FNMI students were then penalized by the school attendance or punctuality policies. To add to the finding of attendance issues, interviewees also noted that when high school students missed several days of

school at a time, either there were no phones or the parents were not available for contact.

Shelley, a high school English teacher, noted that she had students in her class who lived in home placements in the city because the reserve where they lived did not have a high school program. This particular teacher noted, and her voice cracked as she spoke that, “they {the two FN students} are only 14 and are so far from home and in a big school. My heart just hurts for them.” In Shelley’s case, some of the transience of First Nations families occurred because she worked in a community where rent was cheap so families tended to come and go in order to secure housing. She noted that often times, she had First Nations or Metis students in her middle years classroom who had attended three or four schools within that particular academic year, a situation that caused these particular student to fall behind academically and simply not be in any one school long enough to feel safe on a social or emotional level.

The range in abilities whereby large numbers of FNMI students were operating several years behind their grade level placement was mentioned by nine of the teachers interviewed. Three teachers went on to express frustration because they spoke about how they spent considerable time and energies modifying the course requirements so that the FNMI students could “catch up” when they returned to school but then the students either moved or did not return to class. Bill noted that even though he had studied individual education planning and adaptations while at university, “we never really learned how to incorporate the extremes... having a 19 year old with the reading level of a Grade Six student or even lower.”

Three teachers identified the barrier that high numbers of FNMI students came to school hungry. To address this problem, Harry purchased snack foods and fruit on his way to school every morning so that he could provide the students with food. He mentioned that he was awaiting the school division's support for a lunch program but that jurisdictional issues and tensions between the provincial school division and the local reserve seemed to be impeding this.

Bill, the only teacher who spoke about language as being a barrier, was teaching in a remote, northern provincially controlled school system. He noted language because the families spoke Innu at home and yet the school program was offered in English.

The social and economic barriers identified by the 10 teachers are nothing new as they have been widely represented in the literature over the past 30 years (Fallon & Mangan, 2009; Indian Tribes of Manitoba, 1971; Pacquette, White & Beavon, 2009).

Jurisdictional issues. Comments made by nine of the 10 teachers interviewed spoke to various jurisdictional issues that impede both the implementation of FNMI content and knowledge into school curricula and the integration of FNMI students such that they meet academic success. These comments can be separated into three categories: relationships between the school and local reserve education authority, funding, and transportation.

Three teachers expressed frustration by discussing how the apparent lack of communication between the school and the local education authorities directly affected their ability to fully integrate FNMI students and implement FNMI content

into their teaching. Dave, teaching in a large, rural high school noted, “When the bills were not paid such that the students could be transported to school on a regular basis, the students suffered.” Bill spoke about how he followed the school protocols in making several attempts to engage members from the reserve community with his students but that the lack of communication systems seemed to stall those attempts. He suggested that perhaps there was a tension between the provincial school system and the local education authority that contributed to this communication breakdown but he felt powerless to do more.

The Isms perceived by teachers. I have named this category the ... isms because when I teach the APC, I use the term “theism” to refer to the range of stereotypes that some people hold which serve to marginalize others. As the critical race literature (Brown, 1995; Schick & St. Denis, 2003; Sleeter, 1991) indicates, many whitestream student teachers practise a form of color-blindness or whitewashing (Denis, 1997; MacIntosh, 1988; Sleeter, 1991); therefore, are reluctant to acknowledge that racism is present in Canadian society because for the most part, these student teachers have not experienced racism. The majority of the student teachers have experienced, either personally or vicariously, other forms of marginalization such as sexism, homophobia, or, age-ism in that they have been stereotyped because of their youth. When the student teachers are able to identify, acknowledge and relate to situations when marginalization has occurred because of an ...ism, then they seem to be more prepared to acknowledge and identify that racism is present in our society and of course, in our schools. The ism terminology seems to act as a bridge to beginning the sensitive discussions where the “elephant

in the classroom” is identified and acknowledged. And, interestingly enough, several of the teachers interviewed referred to the term “the isms” as we had used it in the APC when they were discussing challenges that they faced.

Shelley, an urban high school teacher, when speaking about some of the experiences that she had as she attempted to confront the negative stereotyping of FNMI people in a media analysis unit, noted that “yes, there are some {ummm – pause} how to say it, you know there are some of these {ummm – pause} biases or I guess racism would be the term in our country and {pauses} but that is what it is, people don’t want to talk about it I sure see that with teachers and even {ummm – pause} family.” At the conclusion of the interview, when this teacher was asked for words of wisdom or advice, she stated, “Just that it is very important to acknowledge and without sounding cheesy, to celebrate that we have more than the two official cultures {referring to English and French}, we have a culture that was here long before any other and it is old and it has gotten beaten down.” This was the same teacher who strongly recommended that practicing teachers be obligated to participate in teachings and professional development aimed at addressing FNMI content, histories, worldviews and pedagogies.

Robert, a teacher in a large, urban high school, when discussing some of his frustrations around the attitudes that his colleagues displayed about FNMI students suggested that, “some of these people are not even aware or want to be aware of the issues faced by FNMI students and if they were, then maybe they would be better prepared to try to answer some of the tough challenges we face.” He went on to say further in the interview that, “we have such a large school, a large student body and

no one {teachers} wants to talk about it... no one has the answer and no one wants to talk about the real issues under this.”

Kathy, a middle years teacher in an urban school spoke about her fear of being overheard by colleagues when she was teaching some of the FNMI content because she said that “some of them hold resentments and I was scared for some of the students in the classrooms when I heard the resentments that the teachers were talking about... I would hear the sentiments that ‘it is time to get out of the pity basket’ and things like that, ‘time to move forward’, whatever.” These comments suggest that this teacher actually fears the racist beliefs that she feels are held by some of her colleagues at school.

Brenda and Dave, the two teachers working in a large rural high school, discussed that whereas they had a Metis principal and colleagues who were very supportive of FNMI students and curricula, they felt a degree of tension with some of the support staff, the students and the community. Dave specifically said that “it is still a community very much dominated by I guess you would say, red neck type of people that seem to want to make it difficult to teach any different perspective in school... I find there is quite a bit of ignorance in the non-Aboriginal population about this... it can sure be an eye opener for us teachers when they {meaning the community} gets all mad at us for trying to teach about the different perspectives.”

Shelley, a middle years teacher in a small rural community noted that “I live in a community where they have very negative attitudes towards Aboriginal people... it is tough because I have to be conscious of how I am presenting things so that no one gets upset or takes it the wrong way.”

Recommendations Made By Teachers

All 10 teachers made a total of 74 recommendations sorted according to those directed at the policy makers, those directed at school systems and those directly related to the design and implementation of the ARP.

Policy recommendations. Of the 74 recommendations identified by the 10 teachers, 28 or 38% of these comments were directed at the policies that potentially impact what is happening in schools and universities. The most prominent recommendation made by eight teachers was that the mandate for this course be continued; four of these teachers even suggested that the mandate be extended to include more courses as a means to better prepare teachers for Manitoba classrooms. Linda and Brenda suggested that it was important that practicing teachers be required to enroll in and complete mandatory professional development courses that addressed FNMI content, history, pedagogies and students. Linda further suggested that “we have mandatory on-line courses for harassment and things like that, they {the teachers who did not have the APC} could take those either on-line or in professional development sessions.”

Brenda and Shelley suggested that we {not defined as any one particular jurisdiction) need to develop ways to make schools more welcoming for FNMI students and their families. Both of these teachers spoke about the challenges that they had in contacting and involving parents with the educational process. Both of these teachers also spoke to systemic societal issues such as poverty, mobility and unemployment that might potentially cause some FNMI parents to feel dis-engaged with the public education system. Shelley even recounted recent parent teacher

interviews and said that, “the parents did not come in even though they had booked appointments I think it may be that they were probably intimidated by the school system but I wanted so badly to tell them about the great things I saw from their kids.”

Three teachers made comments regarding the financial inequities that exist and impede the academic success of FNMI students. Brenda and Dave, both teaching in large rural high schools noted that there were times when the students from the local reserves did not attend school because the busses were not working. Dave specifically noted, “yeah, I understand that there are those transfer payments but then there are the agreements that the school division will pick up the kids but then the bill is not paid so the school division stops running the buses.” Dave went on to say that it is difficult to create those opportunities for FNMI to meet academic success when “it all boils down to money ... need to figure out how to level the playing field.” Robert suggested that the tension that he observed between the FNMI and non-FNMI students in the large, urban high school where he taught could most likely be reduced if there were more opportunities available for FNMI students to participate in the visible school activities such as student council, sports, choir and drama, but he noted that for this to happen, funding would have to be made available to support them.

Three teachers recommended that a mentorship program be developed where new teachers such as themselves could be assisted with not only the content but also the community specific cultural knowledge that they felt were required. In fact, the majority of teachers interviewed made reference to being surprised by

some aspect of FNMI cultural activities or practices during their first year of teaching. For example, Brenda recounted an experience where she had been invited to a baby shower before the birth of the baby and was quite nervous about attending because in her experience, baby showers were always held after the birth of the baby. She felt that a mentor might have been able to help her understand this different practice, which she deemed to be related to culture. Another teacher Robert, spoke about his surprise when he attended a funeral in the community for the first time and realized that the body of the deceased would be present in the home on the night before the funeral.

The final two recommendations were directed at the need for FNMI content to be integrated into all education courses. Robert said “I had taken some --- courses at university but with FNMI kids, it seems as if what I learned just does not work. I feel as if I am talking to the wall so maybe it makes sense if all profs could integrate some FNMI content and ideas.” Another teacher, Dave, talked about the need for the government, by way of the curriculum development, to ensure that FNMI content is in all areas because he said that “sure there is lots in English Language Arts and Social Studies but what about the specialty subject areas, music, chemistry?”

Course directed recommendations. Seventeen recommendations were made by the 10 teachers interviewed that focus on the course delivery but which are beyond the scope of the individual instructor in that they would require program, financial or time resources. Dave, the only teacher of the 10 interviewed, suggested that the APC be revised and taught with the lens that all cultures were addressed. Brandon University used to have a course entitled *Curriculum as Cultural Awareness*

that was considered to be a core or required course prior to the APC being mandated, that addressed curriculum as cultural awareness. In order to meet program requirements, that particular course was relegated to elective status.

The second category of comments relates to place based education, that is, having a portion of the classes taught in an authentic learning environment as opposed to a university classroom. One teacher felt that the teachings of the course would be enhanced if a portion of the course were taught either on the land or in a First Nations setting. Bill acknowledged that this would cost money but said that other courses and professions had fees above and beyond the tuition fees and those kinds of fees could be levied to ensure that the resources were there for the course. His suggestion was “send us or take us as a group somewhere that there is a high Aboriginal population... we could spend time in the school seeing what it was like, maybe do a couple of lessons and the teacher would guide us... attend a sweat, a pow wow, hear some Elders talk about the things and the stories we heard in class.” In a similar vein, Dave suggested that “make one of the field experiences mandatory either on a reserve or in a school where there was a high number of Aboriginal students.... That way we could really see what it was like.” The notion of place-based teaching was mentioned by four of the teachers and can perhaps best be summarized by the comment Bill made “but if you can hear it {the story} in an authentic atmosphere, then it makes for an entirely different learning process.” The concept of place based education characterized as being multidisciplinary, emerging from the attributes of place, and connecting the self with community, is promoted by

a number of scholars (Cajete, 1994, Smith & Williams, 1999) and, true to the findings of this study, seems to be another idea worthy of pursuit.

The issues of time in terms of the 50 minute class period, four times per week for eight and a half weeks was raised by five teachers who felt that this time was simply not long enough. Kathy stated that, but we need more time... more time for the classes so that we can get some of those very basic understandings before the class is over... the time for each class should be longer particularly if we are fairly green {meaning they do not know much about FNMI content, knowledge or students} so then we can spend more time learning and talking about these things.”

Six teachers made the recommendation that there should be more than one course that taught about FNMI content, worldviews and pedagogies. In fact, even the male FN teacher, Nathan, indicated that he did not have the background knowledge at the start of the course because “most of my courses {university courses} had no background knowledge of Aboriginal content so I/we had to learn all of that plus what we had to do about planning and units.” Carol made reference to the fact that the majority of the student teachers were of non-FNMI ancestry and said, “There is too much of a gap there, especially for those young teachers who come from nice, city places or “mainstream places” to learn this in one three credit hour course, there simply is not enough time.” Shelley suggested that, “it could be offered in two parts; like the first one could be the actual content and stuff like history and sensitivity and the structures but then the second one could be the Aboriginal resources and the curriculum development.” These comments seem to

support the statistical analysis that shows that non FNMI student teachers entering the courses have little knowledge about FNMI content, histories or pedagogies.

School directed recommendations. Eight of the 10 teachers made recommendations regarding what they thought could be done at their schools. Although three of these recommendations spoke directly to having Aboriginal professional staff members, either in teaching or liaison positions, the majority of the recommendations were directed at making changes to existing structures such that some of the barriers faced by FNMI students could be overcome. For example, Bill noted that, “high school courses should be delivered in modules so that if kids are away for family or community reasons, they would be able to catch up when they get back.” Another high school teacher, Dave, indicated that there should be “changes made to the bussing systems that would allow FNMI students to participate in after school activities such as sports and drama teams.” This particular teacher talked about the range of benefits and positive consequence that he had observed when he made travel arrangements that enabled two First Nations students to join the volleyball team at his high school. Two other teachers spoke about the need to have breakfast programs available for the students because many of them had long bus rides and were coming to school hungry. Linda a teacher in a large urban high school made a comment, that “This {FNMI content and students} are not a priority for staff and it should be.” These school specific recommendations range from organizational issues like timetabling and bus schedules to extra programs like hot lunch or breakfast programs to recommendations that support the theme of this thesis, whereby teachers must acknowledge the elephant in the

classroom, and that FNMI students, content and knowledge be made a priority in our public schools.

Curriculum development within the APC. Six teachers made recommendations relating to curriculum development. These comments ranged from having more time to develop large units to having the opportunity to develop short, five minute lessons within the course and receive feedback from their peers on those lessons. The comments of Kathy probably best summarizes the recommendations made by the other teachers in this particular area and that is, “we needed more time for the actual curriculum development and of course, we did that but as a scramble job. Not sure how to do this because we had those speakers and they were valuable. Hard choice to make!” Yet another teacher, Dave, re-iterated the comment about curriculum development when he said, “We needed that other stuff, the history and perspectives part but we got real rushed in the end to do the curriculum part.” Bill suggested that the course be planned such that students could use time in class to develop short five minutes lessons as a means to be able to further the skills related to “thinking on their feet.”

Packaged units to be available for teachers. Six of the 10 teachers indicated that they would like to have prepared and packaged units available for them to teach because they noted that whereas they had the desire to implement FNMI content, knowledge and perspectives into their teaching, they found the act of designing the curriculum in addition to their other teaching responsibilities to be onerous in terms of time and energy. Robert indicated that, “if it were there {units already developed} then I think it would be a lot easier for teachers to walk in and

say, 'here is what I can teach, here is the materials, here is the package.'" Another high school teacher, Dave, indicated that, "as a new teacher, it takes a lot of work and time to get to know your own teaching area so if there were some already prepared units for the different subject areas, that would probably help make sure that teachers were integrating this stuff {FNMI content, knowledge} on a regular basis and not just as a one shot deal from the unit we developed for you." Interestingly enough, the six teachers who recommended that packaged units with FNMI content and knowledge be made available were all high school teachers.

Resources to be made available after the course. Half of the teachers interviewed recommended that it would be valuable to their planning and implementation of FNMI content and knowledge if they had a way to access both the instructor provided and student generated materials after the course was over. Linda said, "yeah, like do a Tweet or something like that when there is a new unit or material posted... just make it real easy for teachers to access." Robert suggested that, "the creation of the units we did was real good. Finding a way to get them all together would be useful. Like in a concrete way such as building a cd or a website would be really useful." In fact, I tried addressing this within the course by utilizing an internal website whereby students were encouraged to submit their integrated unit plans and resource portfolios so that these could be accessed by their peers. About half of the students in the courses submitted their materials; the other half of the students did not. This recommendation remains worthy of pursuit because there exists various kinds of technology available, but it does mean that instructors need to be familiar with technology and copyright law.

Develop a course to address all cultures. Dave, a high school teacher in a rural community recommended that there be a course for all cultures instead of just Aboriginal perspectives because as he stated, “yes, the Aboriginal population is growing and possibly going to be the majority down the road so I can see why it was the focus but at the same time, we have so many different immigration numbers popping up everywhere, and people are moving to smaller communities in Manitoba.” This recommendation has caused me to re-analyze this particular transcript several times because of the contradictory nature of this comment in light of this teacher’s apparent willingness to engage in implementing FNMI perspectives and content into his teaching and by his sincerity in providing access to FNMI students on the extra curricular sports teams that he coached. Although Dave seems to base his recommendation on the recent immigration trends in Manitoba, his comment may also be reflective of a subtle resistance to the concept of FNMI education and/or its unique status within the educational environment within Canada and Manitoba.

What Teachers Remember Learning From The APC

When the 10 teachers were asked what they remembered from the course they had completed a year before, 59 different responses were generated which focused on FNMI pedagogies, attitudinal changes or challenges, resources and materials, FNMI content and a variety of miscellaneous memories reflective of meaningful learning.

FNMI pedagogies. All 10 teachers made 20 recommendations regarding the FNMI pedagogies that they recalled experiencing. Seven participants mentioned the

talking or sharing circle the most as a teaching strategy. Most participants spoke about their memory of the talking circle in sentiments as expressed by Linda who said that, “there was something very special about that and about really listening to people.” Two teachers spoke specifically about how they implemented the talking or sharing circle to their classrooms. Shelly noted that, “I have done that {the talking circle} in class a couple of times and it sure gets all of those students who maybe would not speak in a normal, hands up format, they tend to keep quiet but doing the talking circle, they always have something to say and it is just the prompt that they need. I like that, I use that.”

Four teachers remembered to plan for the integration of FNMI content, knowledge and worldview with the four pillars of Aboriginal education: respect, relevance, reciprocity and responsibility. These teachers spoke generically about how these four pillars were characteristic of effective differentiated instructional techniques they had been taught to do in other subject areas but that they had not realized that these were also FNMI education characteristics.

Five teachers recalled how they remembered the show and tell activity in which all student teachers participated. During this activity, groups had to present their units in what I termed a “show and tell.” I chose this format because the limited time did not allow for students to present the entire unit and resource package they had developed. Therefore, I asked students to choose material as if they were doing a show and tell back in Grade one, and present on what five pieces they might talk about to their peers. Although half of the teachers recalled the show and tell as something they remembered from the course. Nathan said that, “it {show and tell}

seemed silly at first because you called it show and tell, sort of like what little kids do but we all seemed to like it. And we were proud because we got to choose how to do it, you left it pretty open to us.”

Attitudes challenged or changed. In this theme, the 10 teachers interviewed made 12 different references. The attitudes identified ranged from an understanding and recognition of the treaties as identified by Linda who said that, “I never considered myself to be a treaty person but a treaty is two-sided so just that realization is important.” Harry recalled learning about the relational part of teaching when he stated that he learned about “not being scared to be human with the kids, of course, to also respect that there are boundaries.” Robert spoke about recognizing the invisible barriers that might challenge some FNMI students and said that, “so when I have some issues like attendance, I am not generally blaming the students but I am looking for ways to get them back in class.” Brenda recalled how her attitude shifted after viewing the video on residential school when she said that, “they told stories that were good and some, not so good and just hearing those stories gave me a different perspective on how they might view the different things that teachers and schools have done.” A poignant sentiment from one teacher who spoke about remembering learning things in the course that caused him to shift his attitude about FNMI people, content and knowledges was made as he talked about the inequities generated by the existing jurisdiction and funding formulas for FNMI students and non-FNMI students. Dave said, “it seemed like it was theory that you were teaching but you were not kidding, it was real and although I didn’t think of it that way at the time, we sure see those results or consequences of the funding

differences every single day when we go to work.” And yet another teacher, Shelley made a pragmatic statement about what she remembered learning in that teachers must “build it {school experiences} into a positive situation for the kids who perhaps have felt they have been dumped on their whole life and give them value in the classrooms, that is what I brought away from there {the APC}.”

A number of attitudinal changes were previously noted in the theme “perceived value of the course” therefore, in order not to appear redundant, suffice to say that the 10 teachers who were interviewed all noted some form of attitudinal change either in the perceived value of the course or in what they remembered learning.

Resources. All 10 teachers identified a wide variety of resources that they obtained in the APC. For example, teachers noted the maps, posters, articles, web resources and on-line curricula and support documents that they can use to support their teaching. In the beginning of both years when I taught this course, I recall student teachers making the comment that, “I teach music or I teach math” and I would really like to integrate FNMI content, perspective but there are no resources available.” This became my prompt to flood these student teachers with the range of print, audio and visual resources that are available at the various libraries and on-line sites. I would do this by posting a forum to the internal Moodle site that I use to support my teaching, that say something like, “For all of you music folks or for all of you math dweebs (the words the student teachers used to describe themselves) here are some resources you might consider using....”. And, I would include a wide range of materials directed at their specialty area that were easily accessible for

their teaching and planning use. Dave noted, when speaking about resources, that “I did not realize that there was so much out there that was dedicated to teaching Aboriginal students.” Bill noted “just the amount of information that you can find in a relatively short time is really useful for us teachers... It is encouraging that there is information out there that you can access.” The references made in this category seem to support the notion that perhaps student teachers went into the course believing that there was little material available but then, over the course delivery period, found that there did exist a growing body of materials directed specifically at integrating FNMI content into all subject areas.

Content knowledge of FNMI history, perspectives or worldview. All 10 teachers interviewed made reference to a variety of FNMI content or knowledge that they recall learning in the course. It is important to note that the majority of students who took the course in both years of the research did not have much background or knowledge with FNMI people, content, knowledge or pedagogies. However, a year later, they all recall learning about the treaties, residential schools, cultural differences, jurisdiction, the *Indian Act* and historical events as well as the different perspectives regarding how these events have been perceived and presented in both historical and contemporary curricula.

Miscellaneous memories. This category is comprised of the variety of individual and supported themes identified by the teachers interviewed. For example, six of the 10 teachers mentioned that the course was full in terms of content and activities and that, as Kathy noted, “I remember feeling that it was really full, we had to do lots of work and assignments and we often ran out of time.” With

regards to the time allocated for the APC, Shelley noted that, “I remember we would just be getting into things and everyone would be excited and then the class would be over.” Brenda noted that she remembered the “sense of community that was created in the classroom and that is something I try to re-create in my classroom, to varying degrees of success depending on the age group. Trying to make it {the classroom} feel as if it is a safe place.” In her interview, Brenda went on to explain that the sense of community where everyone felt safe was crucial in being able to talk about some of the tough issues around the –isms and privilege that were deconstructed as part of the course content and activities.

How Teachers Integrated FNMI Content, Knowledge and Worldviews

All 10 teachers identified a variety of ways that they had incorporated FNMI content into their subject area teaching. As previously noted, the majority of the teachers interviewed taught in senior high school therefore the subjects are often taught as stand-alone subject areas organized into departments. In fact, often the common departmental groupings are reflected in the manner in which the student teachers are grouped in their teachables while studying in the Faculty of Education at Brandon University. At the Faculty of Education, I typically teach courses that are directed at those students who have middle and senior school teachables and have the goal of becoming high school teachers.

Robert spoke of how he developed and taught an entire Astronomy unit in Grade 9 Science that incorporated Aboriginal content and perspectives. This teacher stated, “I geared the unit to Aboriginal stories and how the stars relate to stories and we did a whole bunch of those legends and they did some huge projects

so rather than just focusing on the mainstream science, we looked at some of the cultural aspects. It worked out pretty good.” This same teacher went on to talk about how he was developing curriculum to support FNMI content and perspectives in his upcoming Grade 11 biology class where the students would be involved in wellness activities and teachings, a holistic approach to biology as opposed to simply studying the discrete elements of life systems.

Harry talked about how he used the recent Remembrance Day observances to introduce and teach about the late Tommy Prince, a Manitoba Aboriginal veteran who had been awarded one of the highest medals during World War II. This particular teacher also spoke about how he utilized local resources such as the nutritionist to enhance the family studies and healthy living modules that the students in his alternative high school classroom were studying.

Another high school teacher, Brenda, talked about how she encouraged FNMI students, in her English classes, to choose “where they can represent themselves and their cultures in artistic ways.” Dave, a high school math teacher said that he used concrete experiences such as monthly budgeting and credit card finance rates to show students the rationale for learning in his course, Essential Math. He went on to explain that for many of the First Nations students from small, remote reserves, this was new information because neither the students nor their families had experience with bank loans and credit cards. He felt that this kind of teaching was critical for their development as adults in the world as we know it. Shelley talked specifically about how she incorporated families into the language arts and social studies assignments because there were some topics that involved differing

community roles and responsibilities. She noted that these assignments seemed to “build their self esteem because they could contribute and add to the knowledge of the classroom.” Shelley noted that when she incorporated FNMI stories into her English Language Arts unit in the first semester that she was teaching, “it was shocking to me the first time I saw the animation come out of kids {FNMI} who usually sit there so quietly most of the time and just bringing that one little piece in that story just made them come alive, they were talking, telling me stories and hanging around after recess and wanting to share more stories... I was just so, ‘wow, this is amazing.’” This particular reference speaks to what Barnhardt and Kirkness (1991) identified as the four essential pillars of Aboriginal education: respect, relevance, responsibility and reciprocity. The teacher, when using the story that incorporated FNMI content, demonstrated the positive outcomes for FNMI students when relevance was practiced in her teaching.

Kathy, who taught part time in early years and part time in middle years spoke the most about the various integrations that she made regarding FNMI content and perspectives. She spoke about integrating FNMI content into English language arts, health, physical education, art, and social studies at both the early and middle years levels. She stated that, “you know what, when the motivation is there, there isn’t any way that you can’t incorporate Aboriginal Perspectives into your teaching.” This teacher appears to be over-zealous about her enthusiasm towards incorporating FNMI content into her teaching and I am not sure if she realizes that the way schools are organized at high school makes it a bit more difficult. Having taught at all levels of public school and being somewhat familiar with all levels of the

Manitoba curricula that is available, it is my experience that the manner in which early and middle grades are organized, where there is often one generalist teacher teaching a group of students for the year, makes it easier to incorporate FNMI perspectives, content and issues. Early and middle years teachers are taught about the values for integrating English Language Arts across the various curricula areas therefore, the middle years teachers that I have taught seem to have an internalized sense of cross subject integration that is not as evident in the subject specialist high school teachers.

Purposefully chose to address tough issues. Five teachers who spoke about how they developed and taught lessons and units in order to create opportunities for the entire classroom of students to become involved in activities whereby sensitive issues dealing with unfair media portrayals, stereotyping, racism and sexism were discussed and studied. Linda spoke about how she used the text, *In Search of April Raintree*, as an opportunity to “get into a lot of stereotypes and unfair portrayals of Aboriginal people in the media and even in the school systems.” This teacher noted that the maturity level of her students contributed to both animated discussions and what she termed an “internalized learning” because when the students were forced to truly think about how stereotyping was often perpetuated, they realized that they were, in fact, perpetrators of such unfair depictions of “others” because they had not stopped and thought about the perspective of others. This teacher went on to make reference to a little plaque that sits in a prominent place in my office at the university. The text on the plaque reads, “Indian prayer – Grant that I not criticize my neighbor until I have walked a mile in his moccasins.”

This particular teacher told me that she wanted her students to regularly stop and consider that text by prompting them to think about what it might be like if they had to live in the context or experience all kinds of people different than themselves.

The teachers who spoke about addressing those tough issues seem to be practicing a form of critical pedagogy (McLaren, 1996, 2000) whereby teachers are asking questions about the status quo and getting their students to question the systemic inequities that are often present in society.

Utilized FNMI pedagogies. Aboriginal ways of learning are defined as being experiential, relevant, holistic and concrete (Battise, 2002; Cajete, 1994). All 10 teachers in the interviews mentioned the use of stories, community members and Elders as teachers, field trips, choice, the sharing circle and extra curricular activities. In total, 20 references were made that identify teacher pedagogies that facilitate FNMI ways of learning. Harry, Brenda and Nathan said that they routinely had guest speakers and Elders visit the classroom to support and enhance what they were teaching. Bill and Kathy recalled the use and value of the sharing circle during the APC and talked about how they used that strategy in their classrooms not only for story telling but also as a way to build a sense of community within the classroom. Yet others, Carol and Dave, mentioned the value of music and sport as ways of integrating FNMI students into school life as well as foster associated content, history and worldviews into these areas.

Basic display of FNMI content or history. Linda and Kathy spoke about how they made use of the posters and maps that showed the treaty territory areas and the notion that “We are all treaty people” by displaying them in the classroom

and speaking to what was meant by this information. Brenda indicated that she displayed the Aboriginal role model posters that were produced and distributed by the Aboriginal Education Directorate in Manitoba. She mentioned that some students in her school were related to a couple of the role models and that when she was discussing who these role models were, these particular students seemed to be quite proud to share their kinship with the other students in the classroom as well as with her. So, although these teachers described their implementations as being “basic,” it seems that they perhaps underestimated the value of using these materials, especially in the role model capacity with FNMI students who so badly need to see people of their own kind held up as models of those who have achieved a particular level of education and success.

Having conducted several analysis of the interview text for the 10 teachers, I am confident that the 10 teachers did, in fact, integrate FNMI content, knowledge and pedagogies within their teaching areas. As I did not ask for actual samples of the work during the interviews, there exists the possibility that this may have not been done to the level that the transcribed text indicates.

Perceived Value of the APC

Nine of the 10 teachers interviewed made 40 comments regarding the perceived value of the APC. It is important to note that at the time of the interviews, at least a year had lapsed since they completed the course.

Attitudinal changes. Eighteen of the 40 comments (45%) made by the 10 teachers who were interviewed spoke of attitudinal changes as a result of taking the APC. The old people of my culture often caution us younger people that it is

important to not seek an immediate rationale for learning or knowing something, that often times, what is perceived to be the most important learning will not be recognized for quite some time down the road. I share this little teaching anecdote because unlike the 2009 and 2010 post course survey data that showed little indication of attitudinal change as a result of having completed the APC, the majority of the responses made by the nine teachers a year after they took the APC spoke about the value of the APC with specific reference to attitudinal change. This indicates, like what the Elders told us, that perhaps the best learnings in the long run are those that are recognized further down the road.

Linda said that “I think my heart opened up for these kids in a way that I probably would not have noticed or even thought about before.” Bill made reference to attitudinal change by saying that “you would be at a disadvantage, if you were to compare two teachers, one who took this course and one who didn’t. You definitely might have some difficult times because you would butt heads with people because you didn’t know... either them {the FNMI students} or what you stood for yourself.” Kathy noted that “they {the non FNMI students and teachers} just don’t know that we are not detracting from the need to understand all cultures but that we first have to know about the history, the good and bad and what needs to be improved in Canada for Aboriginal people.” Another teacher, Shelley said that because of the APC, “I built up a lot, not so much compassion but an understanding that I think came from the course and I think this is really important for me as a teacher given my school population.” Shelley seems to be referring to how the

content and activities of the APC created an impetus for her to acknowledge different perspectives and knowledge systems.

Some readers of this research might construe a bias in the finding where high numbers of teachers demonstrated by way of their text and anecdotes that they had made attitudinal changes about FNMI content, pedagogies and students because of completing the APC. I believe that these 10 teachers who responded in a timely manner to the email request for interview participation indicates that they felt the course was worthwhile. These teachers seem to be committed to adapting their teaching practices to not only better meet the needs of FNMI students but also to ensure that non-FNMI students are presented with a wider range of history, pedagogies and skills to critique the current media portrayals of those who occupy minority roles in society, be they FNMI students or those with some type of physical, social, sexual or mental difference from the status quo. Perhaps Shelley summarized this sentiment best by saying “I hope they start offering it {the APC} not even so much because it teaches teachers how to teach Aboriginal perspectives and students but because it brings a whole lot of other perspectives and ways of thinking into our schools.” As the researcher, I think that perhaps the only way that I may have been able to recruit participants who were not as committed to the notion of teaching aboriginal perspectives into the interviews would be if I had employed a purposeful kind of recruitment whereby I read the variety of notes associated with my teaching reflections and sought out those student teachers who displayed either poor attendance and participation or demonstrated a negative attitude towards the course activities and content itself. And, although there were a couple of these kinds

of students in the six sections of the course, I am positive that those particular students would not willingly have participated in the interviews. That alone would have led to a whole other set of issues regarding participation and trustworthiness.

Knowledge of FNMI issues, students and content learned. In this category, six different teachers made eight comments about FNMI content and issues. Analysis of the comments indicates a generic listing of both historical and contemporary information relating to FNMI content, issues and students that they learned in the course. For example, two teachers mentioned learning about the treaties for the first time; three teachers mentioned learning about the inequities created and perpetuated by the *Indian Act* and how this continues to impact students in the schools where they teach; and, one teacher mentioned learning about the historical aspects of residential schools and the perception that this may be a long term rationale for the distrust that some First Nations parents hold regarding school systems. All teachers suggested that the knowledge gained in the course was valuable in helping them to integrate FNMI content, knowledge and pedagogies as well as understanding the hidden barriers that might impede the academic success of some FNMI students.

Continue with the APC mandate. Eight teachers interviewed spoke positively to the ministerial mandate that requires that Aboriginal perspectives, content and history be a requirement for all teacher education programs in Manitoba. Brenda stated that, "I think the APC mandate is just as important as the other courses like classroom management and such, as a core course because without learning the Aboriginal cultural aspects, the other courses would not be as

effective in terms of preparing teachers.” Harry said that, “the course needed to be there, I am glad it was a mandate because it {the course teachings} is something that needs to be said and understood by all teachers.” The other six responses were less emotional in terms of emphasis but they all made reference that the APC should be used as a core and not an elective course in the teacher education program.

Tough issues. Teachers valued the opportunities that were presented within the course to explore some of the tough issues relating to both their own belief systems and the issues facing FNMI education. For example, Linda, speaking about the reality that still exists where many teenage First Nations students have to leave their homes and communities to pursue high school, said that, “no one would think of these things on their own and not even realize what was happening if we had not talked about these things.” Robert noted that “at least it {the APC} gets future teachers to talk about these thing together and in a context where they feel safe and they are not looking at a school administrator and trying to come up with solutions at a staff meeting. They get some prior experience and knowledge with some of the issues that aren’t known by lots of teachers.” Kathy, when recounting some of the historical content that was presented in the course, commented that “We can’t honestly talk about Canada’s history without speaking to the thousands of years of presence and experience and history of the First people..... I had never been taught things like that before, taught to think about the perspective of the First Nations when I was looking at history. Wow!” And, this same teacher went on to say “some of these are tough issues when we have to examine ourselves. When we do that, we sometimes see things we don’t like and then we have to change.”

Nathan, the FN teacher said that, “I guess that is why it {sharing circle} is so important, so that people can learn to be honest about things and we sure need ways of doing this because all too often in schools, it seems like we just go about and not ask those questions or even think in those ways.” Another teacher, Bill, noted that, “we started thinking and talking a little bit differently, and when you start developing those thought processes, opinions and ideas, well, you do things differently.” As I read those comments and I realize my biases here, I can’t help but remember an email that I received from a student in March 2010 about two weeks after the APC was completed. The essence of the email was that this particular student, a male, was thanking me for being his first renegade professor. He wrote that he was the first person in his family to go to university and that he had been cautioned by some older relatives that when he went to university, he would meet professors who were renegades because they thought and did things so differently than the rest of the world. He told me that he had been in university for five years and that he had finally met one of those professors that he had been warned about. When I completed my professional practice form for the Dean of Education in the spring of 2010, I included this email in the section asking us to cite the achievements made and what we were personally proud of during the past academic term.

Supports For Implementing FNMI Content And Perspectives

Nine teachers discussed the variety of supports that they perceived to have for integrating FNMI content, issues and perspectives into their teaching. These supports include the role of school administration, Aboriginal support liaison

workers, community workers, resources, materials obtained within the APC, and professional development.

School administration. Six of the 10 teachers interviewed identified that school administrators play a significant role in terms of developing the culture of the school to support both FNMI students and the implementation of FNMI content, knowledge and pedagogies. For example, Bill stated that, “the principal {non-FNMI} did a very good job, he has a big role to play in the school, especially in the north compared to the south. In the south, the principal is more like the commander, allocating resources and such but in the north, he is a little more personal to you because it is a smaller school.” Brenda when speaking about her principal in a large, rural high school said, “Our principal is a Metis person and this is good because he has spent time building a rapport with the people and the communities where the kids come from.” Dave reiterated this by saying “our principal {Metis} speaks from his heart and experience. You can tell when he speaks in public that he can relate to all people, not just one culture. It sure helps having a visible leader in the school who is Aboriginal.” Yet another teacher, Shelley, speaking about the principal at a small, rural school said, “he {the principal} spent many years up north so he is interested in making the kids {FNMI} feel just as important as anyone else in the school. He {the principal} is a huge support and is always trying to send us in directions and giving us supports.” The data from the interview transcripts shows that the principal or school leader is considered to be a critical support for the implementation of FNMI content and the inclusion of FNMI students in the school system.

Aboriginal support liaison workers. Half of the teachers interviewed spoke of the significant role that Aboriginal liaison support workers played in helping them to understand and incorporate FNMI content into their teaching. For example, Linda said that, "I called --- {the Aboriginal liaison worker for the school division} a few times and he came. I will definitely be calling him again." Another teacher, Harry, said that, "I have a liaison that works out of --- so this is a home-school worker and I can call and have called her for support when I am not sure what is happening." Carol, working in two different schools, each of which has a high FNMI population, indicated that, "we are lucky to have an Aboriginal support worker in both schools, therefore, I can get lots of information from them." Robert, talking about an Aboriginal teacher who had been hired in the large, urban high school where he worked said that, "I think he {the Aboriginal teacher} was supposed to teach the Native Studies course but I also think that part of it was to bring more Aboriginal customs and knowledge into the school." Although this teacher made reference to what was supposed to happen, he did not indicate if he had personally made use of the knowledge that the Aboriginal teacher potentially brought to the school. Analysis of the comments made regarding the utility of Aboriginal support workers in the school indicates that these human resources are perceived to be valuable supports for novice teachers who are not only learning how to perfect the craft of teaching but also learning how to navigate what might be seen as rugged terrain when the majority of the new teachers represent a background, culture and worldview that is different than the FNMI students that they teach.

Community members. Five teachers identified community members as supports for the integration of FNMI students and content. Bill said that, “the community has an openness like with Elders and such. I found it very helpful that some of them are willing to come in {to the school}.” Brenda said that, “These parents are good. We know that if we call ---- for anything, not just her kids, she will come in and help.” Harry discussed how he had invited a number of community members such as the local dietician and nurse to present topics and lessons that related to FNMI education and issues to his students. Teachers who were employed in rural locations made all these references. I wonder if this reflects the smaller nature of the community in that when one teaches in smaller communities, it is easier to get to know community members who could potentially act as supports for teaching than when one is teaching in larger, urban centers. It also demonstrates the notion that although people tend to presume teachers in urban centers have a greater capacity for accessing community resources, it is the teachers in rural areas who are perhaps more networked and therefore able to access them.

Resources. Four references were made to the availability of materials and resources that support FNMI integration. These materials ranged from the curriculum documents that are on-line, to the availability of, as Kathy noted, “wonderful curriculum guides which included a variety of songs and lessons from different Aboriginal cultures as well as cultures around the world.” Shelley indicated “there is a resource centre where you can just go and pick up books that relate back to Aboriginal culture and kids that age and this is really useful.” There seems to be consensus that there are materials available to support FNMI content

integration but as Kathy stated, “the material is there but the big question is, how do you get teachers to choose to do that?”

Materials obtained in the APC. Four teachers identified resources and materials that they either located and/or developed such as unit plans and web sites as part of the course assignments or those obtained from the instructor, such as the maps and posters. Kathy said “... the unit I did at the end of your course was fundamental because it was so.... Pause... in depth so I know if I need supports and documents, I can go there and find it.” Robert spoke of “the websites and stuff that I made in your class, those websites I created and all of those resources that I had located have been useful.”

Professional development. Although there were four references made to the notion of professional development sessions for FNMI education as a support, only three teachers attended sessions during their first year of teaching. These teachers did not discuss the content of the FNMI sessions that they attended in any detail; they merely stated that they had attended such workshops. The fourth teacher indicated that although professional development sessions targeted at FNMI students and teaching were available as advertised by posters in the staff room, she had not attended any during her first year teaching.

Beliefs About Teaching

Although the interview protocol did not cite a question that directly identified beliefs or philosophy of teaching, this theme emerged in that eight of the 10 teachers made 46 comments that serve as their foundation or guide for teaching.

These comments were sorted and classified as beliefs about professional practice, personal beliefs and beliefs about students.

Professional practice. Teachers made 20 statements about professional practice including beliefs about curriculum development, pedagogy and teacher behaviors. For example, eight comments were made about the importance of curriculum development whereby FNMI content, pedagogies and worldviews were integrated to make teaching relevant and meaningful to the students. Nathan noted, “it {the lesson} connects the child to the background and what they are learning and what their community is.” Kathy quoted the late legendary pop singer, Bob Marley who said that it is important, “to know who you are and who you come from, you don’t have to ask.” Kathy believes it is important to create instructional bridges so that FNMI content is integrated in a meaningful manner because she said that, “not doing so would be negligent to the {FNMI} kids.” Beliefs about good pedagogies that supported FNMI students included: the recognition and utilization of teaching experiences outside of the conventional classroom such as field trips, extra curricular activities such as sport, music and artistic pursuits; and developing classroom projects whereby students could exercise choice not only for the topic but also for the presentation format and the group membership. Dave noted that doing these kinds of things created ownership and that “ a lot of them {FNMI students} don’t understand what ownership is because they never had to be a part of it or they were never given a choice.” Another teacher, Linda, in a large, urban high school reiterated this point by saying that, “now, I let them decide their groups and I give them a lot more freedom... I know those kids have no say in where they are placed

in this school and many of them are high risk students so if they get to choose and have some choices in my class, then maybe this will keep them in school longer.”

All eight teachers who discussed beliefs about teaching mentioned specific teacher behaviors that they considered valuable. For example, about the need for teachers to take risks was evident when Bill said, “you gonna have to try new things because some of the strategies and stuff you have, just might not work how and where you think they will work.” Harry noted that it was important that teachers learn and practice, “thinking on their feet, putting things together quickly because it {the lesson} doesn’t have to be perfect, but you have to do it {integrate FNMI content}.” Robert spoke about the values associated with honesty and respect when he said, “the BS {bull shit} thing, don’t do that because they are not stupid and you will only get in trouble and lose credibility with the kids.”

Two different teachers, Brenda and Shelley, specifically noted the importance of teacher collaboration because this provides opportunities to “share strategies with each other” and “get critique from our peers... and this is probably the most important professional resource that we have when we are teaching.” I chuckle as I think about this final comment because the student teachers are often highly resistant and vocal to the requirements associated with working on group projects while at university. They often cite carpool or domestic reasons when they make the plea for being able to do a project by themselves. I counter their reasons for doing individual assignments with the rationale that, “we teachers always ask our students in public school classrooms to work together and the Manitoba curricula have significant sections on collaborative work skills but as teachers, we often

choose to isolate ourselves and work individually on projects. As such, this group project will provide you with the opportunity to practice collaborative group skills.” It would seem that it takes only a year in the actual school environment for teachers to recognize the value of teamwork, peers and collaboration.

Personal beliefs. This theme was identified in 11 comments made by a male and a female teacher who spoke of the importance of: community involvement, the ability to accept criticism, and knowing one’s own attitude about FNMI students, content and/or worldviews. Bill, working in a provincially operated, remote school system with 95% FNMI students said that, “it benefits you {as a teacher} if you do get out in public, like play hockey and then the kids see you, watch you.... You get a chance to see them outside of the classroom....” Dave said that, “we teachers need to have thick skin because they are kids who will try things.” And yet another male teacher said, “expect to be called racist because no matter what you try, some will say you are a racist no matter if they have the evidence to back this up or not. If you try to crack down on them then you are racist, things like that. So have a little thicker skin to realize that this is not what they are really saying but that it is a negative reaction to the fact that you are calling on them and that you are doing this because you care.” The FN teacher, Nathan, said when speaking about the rationale and time commitment required to learn about and incorporate FNMI students, content and worldviews that, “we need to be strong and do those things. That is the only way to educate our kids and ourselves, to be strong and do those things that may seem hard.”

FNMI students. There were seven discrete comments categorized as beliefs that the teachers held about the FNMI students. For example, one male teacher when discussing the students in his alternative high school class said that, “they are not bad kids, they are just that, kids. How do we keep explaining to others {teachers and community members} that one of the reasons why these kids are here is that they haven’t had success at school?” Maslow’s basic need of food and the sense of belonging for student learning were identified by two different teachers. Brenda, with tears in her eyes, when speaking about the FNMI students who ride the bus for approximately two hours one way to attend a large high school in a rural location said that, “these kids are coming to school hungry and leaving school hungry and there is no reason for that to be happening in Canada. If we don’t address this, we can throw our lessons right out the window.” Robert, working in a large urban high school noted that, “the kids need to feel as if they belong and I am not sure they feel like that in this school.” Kathy said that, “kids {referring to FNMI students in her school} would do more if they felt like they were a part of things and felt a belonging as opposed to being the pitiful, or pity seeking other.” Brenda, in a large, rural high school said that it, “seems like the harder we try with some kids {FNMI students}, the less success we have because they seem to have been a low priority here.”

Attitude Change

Although all teachers were asked the question “Do you think your attitude about FNMI people, content and histories changed as a result of taking this course? If so, what and why may it have changed?”, only six of the 10 teachers interviewed spoke directly to the question. Three teachers indicated that their attitude towards

FNMI content, knowledge, perspectives and/or students had changed in a positive manner. Linda, working in a large, urban, provincially controlled school said that, “I had a better perspective on how to work with First Nation students, I understood things that probably made me a better teacher for those students after taking the course.” Bill, working in a provincially controlled system where 95% of the students are of FNMI heritage indicated that, “we actually talked about some of those things, the isms that you used to call them, but then again, we should have done that in university but we didn’t, not until this class..... I got to thinking that, hey, this is not imagination, this is happening. Yeah, my attitudes changed and now I’d like to think that I think more and have a better way of thinking.”

Shelley, when speaking of attitudinal change remarked that, “ I can say all I want but if I don’t change the way I think, then it is just words. {pause} I think I walked in there thinking she {the course instructor} is not going to change my mind on anything and it {taking the course} is not going to change who I am as a teacher but I think it did because I really started to be aware of how I might be thinking and presenting myself. I used to be very much speaking one thing and thinking another thing.” Bill said that, “ sometime you have ideas in your head and you don’t necessarily know why you have that idea, but it is there. Sometimes it is from society in general and sometimes it is something you grew up with that might not always be true. You definitely change your mind {about these ideas} when you take a course like this one.” Linda acknowledged the resistant attitude that some student teachers had regarding the APC mandate by saying, “I heard people complaining about having to take it but I, personally, was quite excited about it.” .

Harry indicated that he had grown up in Toronto with a variety of cultures, languages and skin colors in his family, school and work experience. In his view, “I left the class with more information but my attitude was basically the same.... My attitude didn’t really change because I never had one either way.” The data of the other two teachers who spoke directly to the attitude question does not appear to be conclusive in either a positive or negative sense in terms of attitude change. One teacher commented “not sure but a good question.” Nathan, the FNMI just laughed when I asked the question then said, “maybe they {non-FNMI teachers} changed their minds about the importance of FNMI content and stuff and the importance of what we are doing, not sure.” He seemed to imply in this statement that his attitude had not changed significantly because as a FNMI person, he already believed in the importance of FNMI content and pedagogy. It is interesting to note however that those whose attitudes did not appear to change significantly were those who have experiences living in diverse or Aboriginal contexts and who may therefore have some sensitivity to the need for greater cultural awareness and support. I was curious why this question was not directly answered by the other four teachers. I re-read the transcripts and noted that a number of comments that they made indirectly spoke to attitude change and were coded under the theme of “value of the course.”

Wish We Had Learned

This theme emerged directly from the interview question that asked teachers to comment on “What do you wish you had learned in the APC?” Six of the 10 teachers directly responded with comments related to specific knowledge of FNMI culture, pedagogy or strategies, content or knowledge and attitudes.

Four teachers made comments relating to cultural knowledge about ceremony. For example, Linda and Robert both indicated that they would have liked to learn more about how to conduct sweet grass ceremonies. Others made reference to wishing they knew how to conduct sweat lodges. I am puzzled and somewhat concerned by these comments because of the potential for cultural misappropriation. Learning about the importance of these ceremonies is one aspect; but believing one should have the right to conduct them would not be appropriate. My Elders have taught me that those who practice a traditional way of life must conduct these kinds of ceremonies. As such, when teaching the course, I would explain the value of these ceremonies but at no time did I attempt to demonstrate these ceremonies in the classroom because of my own specific cultural teachings. This finding once again evidences the differences in worldviews in terms of notions of the sacred and the potential for misappropriation of culture, however well intentioned.

Three teachers identified that they wished they had learned more specific strategies in term of, as Carol stated, "how to have discussions about sensitive issues with kids." Brenda wished that she had learned about "how to engage parents in the classroom and school." Both of these comments may be related to the lack of confidence that many novice teachers display when they begin teaching as they focus on potentially intimidating areas where the opportunity for conflict or at the very least, feelings of intimidation might be prevalent. Two teachers, Linda and Kathy, made specific reference to wishing that they had gathered more resources while in the APC. Linda said, "I wish I had more concrete unit plans to use' and

Kathy wished that “I could get my hands on more artistic resources.” Robert wished that we had more opportunity to learn about the treaties because he said “I can’t honestly say that I understand the treaties.” Nathan, the only FN teacher in the interview pool, summed up the need for an attitude change from non-FNMI teachers when he wished that “those teachers {Non-FNMI} would know that each child has a story and that it is a big part of who they are.”

The preceding section delineates the various themes that emerged as a result of several detailed analysis of the interview data of the 10 teachers who had completed the APC approximately one year prior to the time of the interview. All teachers had completed their first year of teaching at the time of the interviews. The subsequence section outlines the findings of the interview memos written after each interview.

Interview Memo Analysis

The qualitative data analysis process is described by Lichtman (2006) as being an inductive yet iterative process whereby

Each idea, interpretation and plan is filtered through your own mind and through your point of view... You will take the role of constructing and subsequently interpreting the reality of the person being interviewed. (p. 117)

By following this data analysis structure, I analyzed the field memos that I wrote within hours of each interview to see if there were any themes that emerged resulting from my stance as an Aboriginal educational researcher and the teachers’ stances as those who were trying to make education more inclusive of FNMI learners. The following three themes emerged: apprehension or stated reluctance

on the part of the teachers to incorporate FNMI content and pedagogies because of the –isms present in the school systems; the role of the school administrator in terms of providing support; and the perceived lack of resources needed to incorporate FNMI content, knowledge, pedagogies and/or to work effectively with FNMI students.

Apprehension About Incorporating FNMI Perspectives

The theme of apprehension was identified by four of the teachers interviewed, and is perhaps the most significant for this study. Although the research questions are focused on what the teachers learned in terms of knowledge and attitudes of the APC, this theme focuses on the context of the school and the community in which interviewees' lived realities exist as a novice teachers. The field memos underscore that I was struck by the heart and passion displayed towards FNMI education at the time of the interview but that I was struck in ways that continue to challenge education today.

While all of the teachers spoke with a sense of pride of the various ways they had implemented FNMI content and pedagogy into their teaching, they did this in a manner similar to what a young child might tell a parent when she/he knows the parent feels strongly about an issue. These teachers know from their experience in the APC that I do have an agenda and that is to advance FNMI education, content, history, and of course, foster a more inclusive environment for FNMI students, particularly in the public school systems. Therefore it is not surprising that these past students would want to demonstrate their pride in facilitating this agenda, as “Mom” would suggest.

However, more than the desire to please, what struck me about these particular four teachers was the level of emotion they displayed as they were interviewed. I saw the tears in two of the female teachers, and I heard the voice cracking of two of the male teachers as they spoke of the challenges around FNMI inclusion in their schools. The one young woman wiped her eyes and looked down at the table because it seemed that she was embarrassed to be showing the tears and emotions. Unfortunately, we {both the teachers and I} have been schooled in such a way that such behavior is not considered to be “professional,” and that we are supposed to leave our emotions behind when we go to work. For the new teacher in the school standing as “the new kid on the block,” dealing with the barriers facing FNMI children this must be a tremendous challenge. They have been schooled to know the various demographic, moral, historical and social imperatives for adapting and integrating FNMI pedagogies, content and students, yet the school climate prohibits them from doing so with the same ease or level of acceptance that other initiatives might entail. The question that this finding has raised in my mind is how does the new teacher incorporate FNMI perspectives into a resistant school system and dynamic while also attempting to find a level of security and acceptance for themselves in a school system? And this is in addition to the emotional stresses they encounter when, as idealistic new teachers, they begin to recognize the systemic inequities and barriers faced by FNMI students?

New teachers are typically placed on probationary contracts for the first year of employment. As such, the pressure for these teachers to fit into or integrate themselves into school cultures is immense. Given the controversial and often

incorrect nature of FNMI pedagogies, content and knowledge that exists in school systems, it is no wonder that the teachers feel challenged and emotional about doing this work when their very future might be put in jeopardy if they are to exert too much pressure in advancing FNMI content, knowledges and pedagogies. As someone who has worked at Brandon University for over fourteen years but is still not tenured, I personally can relate to the pressure that these novice teachers are feeling. It is only natural for them to want to settle into the profession such that they can be afforded a degree of job security in order to pursue and meet the various responsibilities of life in a holistic sense. However, these novice teachers run the risk of being viewed as disruptors of the status quo should they decide to voice their concerns that FNMI students in provincial school systems have often been placed at the margins and are not always made to feel, like a couple of teachers told me, as if they belong here. In fact, one male teacher spoke about how he was personally marginalized by not being included in the staff picture. Although he tried to slough this memory off, the very fact that he chose to mention this can be interpreted as an indication that he was hurt by this omission, and that he feared it may be related to his attempts to be more inclusive of FNMI students, content and pedagogy.

Another young teacher's apprehension was evident prior to the interview when she checked to ensure that the intercom was turned off and the door was closed before she began to talk about how Aboriginal education was not a priority in this particular school. And although the scope of this research methodology does not include discourse analysis, I did not have to be highly skilled to note the apprehension that the teacher displayed as she spoke about racism in this school.

Administrative Support For Incorporating FNMI Perspectives

Administrative support was the second theme mentioned by six teachers that I identified after analyzing the field or interview memos. For example, two teachers spoke about how in one rural high school, the principal was of Metis heritage and although the school was in a non-FNMI community, the principal was very supportive of FNMI students, knowledge and ways of doing at all levels of the school. These two teachers indicated that although there were challenges in the school regarding FNMI student, the very fact that the principal was leading the school with a vision of incorporating all things associated with FNMI education made the task easier. Another teacher in a remote school with a high number of FNMI students, commented on how the principal acted in a more personal manner where he felt as if he could have honest conversations. This as compared to what he had experienced in what he labeled “southern schools” where he perceived the principal as acting in a manner that was more administrative and less personal. In my memo, I made comments about how the administrator’s role was crucial with regards to implementing FNMI educational initiatives.

Alternately, three teachers indirectly spoke of the lack of apparent administrative will or support to incorporate FNMI content or pedagogies. One teacher simply said “it {FNMI content or students} was not seen as a priority at this school.” As both a former administrator and a graduate student who has studied the role of administrative support in advancing initiatives and programs, both experience and scholarship indicate that without administrative support, little more than lip service will be given to new initiatives. For example, much of the research

on effective school leadership (Leithwood, Seashore Louis & Wahlstrom, 2004) suggests that leadership is key to effecting sustainable change for school improvement and student learning. Leithwood and Duke (1999) suggest that one of the many responsibilities of school leaders is to engage both colleagues and themselves in an ongoing self-reflection and analysis of the existing social conditions of both the school and local society with a goal of better meeting the needs of those in the school. Lomotey (1989) further identifies a crucial role of school leaders as demonstrating the confidence in the ability of all their students to learn, a “commitment to seeing that all their students receive all that they can to ensure their success and compassion for, and understanding of their students and the communities in which they live” (p. 84). After analyzing the interview memos, it seems as if the school administrators in some of the schools are perceived by the novice teachers as either ignorant in that they are not aware of the specific FNMI educational needs and initiatives or simply not making FNMI education a priority. No matter what the rationale is for such behavior, the findings and literature indicate that FNMI education should be a priority for all school administrators in Manitoba, not just those where the schools have high or growing numbers of FNMI students.

Perceived Lack Of Resources

The perceived lack of resources was identified by six of the respondents from the interview field note memos. This theme is a source of frustration for me as the instructor of the teachers who were interviewed for a number of reasons. Having been personally affected by the residential school movement where those who

attended, and their descendants, often lived and portrayed a life of contradiction, I find myself getting anxious when apparent contradictions between what I believe and what is told to me present themselves.

On one hand, people noted that there were lots of resources directed at FNMI content, pedagogies and worldviews but on the other hand, people complained that there were no resources available. I was frustrated because I wanted to say, “now, listen to this, you just said that there were all kinds of materials available, and some of you said there was almost too much material available” so why are you saying that you lack the resources? I also recall that during the course, student teachers used to complain because I had too much reading and materials for them to peruse, that I was demanding too much. When I was teaching the course, I would counter this complaint with comments relating to the toolbox metaphor in that, if one only had a hammer, then everything would look like a nail but if one had a wide range of tools {resources}, one could tackle a wide range of jobs.” I used to promise the students that when they left my course, they would have a full toolbox and not merely a hammer. So, upon interview memo analysis, I noted the theme and I finally coded it as “perceived lack of resources” because the FNMI materials and resources industry, be they print, audio, video or mixed media, has grown considerable in the past 10 years. In fact, educators and scholars are sometimes overwhelmed by the sheers numbers of FNMI content, pedagogic, literature and knowledge-based resources available.

Upon further analysis, which I apparently missed during the first two readings of the memos probably because of my experience and bias regarding the

materials, what I found was that six of the high school teachers were really saying that they wanted pre-packaged units to teach that had FNMI content, knowledge and pedagogies already embedded within them. They seemed to suggest that having these materials would make the task of incorporating FNMI content more manageable in terms of time and effort. In fact, this particular finding causes me more anxiety because I perceive this to mean that these high school teachers are looking for “recipes” for teaching which have the potential to completely essentialize FNMI culture. Another analogy or story that I utilize when teaching pre-service educators is that of the recipe book. I typically start by asking students to recount who is the best cook in their family; they almost always identify one of their grandmothers. Then I ask the students if they can follow and recreate what their grandmother does when cooking in making the memorable food item. I pose questions like, “does she use a cookbook?” Most of the student teachers comment that a cookbook is not used, that the granny just knows when to add an ingredient. I then make the bridge that the granny is in fact, a professional cook and that she is practicing a form of professional behavior that they will be expected to practice when they are certified teachers. She knows when to do something in a certain way and when to add or take away something.

This analogy is typically useful in that student teachers come to know that there are no recipe books for teaching; they will leave the faculty with a wide range of ingredients but that it is up to them, as professional teachers, to make the best meal with what they have. I suppose I am disappointed that these teachers somehow missed the point of my lesson because here they are, a year and a bit later,

bemoaning the fact that certain subject areas such as high school math and science do not have pre-packaged units or recipes for them to follow. And not only do they want a recipe, but in that recipe would be essentialized notions of particular FNMI culture that may or may not be relevant to any local context. I can appreciate the demands of new teachers but I can't help but be concerned about the future of FNMI education should our education system start to pre-package and therefore re-colonize and misappropriate culture. And perhaps the biggest reason why I am concerned is that it has been my experience as both an educator and an Aboriginal woman that as long as we wait for someone else to do something or provide something for us, then little will get done. In the meantime, we will, in fact, just go through the motions, justify our inaction because it "isn't our responsibility," and the status quo will be perpetuated. I believe that given the manner in which the FNMI demographic is changing in Manitoba public schools, we cannot simply maintain the status quo or wait for someone else to take on the responsibility; we have to collectively do things differently.

Findings From The Field Notes Written After Teaching APC Classes

The following section will present findings based upon four apriori codes for the teaching reflections that were written at the end of a teaching day for which three sections of the APC taught during the winter 2009 and 2010 term. These reflections are considered for the purposes of this research to be field notes. Reflective teaching is perhaps first credited to Dewey (1916) but gained popularity and recognition when Schon (1983) promoted this practice so that teachers would become, what he terms "reflective practitioners" (p. 8). Bartlett (1990) went on to

define reflective teaching as “moving beyond the primary concern of instructional technique to asking the ‘what and why’ questions as part of the broader purpose of education” (p. 267).

During the two semesters of the APC of focus in this study, I critically reflected on events as they occurred in the classroom, as well as the thoughts and subsequent actions that followed these particular events. I also included thoughts on how the students responded to a variety of the APC content, activities or guest speakers. Given the magnitude of these field notes, and the scope of the research, I chose not to analyse the field notes for emergent themes but used apriori codes that were of focus in my research questions, which included the background FNMI knowledge shown by student teachers, attitudes of student teachers, and challenges and successes that occurred over the duration of the APC. The following section will present the findings based on these apriori codes.

Background FNMI Knowledge

The theme of how much background knowledge that student teachers bring to the APC can best be described in my field notes as nil to very little for both years that this research was being conducted. The field notes indicate that as the instructor, I was expecting the students to have more knowledge of FNMI people and history at the beginning of the course. In the first year, I conducted the first two parts of the basic instructional strategy of K-W-L (what do you know, want to know then what did you learn) on the first day of class. Students were grouped and given chart paper to note their knowledge and what they wanted to learn about FNMI people, content and perspectives over the duration of the course. These charts were

then brought to the front of the room and posted for all to see. When the knowledge was collated, it was both interesting and concerning to me to see that much of what the students professed to know about FNMI people, perspectives and content was in fact, mis-information that could possibly have been gained by the negative or deficit ways that the popular press often portrays FNMI people. I have previously referred to the student asking me where I could pick up my free truck and it was in this particular activity where that comment was made. Essentially, students noted that they knew that there were larger numbers of FNMI people in cities, that many FNMI people struggled with school and that FNMI people often got a lot for free.

In the second year, I did not use the K-W-L strategy because I had BUREC permission for the research assistant to conduct the surveys after the first class; therefore, I did not want to have the students discuss the potential knowledge prior to the survey in case the discussion itself affected the pre-course survey results. I did, however, hold a whole group discussion about the survey knowledge questions and indicated the particular week that we would be studying the content in-depth. When I teach the APC again, I will resume the K-W-L approach because this seems more appropriate for gathering background knowledge as well as getting a sense of what students want to learn in the course. My field notes align with the statistical survey results, which indicate that at the beginning of the course, student teachers demonstrated that they knew “little” in terms of FNMI content, people, histories or perspectives.

During both years of research, student teachers indicated that they wanted to know how they could teach FNMI students and how they could integrate such FNMI

content into curricula. The student teachers were in their final semester of the teacher education program and became highly focused on getting concrete materials that they could utilize when they began teaching.

As the background knowledge was weak in terms of FNMI content, I was forced to make some very difficult decisions at the beginning of each semester. In the second year, I was less surprised by the apparent lack of knowledge that the student teachers brought to the course. This is partly due to the fact that I taught three sections of the course in the first year of this research and realized that although FNMI education and history is very dear to my heart because of my lived experience, the majority of teachers are unfamiliar with the topic, know little about it, and do not go out of their way to access material related to it. For example, much of the focus of the course was supposed to be on integrating FNMI content, history and perspectives into existing curricula yet that seemed to be almost impossible given that the students had neither a basic understanding of FNMI history as it related to and continues to impact education today, nor an understanding of the holistic manner that undergirds FNMI education. As such, I decided to spend approximately 60% of the course on activities in which student teachers would broaden their understanding of: FNMI history, including the *Indian Act*, treaties, and residential schools; perspectives, including world views, and; education from a historic sense to the contemporary era.

To address the FNMI content or knowledge areas, I structured the teaching lessons such that students had the opportunity to study conventional written and print materials; a wide range of on-line, audio and visual materials; and hear a

variety of guest speakers who represented various FNMI heritage and educational employment groups. Similar to the statistical findings and the interview analysis, the student teachers seemed to enjoy the guest speakers and made recommendation that this particular strategy continue to be used as part of the APC pedagogy.

At the end of both the first and second year of the APC, I had a content or knowledge exam that was worth approximately 35% of the course evaluation. Aggregations of these exam results indicated that students learned the most in the following areas: the role of Elders, jurisdiction and transfer payments, residential schools and contemporary impacts, changing demographics and the holistic perspective that FNMI people have regarding education and the interconnectedness of all living things.

My field notes indicated that although the student teachers came into both years of the course with a limited knowledge base of FNMI people, perspectives and issues, over the duration of the course, these same student teachers seemed to grasp and retain considerable information that will impact their ability to teach FNMI perspectives and students in a more inclusive manner. The field notes also indicated that although I, as instructor of the APC was both discouraged and frustrated at the initial lack of knowledge, I could “feel my pride grow” as the student teachers demonstrated not only a growth in their knowledge levels but also a willingness to engage in the topic of FNMI perspectives, histories and peoples.

Attitudes Of Student Teachers

After analyzing the field notes for both the 2009 and the 2010 year of the APC, I noted that there seemed to be more resistance or opposition demonstrated by

student teachers in 2009. This was evidenced by the barrage of comments made in the first couple of weeks such as, “I am going to be a math teacher and would sure like to be taking more math courses instead of this one” or “I am not going up north or to a reserve to teach so it makes sense that I take something that I could use.” As the instructor, I was weary and frustrated by such comments because the APR course approval process in itself was lengthier than is typical for new courses and had been resisted by faculty. Given that the foundation for the course was a ministerial mandate, I failed to see why comments like that were being made. After hearing the opposition to the course raised several times in the first week or so, I finally announced with a level of frustration to the student teachers that, “For now, you have to take this course if you wish to be certified to teach in Manitoba, and if it bothers you so much, then you might consider writing to the Minister of Education with your concerns and reasons for why you should not take this course.” I posted the mailing address of the Minister of Education in the classroom in case the student teachers wished to follow the recommendation. Although I still feel badly about handling this concern in such a direct and potentially even aggressive manner, the student teachers finally settled down and quit voicing their concerns to me. Given that 2009 was the introductory year for the course, I sometimes wonder if many of the students were not mimicking the comments they heard from other faculty members who resisted the mandate and which therefore created a negative faculty culture around the introduction of the course.

In the 2010 year, the student teachers seemed less resistant to taking the APC or perhaps they were just less vocal about having to take the course. I believe it

is typical for any new mandate to be highly discussed upon its inception but receives less attention as time progresses and people become more comfortable with its inevitability and implementation. For whatever reason, I was pleased to find that there was less verbal opposition to the APC as a mandated or core course in the 2010 year.

In both the 2009 and the 2010 year, the majority of student teachers did an about face in terms of their resistant attitude when they were taught about the changing demographics of FNMI students and that they would most likely be teaching FNMI students no matter where they taught in the province. Their attitudes further changed when they learned the stories of the residential school era and its impacts on FNMI education today. I should have realized that part of the opposition was likely due to the fact that the content was so new and unfamiliar. In reality, when the student teachers learned the “counter story” and perspective of FNMI history and peoples, they seemed able and willing to adapt their attitudes to a more positive and caring approach towards teaching FNMI content and students. At the end of both years, the majority of the student teachers made comments both orally and in written form by way of their final learning logs that the APC was a vehicle for them to not only learn about FNMI perspectives and people but also to provide them with a place to talk about sensitive and often unspoken issues; in essence, acknowledging the elephant.

Challenges Of Teaching The APC

The challenges of teaching the APC as noted in my field note reflections for the 2009 and 2010 year included: maintaining my optimism amidst student

resistance; balancing the need for background content with curriculum development; and, choosing resources from the growing numbers of print, audio-visual and human resources available for use.

Having outlined my stance and lived experience as an Aboriginal teacher educator, I found it difficult to be optimistic in the first couple of weeks of both courses due to the apparent resistance of the student teachers. In one note, I made the comment, “another day in the mine field” as I referred to the notion of balancing who I was, what I could offer and what I wanted to offer for the benefit of all students but also for the benefit of the FNMI students down the road. As with many FNMI people, I personally experience the casualties of kids in my immediate and extended family who have not failed in school but who “have been failed by schools.” Experiences like this further add to my focus to do my part in improving teacher education such that schools are more inclusive of and willing to engage with FNMI content and students. Perhaps the biggest challenge that I faced was the stance as the instructor in an area that is emotionally charged. Not only do I value the need for the APC but when I have to watch the video on residential schools for the third time in a day as part of the course, I am emotionally drained. When asked by friends why I choose to do so, I say that the APC is the most important course for me to teach and yet it is the most difficult course for me to teach. I have to remind myself that the Elders have a saying effectively states, “Change requires strength and courage.”

The balance between content and curriculum development was evident in both the 2009 and 2010 APC. I am sure that in every methods course, faculty

members struggle with this dilemma to some degree but it would be unreasonable to expect, for example, that the math methods instructor teach about the math curricula and accompanying resources if the students did not have a basic content background in math. Yet, this is the expectation of the APC. Many student teachers come into the course with a limited amount of background knowledge yet I am expected within approximately 33 contact hours to equip these students with the content and pedagogical skills necessary to be able to integrate FNMI content and perspectives into their existing subject teachable areas. I have met this challenge by providing what some students called, “an almost overwhelming amount of material” for them to study and learn. Curriculum development got left to the last quarter of the course and was, as one teacher in the interview noted, “a scramble job.” Even though I have spent two years teaching some 140 student teachers in six sections of the APC, I am still not sure how to manage the balance between content and curricula.

The last challenge that I noted when analyzing my teaching notes was the apparent magnitude of the available resources dealing with FNMI content, history, and education. When I was a student teacher some 30 years ago, there were very few materials that spoke to FNMI people. In the last decade, there has been almost exponential growth in the area of FNMI content and resource material available for teaching. I belong to a couple of electronic list services and find that almost every day, there are new resources posted that can potentially enhance the APC. Given my nature, I find myself spending incredible amounts of time becoming familiar with these materials and then trying to “sell them” to the student teachers. As the

student teachers in my APC will teach a range of mostly high school subject areas, my professional credibility is based upon being able to share FNMI materials in a range of subject areas such as physical education, literature, maths, general science, biology, chemistry, history, geography, health, music and the fine arts. I have struggled with both locating FNMI materials to suit these subject areas and finding a systematic manner of sorting and storing these materials and resources, much of which are now available on-line, which adds a whole new dimension to material sorting and retrieval.

Successes

I found the major successes of both the 2009 and 2010 APC to be related to the attitude change of the student teachers and the quality of the curriculum development units that the students produced. I noticed that many of the field notes, especially after the first couple of weeks of both years focused on the “aha moments” where I could see that the critical nature of the course delivery was causing the student teachers to engage in the FNMI content and perspectives in new and engaging ways. These moments of enlightenment seemed to occur after I brought in the guest speakers, all of who were FNMI people working in a variety of educational areas. It seemed that when these people spoke of their experiences and shared their visions for why it was important that teachers adapt their pedagogies and materials to be more inclusive of FNMI content and perspectives the student teachers seemed to be better able to grasp the idea. Maybe they had another view or experience upon which to scaffold my teachings. I guess this is not unlike what we face as parents in that we can often tell our own child something and they do not

pay much attention but as soon as someone else such as a neighbor or relative provides the information to the child, then the words become more meaningful.

Another moment of success that I noted from the field notes was indicated on the day when I held a sharing circle where each student got to talk about what it {FNMI content and perspectives} meant to them either as teachers or simply as societal members. In both years, this particular activity was held at about the half way point in the APC. It was interesting to note the level of sincerity that the student teachers used to express a multitude of feelings related to reconceptualising their notions of what teaching meant, rethinking what they thought they knew about FNMI people, perspectives and issues, and rethinking who they were and their worldviews and values. I always find that there is something special to a sharing circle because everyone contributes, there is no forced end to their speaking and everyone is on equal ground in terms of how they are seated. Not only did I feel the honesty and perhaps life changing moments spoken, but the interview data suggests that many of the student teachers also noted with particular poignancy the sharing circle as a valuable activity.

For the final learning log of both years, I asked the student teachers to pretend that we were meeting on the street some five years down the road... and to tell me what they might remember from the APC. To honor the various intelligences that the student teachers bring to the course, they were given the opportunity to present their learning in a variety of formats such as poetry, song, dance, visual art, or letter form. And, in both years, the students were required to share their learning with their table groups prior to handing the variety of assignments in for my

comments. My notes upon reading and responding to these final learning logs for both years indicate that there was a wide range of formats used to show a wide range of potential futuristic memories of what was learned in the APC; the depth of these learning logs literally brought tears to my eyes because of the varied formats that demonstrated some positive learnings with regards to FNMI education. I chide myself for not thinking ahead and applying for BUREC (ethics) approval such that the final learning logs could have been used as data sources for this research because of the powerful and in-depth amount of learning that was demonstrated in such a wide variety of ways.

Open Ended Question Findings

Both the 2009 and 2010 APC questionnaire ended with an open-ended section that invited student comments around the value of the course. The following section provides the findings related to both the 2009 and 2010 questionnaires.

2009 Open Ended Themes

In the March 2009 survey, student teachers were asked to respond to the questions, “This course {APC} is in the first year of offering as a MECY ministerial mandate in your Bachelor of Education degree program. Please comment on its value in terms of teaching in the classrooms of Manitoba.” Sixty eight of the possible 84 students completed the survey and 57 or 83% of those who completed the surveys responded to this question. The responses can be categorized in the following themes: yes, the course was valuable; the course was valuable but should be designed to address the needs of all minority cultures; and, no, the course was

not valuable. Each of these themes and examples of illustrative text will be presented.

For the theme, the APC is valuable, 42 comments or 61% of the total survey participants ranged from a brief “the APC was of great value” to “The course has helped me to think differently about Aboriginal people, culture and issues. I think this course is valuable for all teachers and will assist in understanding all cultures.” The comments that supported the perceived valuable nature of the course typically identified an understanding of FNMI people, resources and potential ways that these could be integrated into curricula.

Twelve comments (18%) of the total respondents suggested that the APC course was valuable but that it should also focus on other minority cultures. The variety of comments ranged from a polite and positive sounding, “the APC was insightful and useful but perhaps touching on some other nationalities would also be useful” to what I perceived to be terse sounding responses such as “it {the APC} is useful but I think that other multicultural courses like this would have been more helpful.” When I further analyzed the comments made recommending that the APC course be directed at other minority cultures, nine of the 12 recommendations were directed at having another course in addition to the APC to meet the cultural content and learnings of a variety of cultures. Three comments or 5% of the total respondents negated the value of the APC course by noting such things as “deceiving in terms of liberal bias by the instructor” or “focusing only on Aboriginal students and forgetting that the schools have a whole lot of other kinds of students there.” Finally, nine or 13% of the total survey participants did not make comment on the

value of the APC. This may be due to the fact that these students were ambivalent about the value of the APC, or perhaps this lack of response is symbolic of the teaching that has been used by parents for many generations and that is, “If you can’t say anything nice, then don’t say anything at all.” However, given the usual lack of response to open-ended questions on survey reports, the high level of response rate for the open-ended question suggests that the course certainly did engender a strong reaction from students, and in this case, the vast majority of that impact suggests that it is perceived positively.

2010 Open Ended Findings

In the 2010 APC survey, there were four different areas on which student teachers could make open-ended recommendations. The comments, analyzed for the emergent themes, will be presented according to how participants responded with recommendations for teaching FNMI students, teaching FNMI perspectives and issues and advice for the instructor regarding the APC design or implementation.

Recommendations for teaching FNMI students. For this question, student teachers made a total of 91 comments which were grouped according to the following themes: knowledge and understanding of culture and the FNMI history; knowing that a different perspective exists; and, structuring lessons such that the material is relevant to the students. The student teachers noted that it was critical to have a deep understanding of FNMI knowledge in order to teach not only FNMI perspectives but also FNMI students. For example, one student teacher said, “It is critical to understand both culture and perspectives so that we {teachers} can incorporate strategies and content that will help all students be successful.”

Another student echoed this comment by saying that, “it is critical to understand both the FNMI background and history as well as the contemporary issues and the role that Elders can potentially play in education so that we can structure lessons and activities to better address the needs of all students in the classroom.” The majority of the comments seemed to focus on the perceived need for knowing and understanding FNMI content and perspectives as a prerequisite for teaching any grade level.

Participants also spoke of needing to understand the holistic and interconnected Aboriginal perspective and value it as a legitimate way of seeing the world. The participants who spoke to this theme also noted that education should be considered in an experiential manner and that the role of the teacher was to develop those meaningful and relevant experiences as a means to engage the FNMI students. One teacher specifically recommended that, “We{teachers} should try to build connections, accept and understand diversity then modify and adapt the curricula as needed.” It was interesting to note that the participants were able to make the connection that what is known in the western educational arena as constructivist teaching (Vygotski, 1978) and experiential learning (Kolb, 1984) are actually versions of what many Indigenous scholars (Battiste, 2002; Cajete, 2000) would term as Aboriginal educational paradigms. Given this integrated understanding of knowledge and the connections between ways of seeing the world, the student teachers appeared more willing to adapt, differentiate and make curricula meaningful to the students in their future classrooms.

Under the theme of relevance with regard to teaching FNMI students, the participants made numerous comments relating to their professional role and obligation to tailor lessons and curricula such that it was more differentiated in both implementation and assessment strategies but also in ways that were “better suited and meaningful to the FNMI students” in their classrooms. The participants made a number of recommendations that could exemplify strategies that they felt were worthy of using with FNMI students. In particular, they mentioned the importance of field trips, guest speakers including Elders and community members, and realistic activities that were meaningful for the students.

Recommendations for teaching FNMI perspectives. The comments made for this theme were much the same as those made in the previous question. Further analysis to figure out why the majority of the participants either responded “same as above” or literally wrote out the same response as in the previous questions leads me to believe that either the question should have been worded such that it was more clearly delineated or the students were fatigued after the class and perhaps they just wanted to complete the survey quickly. The only theme from this batch of comments that can be added to the previous recommendations relates to the value of teaching the materials from a variety of perspectives and avoiding stereotypes. Several comments were directed at the importance of doing one’s research and not simply accepting what is presented in books. Rather, teachers must examine the stance of the author as well as consider the nature of the audience to whom the authors are writing or depicting such information. Although none of the

participants directly used the term “critical thinking” I felt that these recommendations focused on that particular skill.

Advice for APC design and implementation. For this particular open-ended question, participants were asked to “Give the course designers and instructors two pieces of advice on how to improve the APC such that it would better meet your needs as a future teacher.” The 60 comments made in this area were divided up into the following themes: continued use of guest speakers, develop field trips, continue using the sharing circle, less resources on Moodle, balance in perspective, incorporation of other perspectives into the course and focusing on culturally relevant methods rather than Aboriginal pedagogies only. Each theme will be further explained with illustrative text.

Fifteen comments were made regarding the use of guest speakers in the APC. It is important to note that there were guest speakers from the following organizations: Office of the Treaty Commissioner, Manitoba Metis Federation, An Elder from a local school division, The Aboriginal Education Directorate, and the Manitoba First Nations Education Resource Center. Students seemed to be positive about the contributions and teachings made by these guest speakers. Participants did advise that more guest speakers be used and specifically asked for a Chief, and a principal from a First Nations School to be guest speakers in the APC.

Seven recommendations were made regarding incorporating a field trip either to a local First Nation reserve or to a First Nation event. In the 2010 term, I made arrangements for all of the APC students to attend the Aboriginal Circle of Educators Conference in Winnipeg and because I was on the planning committee,

the organizers waived the registration costs for my students. This conference was on a Friday and arrangements were made for car pools. The Dean of Education offered to provide some funds to help defray the costs of gas for the various cars en route to Winnipeg. I attended the conference and although there was a potential for all 77 students to attend, only six students took advantage of this wonderful FNMI learning opportunity. As a second potential opportunity, the Dakota Ojibway Tribal Council hosts an annual Tribal Days in Brandon during the last weekend of January. A big part of Tribal Days is the pow wow that attracts dancers from all over North America. As I typically attend this event, I made arrangements to meet the APC students at a given place at a given time so that they could attend a pow wow. I also made arrangements with a dancer who was to meet us and give us a short lesson on what the regalia meant and what the dances signified. Only four student teachers attended this field trip just blocks away from the university classroom.

There were eight comments made with specific reference to utilizing the Moodle platform less. As previously indicated, I used Moodle to post materials, forums and announcements for the class. Given the highly technological manner that most student teachers operate within, I was surprised with this finding because students in the previous course seemed to enjoy using Moodle for materials and forum dialogues. These students seemed to suggest that there were too many materials and resources posted and they found it overwhelming to manage. Given that these comments constitute 12% of the total recommendations, I am not sure whether this carries enough weight to discontinue this practise. It may be that those

students who were the most vocal about Moodle possibly got themselves behind in their readings and then felt overwhelmed.

Six comments were made with direct reference to the sharing circle as an effective FNMI pedagogy. In fact, four people commented that there should be more sharing circles throughout the APC as a means to fully discuss and consider some of the contentious issues and materials that were being discussed.

The issue of presenting a balance was recommended by four student teachers that felt there was “too much Aboriginal material” presented in the APC. One said that, “Many of the presenters were against the present educational systems and that you {the instructor} should find presenters who like the public school systems.” One student teacher made the recommendation that “This is not a blaming game about the past and what ‘whites did.’” These particular comments represent a small minority of the recommendations made by the student teachers when giving advice for the APC, yet their comments do portray the nuances of emotion and tension within which both students and instructors find themselves in a course of this nature.

Summary

In this chapter, I have presented the findings of the ten teachers who were interviewed regarding their perceptions of the APC after they had taught for a year; the thematic findings of the field notes that I made as reflective reminders and thoughts while I was teaching the APC during the 2009 and 2010 winter sessions; and the comments and recommendations made by the student teachers in the open ended questions of both the 2009 and 2010 post-course surveys. In the next

chapter, I will be discussing the findings with regards to the literature, theory, and practice.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

In this chapter, a discussion of the quantitative and qualitative findings will be presented as they relate to the research questions and the literature. Following that, discussions regarding the implications for theory, future research and practice will be presented.

Background Knowledge of Student Teachers

The first question in this research was, “What is the background knowledge that student teachers have regarding FNMI people and histories?” To answer this, I used statistical data from surveys that were administered at the end of the 2009 APC offering and pre-and post-surveys for the 2010 APC. In addition, field notes based on the critical reflections I made as the APC instructor were thematically coded and provided qualitative data to help answer this particular research question.

Descriptive statistics including the frequency and percentages of the perceived knowledge of Aboriginal history, treaties, educational issues and current issues that may affect FNMI people were measured using a Likert type scale. Results of the 67 student teachers who completed the survey after the APC showed that students perceived that they had “limited knowledge” in the four content areas at the beginning of the APC and that over the course, their knowledge grew considerably. Caution must be taken in that for the 2009 APC survey, there was no pre-test for accessing prior knowledge; student teachers were asked at the end of the course to rate their perceptions of what they considered to be the level of prior

knowledge at the onset of the APC. The disaggregated findings of the 2009 survey show that the FNMI student teachers came into the course with significantly higher levels of content knowledge regarding FNMI history and education but left the course with no significant differences in knowledge when compared to the non-FNMI student teachers. The findings suggested that there was growth in knowledge, though perhaps it was self-reported somewhat overzealously. In addition, when looking at sources of knowledge, independent t-test findings demonstrated that the mean scores of FNMI students were significantly higher than that of non-FNMI students for accessing knowledge from newspapers, university courses and personal interest. This suggests that FNMI students were more apt to take an interest in learning about FNMI issues and actively search out information or at least be cognizant of information in news media sources and university coursework. Ultimately, the findings of the 2009 APC survey indicated that there were low levels of FNMI knowledge amongst student teachers in general prior to taking the course but that growth occurred over its duration, and that non-FNMI student teachers tended to be less cognizant of potential sources of information where FNMI experiences would be represented.

The 2010 APC survey was administered as a pre and post-course survey instrument. Descriptive statistics using means and frequencies, independent t-tests using ethnicity and gender as independent variables, and, paired sample t-tests were conducted on the knowledge items. The paired sample t-test of knowledge items prior to and after completing the APC in 2010 indicated that the overall mean

scores of knowledge items was significantly higher after taking the course than the mean sample scores of knowledge items prior to taking the course ($p=.000$).

Results of the independent t-tests showed that no differences were found in the mean percentage of correct scores on knowledge items between FNMI and non-FNMI students in the pre-test but, in the post-course survey, the total percentage of correct scores on knowledge items overall was significantly higher (FNMI mean=94; non FNMI mean= 81.85; $p=.021$) for the FNMI students than for the non-FNMI students. Though these findings should be viewed with caution because the FNMI student teachers constituted only 7% of the total sample category, this number is representative of the proportion of FNMI teachers within Manitoba public schools (10%), and does still suggest that FNMI students tend to have higher levels of knowledge prior to taking the APC.

Findings such as these may suggest that the course should be designed to provide more enrichment activities for students, particularly FNMI students, who enter the course with higher levels of FNMI knowledge. As a way to contextualize this finding, I can recall at one point in the 2009 course that I was “shortchanging” the FNMI students whose knowledge of the content was already apparent, and I apologized privately to them for that. Interestingly enough, the male FN teacher who was interviewed spoke of the need for these students to have their experiences represented in their university learning when he noted that, “Me, myself, going through school and university, a lot of my courses had no Aboriginal content and everything was always foreign to me. There was nothing I could really be in touch with.” This comment also may speak to the apparent lack of FNMI content

knowledge included in general coursework for all students prior to entering the APC.

The statistical findings also aligned with the qualitative findings from my field notes made throughout the duration of the APC in 2009 and 2010. For example, in 2009, I noted that the majority of student teachers seemed to enter the APC with low levels of FNMI knowledge and background. In many cases, what the students thought they knew was actually incorrect knowledge or stereotypical kinds of knowledge that had to be re-taught, causing an increased level of angst for both the student teachers and the instructor. Although my field notes indicated that I was quite surprised to find that the student teachers knew so little about FNMI history and people, perhaps I was simply being hopeful and optimistic that the student teachers would be more prepared and interested in knowing more about the lives and experiences of the growing numbers of FNMI students in provincial schools. This was an instance where I had to purposefully separate myself from my stance as an Aboriginal instructor who is knowledgeable and passionate about the future of FNMI education and face the reality that most non-FNMI student teachers are not knowledgeable about the content, knowledge and background of FNMI peoples and are seriously underprepared to teach these students. I had to realize how my findings aligned with the words of St. Denis (2010) who reported that:

there is still a lot more that can be done to ensure that Aboriginal content and perspectives are being taught in meaningful ways to all students. The often implicit hierarchy of school knowledge and subjects typically places a low valuation on Aboriginal subject matter. (p.8)

When I find myself being frustrated, I have to remind myself that the period of colonization, beginning with the arrival of the early prospectors and settlers began some five hundred years ago and it has only been in the past thirty years that we have experienced what some scholars (Battiste, 2002; McLaren, 2000; Binda, 2001) would term the post-colonial movement that pushed the FNMI educational agenda to the forefront of policy makers. In Manitoba, FNMI education has been deemed to be an educational priority only for the past 10 years or so, which has included some changes to curricula, legislation and policy.

For example, although Manitoba Education had a Native Studies department that developed curricula and resources since the early 1980s, it was only in 2003 that the *Manitoba Aboriginal Education Plan* was developed as a four faceted approach with strategies designed to increase high school graduation rates; increase access to and the completion of post-secondary programs; increase the entry and success of FNMI people to the labor market; and improve the research base for Aboriginal education and unemployment. The *Integrating Aboriginal Perspectives: A resource for curriculum developers, school administrators and teachers* was made available for public school personnel in 2003. I recall being one of the team members tasked with the professional development and training of that document in 2004. Unfortunately, several of the sessions that were planned for areas in the southwestern and parkland regions of the province had to be cancelled due to a lack of enrollment by school administrators and teachers. I suggest that the apparent lack of interest in FNMI content and curricula professional development at this level of the education system is reflected in the findings I have gathered in this study.

Perhaps 10 or 12 years is not enough time to undo the wrongs and misunderstandings related to 500 years of colonization of FNMI people. And yet, the findings also suggest that in schools where administrators do support FNMI education, new teachers felt a stronger sense of efficacy and were more likely to incorporate FNMI content, pedagogy, and meaningful ways of working with FNMI students into their teaching. Therefore, it must be reiterated that administrative support is key to fostering FNMI education in schools, and professional development to that end must continue to be available and advocated.

In addition, the literature of scholars (Battiste, 2004; Battiste & McLean, 2005; Watters, 2007) suggests that much of the FNMI knowledge that has been presented in schools seems to be at a superficial level whereby basic cultural symbols (beads, bannock, feathers and tipis) and history is taught in an isolated manner that renders students unable to make the connections between the impact of historical events on the contemporary struggle of FNMI people in Canada. Watters (2007), in a study of the effectiveness of the Ontario secondary curricula in teaching FNMI history and issues specifically noted that:

Aboriginal people are represented by a curriculum as historical figures with little relevance today. This reinforces stereotypical notions that Aboriginals are stuck in the past or resistant to the march of progress because of cultural deficiencies. And, that the representation of Aboriginal issues as historical issues serves to depoliticize the curriculum content by detaching it from the contemporary context. This allows teachers to explore Aboriginal issues within a context that does not require students to critically engage in

questions surrounding the practice of democracy, citizenship, or the specters of privilege and oppression in Canadian society. (p. 107)

Even though the vast majority of student teachers involved in both years of this research are in their early to mid twenties and may have been in high schools where some level of FNMI content was being taught, the level of knowledge that was demonstrated in both the statistical data and the qualitative findings suggest that their learning was representative of what Battiste and McLean (2005) call the “add and stir” model of education. According to Battiste and McLean, this particular kind of curriculum development is “limited and superficial” (p.7) because it does little to extend the critical thinking skills of all the students in the classroom, and in fact perpetuates the stereotypical status quo. It has been my experience that when student teachers bring incorrect and superficial knowledge of FNMI people and history to the APC, that the students and the instructor experience a great deal of tension and angst as they are forced to relearn and rethink their previously held notions.

However, there does exist some measure of hope in the findings of this study. In addition to the statistical and qualitative findings for 2009 and 2010 that are part of this research, I also had access to the unit plans and assignments that the student teachers created over the duration of the APC. Though an analysis of these documents was beyond the scope of this project, anecdotally I would suggest that they were also effective indicators of student learning over the duration of the course. My field notes indicated that the student teachers created assignments and units for their classrooms that involved critical thinking and a critical examination

of how FNMI people and content are portrayed in mainstream society and in school curricula. These students also tended to demonstrate a willingness to consider contentious content and to examine their own assumptions once a level of trust between them and the instructor had been created. Providing the opportunity within the confines of this course to develop the knowledge of students in a course of this nature at the very least helps to shed light on the wrongly held assumptions that exist related to FNMI peoples and begins the process of critiquing the status quo. The course alone is unlikely to affect massive change, the very fact that this course has become an institutionalized expectation for teacher education helps to foster the changes advocated by Manitoba Grand Chief Ron Evans of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs in a recent (Wednesday, January 19, 2011) interview on the Native Communications Incorporated radio station, a non-partisan publicly operated radio station designed for Aboriginal people. When discussing educational challenges Chief Evans noted “real change takes real time and real money.” I believe that this course adds some “real time” for (re)-shaping an educational agenda more representative and respectful of the lived experiences of FNMI students.

Attitudes of Student Teachers Prior To And After The APC

The second research question asked was “What attitudes do student teachers hold about FNMI people and issues prior to and after taking the APC?” To answer this question, statistical findings from the 2009 and 2010 APC, interview data from ten teachers who had completed the APC course in 2009, and field notes were analyzed.

Unlike the 2010 pre- and post-course survey, the 2009 survey did not have any questions that could be statistically analyzed with reference to attitudes but the open ended responses provided an opportunity for student teachers to make comments on the perceived value of the APC. My field notes for 2009 indicated that there was a high level of resistance articulated at the onset of the APC in January, 2009. At that particular juncture in time, I was teaching three sections of the APC to 80 students. I recall being very frustrated with the resistant attitudes displayed at the onset because this was the first year that the APC was mandated as a required course in the two year Bachelor of Education program.

In the first week, the student teachers made a barrage of comments such as “I am going to be a Math or music teacher therefore it makes more sense for me to take additional courses in my teachable areas” or “I am not planning to teach up north or on a reserve so this course {the APC} is not relevant to me” or “We should be taking courses for all cultures because our province is getting increasingly multi-cultural in composition.” After listening to these comments for several classes, I finally recommended that those students who were concerned about “having to take” the APC should simply write the Minister of Education because he was the person who had provided the directive. I gave the contact information to all three classes. That seemed to end the overt assault of complaints being made, though of course they likely went “underground” rather than dissipate completely.

Interview data supported my field note findings regarding the initial resistance of student teacher attitudes at the inception of the APC in 2009. Two teachers made specific reference to the resistant attitudes held by many of the

student teachers. For example, Linda said that, “I heard these people {other student teachers} complaining about having to take it {the APC}.” Brenda also noted that, “I don’t begrudge taking the course but a lot of the student teachers there did.” When analyzing the open ended responses regarding the value of the APC in 2009, some resistance could still be seen in nine comments that advocated for courses that addressed other cultures and that did not focus on the experiences of FNMI students alone, as well as three comments that were highly critical of the course and the instructor.

The 2010 statistical findings indicated that the attitudes about the APC became more favorable over the duration of the course though to a lesser extent than the knowledge growth of FNMI content and people. The findings also demonstrated that FNMI student teachers had more favorable attitudes about the APC both prior to and after having taken the course, and that females seemed to have less experience than males with FNMI people. It might be argued that the lack of experience with FNMI people might have an impact on the less favorable attitudes that are developed in relation to FNMI people and content.

The field notes of the 2010 APC did not highlight resistant attitudes. This may be due to the fact that I was better prepared for the opposition after having a year of practical experience with the resistance. I may not have internalized the resistant attitude as highly because I had been studying anti-racist and anti-oppressive scholarship; therefore, I had the language to be able to explain such resistance and could depersonalize it to a greater extent, as I knew others had struggled similarly. I also wonder if some of the resistance was not related to the

fact that 2009 was the first year of the course mandate and that students may have been modelling some of the general resistance noted at the university level from faculty members who felt that the mandate was a negation of academic freedom or had usurped university autonomy in program design.

Overall, however, the resistance suggested to me that the university in a broad sense had failed to equip student teachers with the skills related to what Freire (1976) has called “conscientization or achieving a deepening awareness of both the socio-cultural reality that shapes their lives and of their capacity to transform that reality through action upon it” (p. 27). St. Denis and Schick (2003) noted in their work on anti-racist and anti-oppressive courses, that when a course such as the APC is mandated as part of the core curricula, “students perceive the course as an infringement on their liberties even before they enter the class” (p. 2). Other scholars (Donald, 2009; Ireland, 2009; Tatum, 1992) have noted similar resistance to mandated courses that involve studying and learning to critique how race plays a part in contemporary education. In her discussion of the resistance to coursework on Aboriginal education, Battiste (2004) identified that “The resistance of white students who do not know this history counteract with guilt, anger, denial or racist justification for continued privilege” (p. 8). When speaking to the discontinuity presented in critical content within courses such as the APC, Britzman (1998) noted that, “New knowledge is first confronted as a criticism toward and the loss of the learner’s present knowledge and if the new knowledge offered is felt as discontinuous with the self, it seems to threaten the ways that the world has been

perceived” (p. 8). In his discussion of teacher education specifically, Donald (2009) affirms that:

When we consider that so much of teacher education is predicated on the need of the individual who wants to be a teacher to conform to a predetermined identity-role that suits institutional needs, demonstrate normalized competence in these contexts, and unconsciously conflate teacher thinking with teacher identity, we begin to understand the intense socio-cultural dynamics that are invested in the creation of a teacher. (p. 5)

In the context of this scholarship, the resistance in attitude of the students in the APC is therefore not surprising given that the majority of the student teachers were middle class, English speaking, Caucasian females who had little experience with FNMI people and who had many of their previously held beliefs and knowledge critiqued by the content and activities of the APC.

Outside of the initial resistance to engaging in the course, however, the study does provide evidence of attitudinal change over time, particularly within the context of the interview data. The most poignant remark was made by Shelley who said, “I think I walked in there thinking that she {S.Peden} is not going to change my mind on anything, and it {the APC} is not going to change who I am as a teacher but I think I did because I really started to think about how I might be thinking and presenting myself. I used to be very much speaking one thing and thinking another thing.” This comment suggests a growing awareness of student teachers that knowing the politically correct rhetoric of the time does not necessarily mean that one has thought critically about what it means to align one’s actions with the words.

Shelley seems to have identified that contradiction in her own way of being; hopefully she will now be able to more consciously practice a way of teaching where the rhetoric of current reform and her actions vis a vis FNMI content and students are parallel.

Another important comment was made by Bill who noted that, "Sometimes you have ideas in your head and you don't necessarily know why you have that idea but it is there. Sometimes it is from society in general and sometimes it is something that you grew up with that might not always be true. You definitely change your mind {about these ideas} when you take a course like this one." Bill was the student who sat in class for the first couple of weeks with body language that included leaning back with arms crossed suggesting he was just there for the credit. After I showed residential school videos and then had a guest speaker who spoke of the atrocities that students had personally experienced, Bill seemed to sit up and take notice. He began to consider that policies had been made and implemented that relegated FNMI people to inferior positions in Canadian society. In spite of Bill's initial indifference to taking the APC, he ultimately took advantage of the opportunity to do his field experience in a northern, remote community and then began his teaching career in the north.

As a way to further demonstrate how Canadian policy affected minorities, I taught a class whereby students learned how minoritized people had been treated in Canadian history. I showed video clips and readings of the Japanese internment camps, the Chinese head tax, and the Ukrainian internment in Brandon during the First World War, the institutionalizing of people with mental and physical

disabilities, and the institutions that existed for juvenile delinquents. Student teachers were shocked that these institutions existed and were actually funded by various federal and provincial government programs. I encouraged the student teachers to go home and ask their grandparents if they knew of these marginalizing practices; some student teachers returned to class sharing stories of how older relatives had experienced some of the effects of policy that marginalized certain people. Student teachers shared stories of how relatives had been institutionalized for minor mental health issues, others spoke of women who had been sent to homes for unwed mothers, and one student spoke about how a relative had been sent to an Institute for the Blind at the age of six years. When the student teachers began to realize that race and difference do matter within education and that they had been {mis}led to believe that meritocracy is promoted equally across all groups, they became much more empathetic and showed a willingness to make change in how they implemented curricula and how they worked with students who represented difference.

Another interesting commentary that speaks to a change in attitude over the duration of the APC was made by Linda who said that, "In my first field experience, before I had taken the APC, I had some troubles you know because I was just going from nothing and when I compare how I responded to and acted towards FNMI students since I took the course, it had made a difference. Not that I was negative at all, but I sure had a better perspective on how to work with the FNMI students. I understood things that probably made me a better teacher for all kids after taking the course." I believe that it took a lot of courage for this novice teacher to make the

statement regarding how she had experienced trouble with FNMI students prior to taking the course. In another part of the interview, Linda discussed how she could not understand the practice and policy that forces FN students to leave their homes and communities at 14 years of age in order to be able to attend high school. Comments such as these reflect a transformation in terms of how novice teachers understand the challenges related to FNMI students, policies and content.

I conclude that some of the resistant or negative attitudes of student teachers changed as a result of taking the APC course. However, the course in itself is not enough to create the long term and sustained changes that are required if we wish to truly improve the success of FNMI students. This belief is supported in the interviews of all ten teachers who indicated that the APC cannot do enough to adequately prepare teachers to integrate FNMI content and perspectives into their middle and high school subjects or help them to work with FNMI students. For example, five teachers indicated that there was not enough time in the course to learn both the FNMI content and perspectives and to learn how to effectively integrate such into their teaching units. Although the student teachers did complete units that integrated FNMI content or perspectives, their perceptions a year after the course indicated that they still did not feel adequately prepared to integrate FNMI content fully into their teaching.

In an interview, Carol said that, “There is too much of a gap there, especially for those young teachers who come from nice, city places or ‘mainstream places’ to learn this {FNMI perspectives and content} in one three credit hour course. There is simply not enough time.” Another teacher suggested that, “it {the APC} could be

offered in two parts, like the first part could be the actual content and stuff like history and sensitivity {referring to the discussions about racism and hegemony} and the structures {referring to policies and systems that serve to marginalize some people} but then the second course could be about FNMI resources and curriculum development.”

Within the recommendations that aligned with attitude change, several teachers noted that the APC was perhaps the first course where they had to examine, challenge and actually speak in both oral and written forms about their beliefs. These same teachers noted that this opportunity was important to them as teachers and Bill reported that, “This {the APC} was the first time we got to talk about some of our beliefs.... And found they were wrong.” Ireland (2009) suggests that,

Misconceptions about the inherent rights of Aboriginal people combined with an incomplete understanding of Canadian history leads to the perception that Aboriginal people receive preferential treatment and are the undeserving recipients of generous hand-outs. (p. 8)

When reporting on their experiences teaching an anti-racist course to student teachers, Schick and St. Denis (2003) note that “by requiring our students to examine their dominant identifications and the power relations through which they are produced, we see students engage in a difficult but necessary process in challenging the assumptions that normalize and naturalize society” (p.12). These attitudinal interview findings align with the scholarship of Schick and St. Denis (2005), Battiste (2009-2010), Donald (2009) and Dei and Calliste (2000) who

support the notion that dialogue regarding race is critical if we expect future teachers to be able to, as St. Denis (2007) says, “move beyond the symptoms of the problem and begin addressing the roots of the problem” (p. 1084).

Impact Of The APC On The First Year Of Teaching

The third research question asked, “What impact did the APC have on the first year of teaching?” With regards to content, the teachers identified a wide range of subject areas and specific units where they had integrated FNMI content into their lessons. The high school teachers specifically noted that they utilized FNMI content in English Language Arts, Science, and Mathematics. The middle years teachers indicated that they used FNMI content in all of their subject areas. Several teachers also noted that they displayed the FNMI role model posters and the Treaty Commission maps in their classrooms to create an awareness of FNMI people and issues within the classroom environment.

Teachers utilized FNMI pedagogies such as involving community members as sources of knowledge, allowing choice in terms of assignment content and format, inviting Elders, and creating collaborative groups. Linda talked about how she had been very structured in her approach to designing classroom activities, but she realized after taking the APC that this was not the most effective way to make learning meaningful and relevant to her students. This particular comment reminds me of the various discussions that we had in the APC about the role of teacher progressing from being the “sage on the stage” to the “guide on the side.” In the 2010 report *A Study of Aboriginal Teachers’ Professional Knowledge and Experience in Canadian Schools*, St. Denis noted that Aboriginal teachers described a number of

effective teaching practices, notably the ability of teachers to be “approachable, respectful, ... flexible, ... creating a safe learning environment... stressing mutual responsibility for learning and teaching... engaging in self-reflection and self-evaluation” (p.28).

Five teachers spoke about how they chose to address issues such as racism, the perpetuation of stereotypes, and negative media portrayals with their students. Within the context of this research, I believe that this is perhaps the most important impact of the APC because it shows that teachers are beginning to acknowledge and engage with the systemic barriers that often impede an understanding of FNMI people, content and perspectives. Ireland (2009) says that, “Without any meaningful dialogue about racism and the impact of colonization in the classroom, educators fail to consider these factors in evaluating student success rates and the failure to succeed is readily identified as being a child, family or community deficit” (p. 22). Regardless of what term is used to conceptualize educational practice, be it culturally relevant pedagogy, (Ladson-Billings, 1998); multicultural education (Banks, 1995 a & b); culturally responsive schooling (Castagno & Brayboy, 2008); or anti-racist pedagogy (St. Denis, 2007), any pedagogy that supports FNMI learners, content, perspectives and histories will engender more success for FNMI people. All speak to the need to enter into and have those difficult discussions relating to racism and the contemporary institutional and societal praxis that continues to marginalize FNMI people. This means that teachers must sincerely acknowledge the elephant in the room without fostering or perpetuating anger, denial, or blame. It is only after these topics have been named and understood that we can collectively

begin to plan and implement strategies that would, as Dave suggested, “create a more equal playing field.”

Is Racism Inherent In Our Schools & Does The APC Have An Impact?

The short answer to the research question asking “To what extent is racism inherent and perpetuated within our school system and to what extent can the APC help to address its effects on individuals (teachers and students), within our educational system? is “yes and maybe”.

Interviewees spoke of a variety of challenges: personal first-year teaching challenges; a perceived lack of resources to support the integration of FNMI content and perspectives; jurisdictional issues; and, struggling to deal with the “-isms” held by their teaching peers and community members. The teachers also spoke of a number of barriers that were encountered by FNMI students. Although these barriers are certainly real in the teachers’ contexts, such identification of issues that focus on the family, community or a lack of financial resources can sometimes act as Ryan (1976) termed, a “blame the victim” approach (p.12) whereby teachers subconsciously give up on trying different things because the deficits become the rationale for not trying or changing.

As indicated in the findings relating to materials, there was a contradiction noted in the perceived challenge of accessing FNMI resources. Several teachers advocated for “pre-packaged” units, suggesting that they did not have the time to seek and select FNMI materials to be used in their teachable subjects. However, there has been tremendous growth in the number and availability of FNMI print, literature and media resources in all subject areas. In fact, the essentialization of

culture as pre-packaged units is not in the interests of FNMI students, and though there is little doubt that new teachers are overwhelmed with responsibilities, justifying a lack of attention to FNMI content, pedagogies and perspectives by suggesting there is no time to access resources is unacceptable when students' learning and success are at stake.

Of all the challenges noted, however, I believe the greatest impediment to the widespread integration of FNMI content and knowledge into curricula is the interview findings that focus on racist attitudes held by teaching and community peers. Teachers spoke of the apprehension and fear that they felt in openly teaching FNMI content because, as Dave stated, "they {the community} blame everything that goes wrong on the FN people." As a new teacher and a new community member, Dave was torn between integrating FNMI content into his courses and being intimidated when students or parents would question his decision to "focus on FN things?"

Kathy noted that she included FNMI content in all of her middle years subject areas but "feared how they {the other teachers} might interpret this if they overheard such teachings." Linda out rightly noted that "racist attitudes" seemed to be evident in her school that had "no priority on FNMI content and perspectives." The findings of this study suggest that new teachers recognize and face the potential of being marginalized from the community or other teaching peers if they enter into discussions that focus on race (Battiste, 2004; Donald, 2009; Schick & St. Denis, 2005; St. Denis, 2009). These findings also align with the above scholarship that suggests that unless an anti-oppressive approach is taken within education that

encompasses dialogue and understanding of concepts such as privilege, meritocracy and the systemic barriers that impede the progress of FNMI students, educators are only treating the symptoms and not the deep seated issues of racism that are alive and well in our system.

Implications for Theory

This research was conceptualized using critical race theory (Dei, 1996; Kailin, 1994); red pedagogy (Grande, 2004, 2008); and Indigenous feminism (Cannella & Manuelita, 2008; Laroque, 2007). Critical race theory was originally conceived by those scholars (Bell, 1991; Delgado, 1995) who were studying the over representation of minorities in the legal system; that is, they wondered why there was a disproportionate number of Black and Hispanic people in American jails. Freeman (1995) one of the first American critical race theorists, contended that the assimilationist and integration governmental and educational policies of the 1980's created a whitewashing of race, and color blindness became the norm in North America. Brayboy (2005) introduced the term, TribalCrit, as an extension of critical race theory, suggesting that racism is endemic and plays a significant role in the educational achievement of those who are not in the dominant, mainstream group. Brayboy (2005) further advocates that TribalCrit can be used to change "... the manner that schools and educational researchers think about {Aboriginal} students" (p.442). Critical race theory focuses on activism to create the bridge between critical race theory and red pedagogy.

Critical race theory aligned with the intent of the research in that the APC was mandated as an institutional strategy of the provincial government, then

designed and implemented with a critical lens focusing on race. Student teachers were required to first learn about, and then acknowledge, the racism that exists as a result of colonial policy that continues to impact the education of FNMI students. It was then the intent of the mandate that teachers would become activists for change that would support FNMI education. In reality, for many student teachers, this was a difficult task because to accomplish this meant that they had to question and acknowledge their own long held beliefs and attitudes. The depth of the critique asked of students in some instances fostered resistance at the level of the individual, and anxiety within the classroom for both instructors and students as they worked through socially normative assumptions, personal biases, and the interplay between the two that leads to institutionalized forms of racism. Although this research indicated that there was an attitude change in the student teachers, it is doubtful that simply mandating and having one three credit APC will create the kind of attitudinal change within the public school systems of Manitoba that is necessary to meet FNMI student needs. The findings of this study indicate that although systemic changes such as the mandate are helpful, once these students move into the educational system, they are often silenced or intimidated by the institutional structures or the racialized attitudes that continue to dominate within communities and the teaching force.

The long term educational changes that are required for FNMI students in provincial school systems will most likely require a concerted, long term effort at social, institutional and personal levels that go beyond the scope of the APC. Though critical race theory provides a useful means of analyzing the context within which

the APC was embedded, the findings suggest that there is a much more complex interplay between social, institutional and individual levels than the theoretical perspective can neatly explain. Institutional changes alone, such as the mandate, may help to foster short term changes at the individual level, but it does not necessarily affect sustained changes over the long term when these individuals enter back into the broader society where racist attitudes are normalized.

Red pedagogy (Grande, 2004) is a pedagogy of decolonization that embraces the indigenous concepts of relationality as opposed to the linear and hierarchical characteristics of many western-based critical theories. Red pedagogy (Grande, 2008) is said to be a hopeful pedagogy because it is premised upon building coalitions among all levels of educators in an effort to disrupt the colonial and neo-colonial manifestations that could collectively harm our collective future. Red pedagogy advocates for the building of coalitions or partnerships, and uses the term “allies” when referring to those members of mainstream or dominant society who acknowledge and lend support to changing attitudes and practices that impact upon FNMI education. Its limitation occurs, however, in the lack of attention to the complexity of the process of building authentic coalitions between groups with entirely different worldviews. Suggesting that coalitions be built, and actually offering means of building those coalitions in meaningful ways are two very different things, and the latter is missing in much of the theoretical discourse. For example, when I was teaching the APC, I used the term “allies” when I would try to build a bridge between the FNMI content or the need to work with FNMI students, and those non-FNMI students who would recognize an imperative to engage in this

work. I would often say something like, “hey, we {FNMI kids} have an ally in you” as a means of suggesting that a bridge between two worlds had been built despite cultural differences. I was therefore struck when I read the comment on one of the recommendations for the course that stated, “Stop using the term allies with us. You make it sound as if there is a war going on.” Rather than building a coalition, I had inadvertently with this student deepened our apparent differences by using the language of war. Culture is complex, and differences in cultural worldviews more so. To assume that building coalitions will be an easy task is to assume wrongly, even with the best of theoretical intentions.

Indigenous feminism (Laroque, 2007), unlike feminist discourse, is more about gender inequality and social justice and less about the discourse that has separated women and men. As I hope has been evident in the stories I have shared of my own life, my experiences as an Aboriginal woman have shaped my own worldview, what I teach, how I teach, and the kinds of attitudes I wish to foster in students. The intersections of my own identity have helped me to see where gender and race have impacted upon my existence and my biases, and how they may impact upon those of others who are similar and/or different from me. They certainly have impacted upon how I view social (in)justice and the lengths I go to ensure that FNMI students are supported and valued within our education system. In this way I concur with St. Denis (2007) who contends that “feminist scholarship is important to her anti-racist teaching in which I draw upon a wide range of feminist writings on issues including race, nationhood, class, disability and sexual identity” (p. 5). In addition, I believe that feminist theory helped to build a bridge of understanding

between the student teachers primarily representing the dominant group in society, the FNMI content, and me. For example, although many of the student teachers were initially reluctant to acknowledge that racism continues to exist in Manitoba, they were quicker to acknowledge other ways that people become marginalized, and often gender issues were surfaced as a means of talking about inequity. It was from this commonality of experience that the group could then begin to talk about and acknowledge that institutions, systems, and policy did not just happen; that in fact, they were a result of prevailing social attitudes that become embedded in the very structures which we support and perpetuate within our public democracy.

Critical race theory, red pedagogy and indigenous feminism as conceptual frameworks provide tools for understanding the various manifestations of how race, policy and education layer and intersect in ways that privilege some and marginalize others. These theories provide a language for naming, understanding and even deconstructing many of the issues surrounding FNMI students and public school systems. The very act of conducting such work is highly charged with emotion because it acknowledges, reifies and in fact insists upon creating tensions around which there are no easy solutions. Whereas the APC can create opportunities for student teachers to acknowledge and engage with the elephant in the classroom, the long term solution{s} related to alleviating the racism in our school systems lie not only at an individual teacher level but at a collective institutional and societal level. And this will take “real time and real money!” ...and real attitudinal change.

Implications for Further Research

When I was a young child, I remember the Elders talking about how little they knew about anything. I thought they were joking because I respected that the elders knew everything. With age and experience, I have figured out what the Elders meant when they were referring to knowing little about things, particularly at this stage of my research. Having spent almost four years in the co-design, implementation, data gathering and analysis of the APC, I certainly have more questions for further research than I have answers about it. For the purposes of this dissertation, I will outline some areas worthy of further research.

In terms of determining the long-term impacts of this course, it would be interesting to conduct follow-up interviews with these same teachers over longitudinal and intermittent time periods of perhaps two, five and ten years of teaching. This research could also be extended to include a larger sample of teachers. The method could be enlarged so that teachers were solicited based upon different teaching contexts, including large urban or smaller rural/remote schools. Results could then be compared across contexts for potential differences in perceptions related to effective implementation of FNMI content, pedagogies and working with FNMI students. It would also be interesting to conduct research that asks students to comment upon the instruction of teachers who have taken the APC to determine their perceptions of the teachers' effectiveness in implementing FNMI content, pedagogies and working with FNMI students.

Another question or area of research that might be worthy of pursuit would be to develop professional learning communities among teachers who had taken the APC, then study the issues and proposed solutions that they raised either individually or collectively. Multiple means of data collection, professional development opportunities and/or collaboration could be initiated, including the use of distance technologies, to offset some of the isolation teachers expressed in working to implement FNMI content and working with FNMI students. Teachers and administrators currently in the system who have not taken the APC could also be encouraged to engage in these professional learning communities and action research projects could be designed to study how site-based, contextualized professional learning opportunities might help to foster change in attitudes and knowledge.

A third area of research might be to conduct similar studies of graduate coursework designed to foster the knowledge and capacity of practicing teachers and administrators currently working in schools. For example, my colleague and I are planning to conduct research on the efficacy of the two week summer institute that we are organizing at the University of Manitoba in July 2011. In addition to some of the methods used in this study, it might make sense to design the research such that there is a longer term collaborative element possibly in the form of regular focus groups which allow the participants to continue to engage with and support each other outside of the confines of the course to integrate FNMI knowledge, strategies for working with FNMI students, and foster attitudinal change within their local school and community contexts.

There are all kinds of research that could follow from the seeds that have been planted by this particular project. Given that there is a small body of formal research on this topic within Manitoba in general, and in particular outside of the City of Winnipeg, any research that focuses on building the capacity of educators to promote system change would be beneficial for all involved in public education.

Implications for Practice

After studying the two year implementation of the APC, I can't help but think that although the mandate was made with the good intention of creating change for the future teachers and students in the province, the mandate is little more than a tinkering approach around the edges of our educational system (Cuban, 2001). Many more additional supports are needed to further develop capacity at various levels of our education system. Included in this section are practice initiatives that focus on: the background knowledge that student teachers bring to the course; additional courses that might be developed; capacity development of faculty, school administrators and teachers; and, current promising practices that relate to FNMI education.

The findings of this study suggest that the majority of non-FNMI student teachers come to the Aboriginal Perspectives course with little knowledge of FNMI content, histories, pedagogies and why this is important in contemporary classrooms. In addition, teachers become frustrated within the confines of the single course because there is so much to learn that the curriculum development aspects of the Aboriginal Perspectives course become rushed at the end. Therefore,

it seems reasonable to suggest that other ways of fostering background knowledge prior to entering the course must be explored.

At the present time, students enter the Faculty of Education with a variety of degrees ranging from the Bachelor of Arts, Physical Education, Science, Music, and Fine Arts. These degrees must have the requisite numbers of credit hours to meet the teachable criteria established by the Teacher Certification Branch. Currently, however, there is no requirement that student teachers have any formal university course background in Aboriginal or Native Studies. Instead, universities demand that teachers have a fairly extensive background in their teachable area yet they are asked to integrate FNMI content into their subject area without ensuring that they have the knowledge to do so. Such a contradiction would not be expected in other teaching areas (math, for example). Given what this research has shown, it might be necessary to establish some prerequisite coursework in Aboriginal content knowledge in the Bachelor of Education entrance requirements so that upon entry to the Faculty of Education, students have a basic foundation in FNMI history and legislation, and its impact on schooling.

If the student teachers had such knowledge upon entry to the Bachelor of Education program, the three credit hour APC could then be developed and taught with more emphasis on anti-racist (Ireland, 2009; St.Denis, 2007) or anti-oppressive pedagogy and on the incorporation of FNMI content, history and pedagogies into curricula. This is particularly relevant given that the interview findings show that teachers are not only struggling to meet the challenges associated with integrating FNMI content, pedagogies and perspectives but are also apprehensive about doing

so given some of their teaching contexts. Such concerns make explicit the need for additional coursework that utilizes a critical theoretical stance to address racism and related social justice issues within the Bachelor of Education program.

Other approaches could include building the capacity of educators at the faculty and school levels. Although faculties of education were tasked via the mandate to develop and implement the Aboriginal Perspectives course, and were provided with a ten thousand dollar fund for this task, there was no resources or requirement to develop the capacity of the professoriate to do this. Given the predominantly non-FNMI demographic of the education faculty in the three faculties of education in Southern Manitoba, perhaps additional funding should have been directed at faculty development so that all faculty could incorporate FNMI content, perspectives and pedagogies across coursework instead of focusing on a stand alone course. Additional funding could have been provided for hiring FNMI professors who could help develop faculty capacity as well as teach some of the FNMI courses.

I believe that faculties have to exercise caution when staffing APC courses only with FNMI instructors. There exists a danger that this staffing can essentialize and marginalize FNMI faculty, as well as send implicit and contradictory messages to student teachers. If student teachers never see non-FNMI instructors modeling or incorporating FNMI perspectives into their courses, there may be little incentive for them to do so in their own practice. Other issues stem from discomfort with the topic or “not wanting to offend anyone.” However, if we do not wish student teachers to deny their responsibility in teaching FNMI content to students, we should not allow faculty members to do so. Funding must be provided so that the

professoriate can develop its background knowledge, content and pedagogies in FNMI education so they can integrate the content in their particular subject areas, in a synonymous manner to what schoolteachers are asked to do.

Other approaches for faculty development range from ongoing participation in short courses that focus on various FNMI knowledge, history or pedagogy, attendance at FNMI education conferences, or making time to attend events as the Manitowabe Music Festival that is held annually in Winnipeg. For example, the Aboriginal Education Directorate, in collaboration with a variety of FNMI partners, plans the Aboriginal Education Research Forum (AERF) that is held annually in Winnipeg. This conference has gained national recognition, yet few non-FNMI professors from southern Manitoba faculties attend. I have been on the conference planning and volunteer committee for the past five years therefore I have first hand experience as to who is in attendance at the AERF. The Treaty Relations Commission of Manitoba has been holding a series of brown bag luncheon speakers in Winnipeg, but few non-FNMI professors attend these learning events. Again, while completing the Ph.D. residency requirement in Winnipeg, I took the opportunity to attend these luncheon sessions that afforded me the opportunity to learn from outstanding Aboriginal speakers and to see who was attending. Of course, though these opportunities are helpful in beginning to develop the capacity of faculty, they alone cannot hope to change our education system. As Roy and Hampton (2000) suggest:

It would be a mistake to assume that as some individual faculty members change attitudes and behavior, the success rate of (FNMI} students will automatically increase. Changes need to be systematically and societally

implemented to make big differences; changes must be organizational in nature, rather than isolated sub-systems of an educational institution. (p. 68)

In addition to building faculty capacity, interview data showed that administrative support was critical in helping teachers implement FNMI content and pedagogies. Much of the research on effective school leadership (Leithwood, Seashore Louis & Wahlstrom, 2004) suggests that leadership is critical to effecting sustainable change for school improvement and student learning. Leithwood and Duke (1999) suggest that one of the many responsibilities of school leaders is to engage both colleagues and themselves in an ongoing self-reflection and analysis of the existing social conditions of the school and local society with a goal of better meeting the needs of those in the school. Given this research, and the recent focus on inclusive education that underpins the philosophy of our public school systems, it follows that having well-prepared and trained principals who understand FNMI issues is key to embedding sustainable and effective practices, pedagogies and curricula from which all students benefit. Unfortunately, given the speed at which the introduction of FNMI students into provincial schools seem to have “snuck up on” school systems, and the lack of cultural representation in both teaching and administrative staff, it is not surprising that most school principals feel grossly unprepared to deal with the realities, world views, experiences and learning needs of these children. Perhaps it is this feeling of not having the skills or knowledge that leads some of the teachers in this research to articulate that “FNMI content, knowledge and pedagogies are simply not a priority” in their school contexts.

In 2004, I conducted an archival study on the Manitoba professional development opportunities that were available on FNMI issues, the year after the *Aboriginal Education Action Plan* of 2003. Two major conferences, one sponsored by the Manitoba Association of School Superintendents and the other sponsored by the Manitoba Teachers Society were specifically directed at FNMI education. In the period from 2005-2009, no conferences provided a sustained or directed focus on FNMI education by public school organizations for school administrators. In the past year, the Manitoba Education Research Network has focused one of its several one-day sessions on FNMI education. Though the rhetoric that focuses on increasing the success rates of FNMI students exists, there remains a dearth of efforts to consciously foster the capacity of administrators to help achieve this. To offset some of the lack of professional development, I will be working collaboratively with a non-FNMI colleague to develop and implement a Summer Institute at the University of Manitoba in July 2011 focused on building the capacity of in-school administrators to make FNMI education more inclusive. In addition to self-selected professional development opportunities, the principal certification program in the province should include mandatory training in FNMI education for the Level one or Level two certificates granted by Manitoba Education.

As the survey data indicated, non-FNMI student teachers come to the course with little knowledge about FNMI people and in some instances, what knowledge they have is incorrect. These student teachers have been schooled with the ideologies associated with multicultural agendas that are supposed to provide a common ground for understanding diversity (Dei & Calliste, 2000). According to

Vanhouwe (2007), the “aim of multiculturalism is largely attitudinal, the assumption being that enhanced sensitivity will be the result of more knowledge about cultural differences” (p. 4). Yet, although we have a cadre of young student teachers entering the Bachelor of Education program who have been exposed to the ideas of multiculturalism, they continue to struggle with FNMI content, and the impacts of Canadian policy aimed specifically at assimilation such as residential schools and the *Indian Act*.

In addition, once they are “armed” with this content and pedagogy, some new teachers, as found in this study, may fear integrating FNMI learning into their teaching because they are concerned with how it will be perceived by parents, community members, and teacher colleagues. Many of the interviewees in this study believed that FNMI initiatives were not a priority in the school system. According to statistics provided by the Manitoba Teacher’s Society in 2009, the average age of the teacher in Manitoba is 47.5 years and is increasing given that teachers are staying longer in their positions because of the recent economic downturns. In addition, the 2009 *Aboriginal Teachers Questionnaire Report* showed that non-FNMI teachers hold 90% of the teaching positions in Manitoba public school systems which likely means that the lived experiences of FNMI peoples is not represented in the current teaching cadre. In addition, if these teachers, who are only a few years younger than I am, were schooled with the same curricula and textbooks as I whereby FNMI people were depicted as “savages and untrustworthy” (Deyall, no date), this does not bode well for their level and accuracy of knowledge to speak to FNMI issues or to work meaningfully with FNMI students. I suggest that

the experiences of new teachers in this study support this contention, and necessitates that we should, as one teacher suggested, look at ways to develop long term and sustained professional development for practicing teachers. Given what we know about the lack of efficacy of stand alone professional development sessions (Guskey, 2003), we need sustained professional growth opportunities for teachers to develop their understandings of FNMI content, knowledge or pedagogies, and to offset some of the misunderstandings and resistance to engaging in such learning.

Besides the time and money necessary for implementing some of these ideas, a more difficult dilemma involves naming the elephant of racism, and addressing its subtle characteristics and effects in public schools. As St. Denis (2007, 2009) and Ireland (2009) suggested, until we start addressing issues around race, we will not make the progress we need to make in schools. This is indeed a complex undertaking because my experience has shown me that racism is considered by many to be as foul as the f-word; it goes unacknowledged, and therefore unaddressed, if not outright resisted. Rhetoric in public schools promotes the principles of meritocracy and white privilege, supporting the view that if one works hard, one can succeed if one just “chooses to do so.” The challenge to all educators is to deconstruct such rhetoric and to examine how systems perpetuate racism and exclusion. By extension, this means that all those who have roles in the system may either consciously or unconsciously privilege some and marginalize others. As one of the teachers said, “when you examine those things, you have to look in the mirror and sometimes you don’t like what you see so then, you have to change your thoughts and attitudes about things.” The challenge in terms of teacher capacity

development lies in considering how it is that teachers can be provided with opportunities to learn about and meaningfully consider the unacknowledged racism that pervades our public schools. To do this, teachers must be provided with safe spaces for dialogue, just as one of the teachers in the APC suggested that, “the course provided a place, a safe place where we could talk about these issues.”

Unfortunately, this safety was not apparent in the schools or communities in which some of the interviewees found themselves teaching. Unfortunately, these contexts not only stifle the will of these new teachers to incorporate FNMI perspectives and pedagogy into their teaching, but they also serve to perpetuate the racism inherent in the status quo. As such, the rhetoric of the value of FNMI education might remain, but at best, some “tinkering” occurs at the edges of our school system. For example, one high teacher interviewed talked about how the staff in his school wanted to address the surface issues around poor school attendance but were unwilling to dig deeper to understand what some of the potential issues causing poor attendance might be. This exemplifies a scenario of not wanting to address the real issues but rather to treat the symptoms, which may then lead to blaming the victim, as discussed by Ireland (2009).

The findings suggest that real changes will occur only when people recognize that racist attitudes remain and continue to be perpetuated cyclically and generationally within our system. Meaningful change will occur only when we have moved to a place where there exists a willingness to engage in honest, open and sustained dialogue around the debilitating effects that colonial oppression has caused for all Manitobans, and for FNMI people in particular. The APC course

provides only a very small opportunity for such dialogue, but perhaps, if new teachers' attitudes can be changed, each new group of students who enter the teaching force will build systemic capacity to erode the racist attitudes still very much entrenched within our system.

Promising FNMI Educational Practices

I have sometimes been described as being negative or too critical by some of my non-FNMI student teachers when I dare to challenge them on their notions of hegemony and meritocracy. I realize that this may be because these student teachers neither understand the nature of critical theory or red pedagogy nor do they want to criticize a system that has served them well. The majority of student teachers hold fond memories of their school experience and lack the experience that comes with having had to negotiate educational systems that have marginalized FNMI knowledge and students. I realize that statistics show that some progress (Census, 2006) has been made with regards to FNMI educational success. Whereas 40 years ago the FNMI population did not include those who became doctors, lawyers and teachers, today there exists growing numbers of FNMI people represented at various professional and technical sectors of the workplace. However, much work still needs to be done to ensure that the young and growing nature of our FNMI population is represented in all workplaces and society. The next section will discuss a handful of promising practices that are currently being conducted and could potentially be expanded in Manitoba.

Both the survey and teacher interview data indicated that the use of guest speakers where young people see FNMI people's experience and knowledge

legitimated through role modeling was considered to be valuable in the university and the public school classroom. To foster this representation, the Aboriginal Education Directorate has produced a FNMI role model booklet and a poster series with words of wisdom from specific FNMI role models in the province. This resource has been sent to provincial public schools and serves as a cadre of potential guest speakers for public school classrooms. A logical development might be to create a speakers bureau similar to the speakers bureau of the Treaty Relations Commission (TRC) of Manitoba. The speakers bureau of the TRC is comprised of more than 30 speakers representing a variety of occupations and including Elders who are available to travel to schools or other institutions with the purpose of teaching, by way of story and example, various FNMI content. Findings from the interviews indicate that the student teachers valued the various guest speakers that were used to enhance course teachings and they made recommendation that such speakers be available to them in the public schools. One of the challenges they faced was that as new teachers, often new to the community, they did not have the knowledge or community connections to find potential guest speakers. In developing such resources, however, it is necessary that we consider the needs of communities outside of the city of Winnipeg since almost half of the public school students in Manitoba are enrolled in schools outside of the perimeter. It may be valuable to establish a regional set of speakers to supplement the already valuable role model resources that are presently available from Manitoba Education.

School divisions could make a concerted effort to develop learning communities where principals, teachers and parents could dialogue and collaborate

on new initiatives and resources about FNMI issues. The Aboriginal Circle of Educators (ACE), an organization comprised initially of Aboriginal teachers but expanded to include all teachers who were interested in Aboriginal education, could be used as a model for other areas of the province. ACE provides support for teachers in the area of FNMI education and hosts two conferences each year. Perhaps if similar collaborative yet professional groups were established in regional centers with a FNMI focus, teachers might be able come together on a regular basis not only to share resources but also to act as supports for each other as they work to further FNMI curricula and work with FNMI students in provincial schools systems.

Several of the teachers interviewed identified the apparent lack of parental support as an ongoing challenge that they felt impeded their progress in implementing FNMI content and pedagogies and working with FNMI students. As education in a traditional FNMI model was seen to be collaborative, but public schools as we know them are sometimes not entirely open to having parents wandering in and out of the buildings, we might want to explore ways to authentically involve FNMI parents within the schools. The Frontier School Division of northern and remote Manitoba can be considered a leader in the area of FNMI parental involvement. For over twenty years, each school in the division has had to create a local school committee made up of parents and community members whose goal is to provide direction to school administrators in a variety of areas. For example, when a new teacher is hired in a Frontier School, members of the school committee attend the hiring interview and are given a voice as to whether or not the particular candidate should be hired. Such practices demonstrate a respect for

traditional ways of doing things such that education becomes owned by the community members and not by the school administrators or authorities. This is unlike the hiring practices in larger southern Manitoba public schools where school administrators hire teachers and parents have little voice in who will teach their children.

At this point I will share one of my own experiences to demonstrate how notions of FNMI parental involvement can be shaped (or misconstrued). When I moved south some eleven years ago, I enrolled my son in Grade one in a public school. The school catchment area was such that the majority of the parents were professional or business people mostly of non-FNMI ancestry. At that time, I was employed as the Centre Coordinator for the Brandon University Teacher Education Program and was tasked with the job of developing the community based teacher education program. As a parent, I not only had about 20 years of teaching experience but also was employed as a faculty member. The Grade 1 class that my son attended was quite large; there were over 20 students including a handful of children with special needs who required extra help and teacher time. Given that my time was somewhat flexible, I decided to help out in the classroom. I told the teacher of my experience and offered to be an extra set of hands for whatever she required, be it reading with students or helping with art projects. I am not entirely sure why I was never called to assist with the classroom activities, but my son was in that school for almost three years before I was asked to help supervise a trip to the beach. When my offer to help in the classroom was ignored, I admit to feeling slighted. Now, when I think of how I responded to this incident, I can't help but

wonder how other FNMI parents feel if and when their attempts to volunteer are ignored. Do they volunteer again or do they accept the rejection and just not offer anymore? And what about those parents who do not have the confidence to volunteer in the first place; would anyone even think to ask them to come and help or would they simply be ignored and considered to be an “absent parent” within the public school system?

Many teachers interviewed in this study noted that attendance was an issue that caused FNMI students to be at risk of high school drop out. We also had discussions about this issue in the university classroom based on their practicum experiences. When I asked students whether they phoned home or went to the home of a FNMI parent to have a conversation about attendance, I often received excuses about how busy teachers and parents were. My response was to tell the student teachers about a sign that was prominently displayed in the staff room at Rossville School in Norway House that said, “Kids don’t care how much you know until they know how much you care.” I used that opportunity to initiate a dialogue that questioned whether teachers tended to demonstrate that they cared about students or whether they tended to demonstrate how much they knew. To carry on the logic, if students prioritize caring over content knowledge, then it makes sense that students would also pay more attention to those teachers who would make the time to contact parents at the onset of absences as opposed to waiting for two weeks when, as one interviewee said, “by that time, they {the student} are so far behind they just give up and quit.” If teachers could find ways to build positive relationships

with parents where they shared the value of each child, parents would be more willing to listen and deal with negative issues when they arose.

It is not new knowledge that many FNMI parents have a distrust of school systems (Grant, 1996; Lea & Sims, 2008) because of their own, often negative, experience with education, and the fact that many FN parents were not allowed to partake in educational decisions in the hundred plus years of the residential school era. It stands to reason that supports or bridges have to be put in place so that parents can gain positive experiences within public schools. The late Senator Jacques Hebert, founder of the national youth program called Katimavik which was one of the national strategies for developing cross cultural awareness in 1977, suggested that in order for diverse groups of people to understand and respect each other, they needed to work together (personal communication when I was on the Katimavik board of Directors). The Katimavik program was created to involve diverse youth aged 17-21 from across Canada who were placed in a variety of large, small, rural and remote communities across Canada to live in a group setting. The program has been around for 34 years and 1000 youth annually are engaged in cross-cultural and community service activities for a six month duration. I relate the Katmavik context because I believe that we could foster its example within our public school systems. For example, imagine how relationships and understanding might be built if we had extra curricular programs for parents in the same way that we have extra curricular programs for students in school? There could be, for example, a woodworking night, a sewing night, a computer night or a digital photography night where parents could come to these classes to learn from each

other but more importantly, get a chance to meet and work together with school staff on areas of common interest. If relationships were built with parents in an indirect yet authentic and meaningful way, maybe FNMI parents would be more supportive of the education system in general and would be more willing to become engaged with their children's learning within it.

Perhaps if teachers got to know parents in a venue outside of the typical classroom, they would better understand some of the histories and lived experiences of the FNMI students in their classrooms. I realize that there are a number of schools where good programs are running, and I also realize that this kind of program development takes time because relationships take time to build and nurture. Regardless, school divisions with growing numbers of FNMI students would be wise to invest into the development of such programs because FNMI parents have the potential to become our best advocates for the education of FNMI children. This kind of thinking was evidenced by one of the teachers who spoke about meeting a FNMI woman in a quilt making course that had been held in her school who she felt "could be counted on to come to the school not only for her own kids but for any kids." This particular teacher went on to explain how she felt that this parent was a leader, albeit not an official one. This example demonstrates to me that teachers have to nurture not only the students on their class lists, but the skills and value of all people within the community so that their voices and talents are recognized and encouraged. There is an old saying that "it takes a whole community to raise a child." I have even heard a version of this that says, "it takes a whole community to raise a teacher." If teachers can move away from developing their

identities as knowledge expert and embrace the idea that the knowledge and experiences of parents and communities can enhance what is happening within the school walls, we might make the education system more effective not only for FNMI students but for all students.

The community schools movement has made significant progress towards developing parental relations with the schools. Unfortunately huge mega high schools have been built using efficiency cost models in which hundreds of students attend yet develop few authentic relationships with each other or with their teachers. It is difficult to build relationships in schools in which teachers might be teaching over 120 students per day, possibly without significant preparation time. Such contexts speak to the need to rethink our priorities for teaching and learning. Teachers need time for developing student-teacher and teacher-parent relationships. And teachers need to understand how important their relationships with parents are to the success of their students. Currently, school environments are organized in ways such that many teachers might meet parents at most once per term in a ten minute timeframe called parent teacher interviews. Those interviews are generally highly prescriptive, and are full of teacher-led information which leaves little time for the parents to talk about their children or to develop any meaningful relationship with the teacher.

The small school movement (Lee & Smith, 1995; Raywid, 1995) is one that focuses on creating relationships among students and staff by separating the large schools so that autonomous sub-schools are operated within the facility. Even within large regional high schools, there has been some movement towards

designing schools within a school so that smaller relational units can be developed as part of the larger system. This focus on relationality is considered to be a cornerstone in FNMI education yet systemically, the very design of high school education has overlooked the concept and as interviewees suggested, students have been lost in the system as a consequence.

Several teachers noted that “FNMI students did not seem to feel a sense of belonging” at the school where they were working. Yet how can FNMI students feel as if they belong when they don’t see themselves or their people represented on staff or on the teams and various extra curricular areas highlighted within the school? For example, one teacher spoke of how he noticed the lack of FNMI representation on the high school volleyball team. In order to recruit these students, the teacher had to make transportation arrangements for them so that they could get a ride home after the practices. This particular teacher talked about how he noticed a friendship develop among the players that extended beyond the volleyball court to within the classrooms. He suggested that as a consequence of their representation on the admired high school team, the FNMI students developed a sense of confidence and belonging to the school.

This reminds me of the numerous times when I have questioned my student teachers about the numbers of FNMI students on the various drama, music and sport activities in schools with which they are familiar. Many student teachers respond that few if any FNMI students are involved in those sorts of school activities. The inevitable answer to that question always raises the point that it is difficult for FNMI students to feel as if they belong to the school or have a

commitment to education if they are not participating in the kinds of activities in which many students take pride. The reasons for this lack of participation run a gamut from poverty to a lack of transportation or a lack of skill development (which generally can be traced back to the first two causes). If the cause ultimately boils down to lack of access, it behooves administrators to re-structure these events such that FNMI students have access to the teams and clubs that often meet after school. Perhaps these events can be re-scheduled during regular school hours or transportation systems and funding should be improvised such that FNMI students can attend. The most important point to consider is the significance that FNMI participation in school events might have, not only on the students at an individual level, but on the community at large as community members begin to see positive depictions of FNMI people contributing to the school community.

Concluding Thoughts

I began this dissertation imagining an elephant in the classroom that acts as a metaphor for the reluctance and apprehension educators have for acknowledging racial issues, and in particular, dealing with the historical and contemporary marginalization of FNMI education and students. I include in this group of educators non-FNMI students, since Ireland (2009) contends “for the most part, non-Aboriginal people feel uncomfortable talking about race and racism” (p. 75). But my experience has also shown me that FNMI people (students, and this case, myself as instructor) are also nervous about acknowledging racism even though, as

Chief Dan George said, “We want to take our rightful place in society,” and desire the best for our children. FNMI people have faced the withdrawal, ignorance or anger of others when they “pull the race card” and confront the elephant by talking about the societal, systemic and institutional practices that impede the success of FNMI students. Sometimes they negotiate systems by withdrawing from them, similarly to what my Mom did when she decided to work nights rather than encounter racism in her workplace on a daily basis.

There is a considerable body of literature (Ireland, 2009; Schick & St. Denis, 2005, Silver, Mallet, Freeman & Simard, 2002; St. Denis, 2007) demonstrating that racism exists in public schools and has a detrimental effect on FNMI students. I have included in this study many suggestions for offsetting these obstacles, and other provincial educational jurisdictions including Saskatchewan, Ontario and British Columbia have developed curricula and professional development with the goal of having educators acknowledge and address racism.

The mandate for the APC was made with the intention of providing all future teachers with FNMI content, worldviews and pedagogies to improve the educational success of FNMI students. This research has shown that the APC alone will not change our educational system, but it does have the potential to create knowledge growth and attitudinal change within individual teachers. The student teachers who complete the APC have acknowledged racism and are able to develop curricula that are inclusive of FNMI content and worldviews; but they struggle with the prevalent attitudes of their communities and of other staff members. These novice teachers have been armed with knowledge and pedagogy to affect change for FNMI students,

but they are also trying to fit into a school system that has not acknowledged the elephant in the classroom. The danger is that these new teachers may withdraw from the challenges associated with this difficult work, particularly if they do not work with administrators who foster FNMI education. The work that has begun in the APC is important, necessary work, but it must be sustained across the entire educational system and across the career stages of teachers in order to change the social attitudes that continue to dominate in schools. Without a mandate or concerted plan to provide existing teachers and administrators with similar opportunities to learn about the “frontier colonial logic” (Donald, 2009, p.1) that has impeded FNMI academic success, educators continue to dance with the elephant rather than confront and engage with it.

This research has been difficult in a number of ways. I realize that I am taking a major risk by speaking about racism as I have experienced it in my own schooling and work as a female Aboriginal teacher educator. I realize that there will be some people from both the FNMI and non-FNMI communities who will continue to negate the elephant in our schools. They may do this because it is painful to acknowledge; when we look deep into our hearts, “Sometimes we see things that we don’t want to see but when we do, then we must change things” (Bill). And, yes, change is difficult and frightening, but if we want a better world for all of our children, we must make these changes. I recall a little boy once asking me “How do you eat an elephant?” I initially thought of the elephant’s immense size and replied, “I don’t eat elephants.” To finish his teasing, the young boy countered with the giggle, “You eat it one bite at a time.” I think I was meant to hear the real wisdom

that came from the mouth of this child. Rather than dancing around the elephant in our schools, we will all be better served if we just eat it--one bite at a time.

Chi Megwetch!

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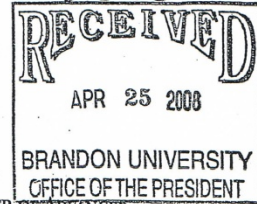
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Appendix A

Letter from Education Minister to President of Brandon University



Item 6. iii



MINISTER OF EDUCATION,
CITIZENSHIP AND YOUTH

Room 168
Legislative Building
Winnipeg, Manitoba R3C 0V8
CANADA

MINISTER OF ADVANCED
EDUCATION AND LITERACY

Room 162
Legislative Building
Winnipeg, Manitoba R3C 0V8
CANADA

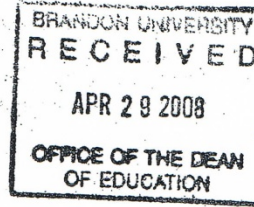
APR 22 2008

Fwd. S. Grills
For Action

c. J. Storie

C. Helen H.

Dr. Louis Visentin
President and Vice-Chancellor
Brandon University
270-18th Street
Brandon MB R7A 6A9



Dear Dr. Visentin: *Luc*

We are writing to advise you of a change in program requirements. This will apply to Faculties of Education students in order to be eligible for permanent professional teaching certification in Manitoba upon graduation from the pre-service teacher education program at your institution. The requirement to include a mandatory pre-service course on Aboriginal perspectives has been recommended by the Aboriginal Education Directorate (AED) and raised at the Teacher Education and Certification Committee (TECC). We have endorsed this requirement as inclusion of such a course is part of the provincial government's goals and priorities as they relate to Aboriginal education.

We have been advised that the Deans of the respective Education Faculties have been consulted and that the Council on Post-Secondary Education has provided each teacher training institution with \$10,000.00 for the development of a pre-service course on Aboriginal perspectives. It is our expectation that the implementation of the course on Aboriginal perspectives will be effective September 2008. Therefore, students first entering the Faculty of Education in September 2008 will meet these new requirements upon completion of their Bachelor of Education Degree programs.

The education faculties have been advised that they could either develop a new course or use a course which had already been developed. Further, they have been advised that the course must focus on the foundational basics of Aboriginal perspectives which may include, but is not limited to, an overview of pre-colonial contexts, colonial expansions, current trends/treaty negotiations, cultural competency and languages revitalization.

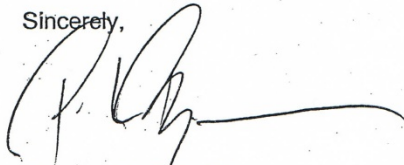
1...2

These changes to certification requirements are in response to the March 11, 2003 "Think Tank" consultation process and the Fall 2004 meeting held between the Minister of Advanced Education and Literacy and the Deans of the Faculties of Education. Research has identified that coursework on Aboriginal perspectives completed by teachers in training informs their classroom practice and the success rate of Aboriginal learners is improved. This recommendation is supported by various reports including *Aboriginal Education in Winnipeg Inner City High Schools* by Jim Silver et al 2002; *The Recruitment and Retention of Aboriginal Teachers in Saskatchewan Schools* by James McNinch; and *Our Children – Keepers of the Sacred Knowledge* Final Report of the Ministers National Working Group on Education December 2002.

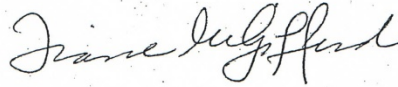
The addition of this course to the pre-service teacher education program is intended to maintain the high standards of teacher education within Manitoba while ensuring that teacher education candidates receive relevant and appropriate training and exposure to important issues in the area of Aboriginal education.

If you have any questions, please contact the Aboriginal Education Directorate at 204-945-7886 (toll free 1-800-282-8069, ext. 7886) or by email at aedinfo@gov.mb.ca.

Sincerely,



Honourable Peter Bjornson
Minister
Education, Citizenship and Youth



Honourable Diane McGifford
Minister
Advanced Education and Literacy

- c. Gerald Farthing, Deputy Minister, Education, Citizenship and Youth
Heather Reichert, Deputy Minister, Advanced Education and Literacy
Sid Rogers, Secretary to Council on Post-Secondary Education
Al Tataryn, Program Director, Education Administration Services, Professional Certification and Student Records Unit
Helen Robinson-Settee, Director, Aboriginal Education Directorate

Appendix B

March 2009 Post-Course Questionnaire For Student Teachers Who Completed the APC

You have recently completed a mandatory course entitled, "Teaching Aboriginal Perspectives." The purpose of this survey is to:

- collect data about the value of the course in terms of FNMI knowledge and sources of information
 - collect data about your perceptions as teacher candidates regarding diversity issues of Aboriginal people
-

1. How would you describe yourself in terms of ancestry?

___ FNMI ___ Non-FNMI

2. Using a rating scale of **1** for *little*, **2** for *some*, **3** for *lots*, rate your understanding of FNMI people prior to taking this course in the following 4 areas:

- a) history ___
- b) treaties ___
- c) education ___
- d) current "issues" ___

3. Using a rating scale of **1** for *little*, **2** for *some*, **3** for *lots*, rate the source or place where you gained information about FNMI prior to taking this course.

- a) newspapers ___
- b) university courses ___
- c) personal interest ___
- d) school lessons ___
- e) popular media (tv, movies) ___
- f) friends ___
- g) other (please specify) ___

4. Using a rating scale of **1** for *little*, **2** for *some*, **3** for *lots*, rate your understanding of FNMI people after taking this course in the following 4 areas:

- a) history ___
- b) treaties ___
- c) education ___
- d) current "issues" ___

5. This course is on the first year of offering as a ministerial (Manitoba Education Training and Youth) mandate as a required course in your Bachelor of Education program. Please comment on the value in terms of teaching in the classrooms as we know them to be today.

Appendix C
2010 January Pre & March Post Course Questionnaire

Survey of Background Knowledge & Perspectives Regarding Aboriginal People

You are enrolled in a mandatory course entitled, "Teaching Aboriginal Perspectives."
The purpose of this survey is to:

- establish base line data on what you already know about Aboriginal People so that adaptations can be made to improve the course
- collect data about your perceptions as teacher candidates regarding diversity issues of Aboriginal people

Demographic Data:

Male ___ Female ___ Ethnicity _____

Part A: In this part of the survey, you will be asked about your current knowledge regarding issues around Aboriginal People. Please answer these questions as honestly as you can. Absolutely no attempt will be made to identify you from your response.

Please answer the following questions as T (True) or F (False)

1. There are at least 5 Aboriginal linguistic groups in Manitoba. ____
2. The term "Indian" is a legal term. ____
3. Indian women gained the right to vote in 1960. ____
4. Only registered Indians can live on reserves. ____
5. Indian people do not pay taxes when they work in the city. ____
6. Treaties are an ongoing relationship with all Canadians regarding land. ____
7. Band operated schools are under provincial jurisdiction. ____
8. First Nations, Metis and Inuit people comprise the fastest growing population in Canada. ____
9. In Manitoba, the majority of Aboriginal people live up north or on the reserve. ____
10. Aboriginal people are under-represented in the criminal justice system. ____

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

1= Strongly agree 2= Agree 3= Neutral, doesn't matter
4= Disagree 5= Strongly disagree

11. I have lots of experience with Aboriginal people in my background. ____
12. There should be courses like this to develop an understanding of Aboriginal People. ____
13. I have traveled and spent time on a reserve or community with many Aboriginal people. ____
14. I can name at least 10 prominent Aboriginal people. ____

Appendix D

Interview Protocol for Practicing Teachers

Last year, you completed the course entitled, “Teaching Aboriginal Perspectives” as part of your Bachelor of Education – After Degree program. Now you have been teaching for about six months and your perspective on your learning and its applicability to your own teaching context is greatly important to teachers, students and Manitoba in general. This is because this is the first time educators have been involved in taking a mandatory course on Aboriginal perspectives, and your input will help teacher educators improve the course for other teachers as it improves over time.

1. Please describe your classroom context. Please focus on the nature of your teaching assignment, the numbers of students in your classrooms (including estimates of Aboriginal students within your classroom), and the learning environment you have created.
 - a. In what ways (or have) you incorporated Aboriginal Perspectives in your classroom, either in curriculum content or in instructional strategies?
 - b. What supports do you have that help you incorporate Aboriginal Perspectives in your classroom?
 - c. What challenges make it difficult to incorporate Aboriginal Perspectives into your classroom teaching?
2. What do you remember learning in this course that may have helped you in your teaching assignment this year?
3. What specific materials or strategies did you learn in the Teaching Aboriginal Perspectives course that were most beneficial in terms of preparing you to teach Aboriginal students in your classroom?
4. What do you wish you had learned more about or what more supports do you need to help your own professional growth with regards to teaching Aboriginal students?
5. What recommendations could you make to help improve the course, Teaching Aboriginal perspectives, so that it would support teachers and be more applicable to the realities of teaching?
6. Do you think teacher education programs should include a core class on Teaching Aboriginal Perspectives?

7. Do you think your attitude about FNMI people, content and histories changed as a result of taking the course Teaching Aboriginal Perspectives? If so, what and why may it have changed?

Appendix E

Email Request for Participation in Interviews

Brandon University Research Ethics Application: Interviews with teachers who completed the course, "Teaching Aboriginal Perspectives"

Script for Telephone & Email contact inviting participation in interviews

Hi _____

This is Sherry Peden, the instructor of the course "Teaching Aboriginal Perspectives" that you took during the period January to mid-March, 2009.

If you recall, at the end of the course, students were asked to voluntarily complete a detailed survey about what they learned in terms of content or knowledge during the course as well as the value that they placed on specific pedagogical techniques used. I conducted this research because I wanted to find ways to improve the course in both content and structure for the next group of student teachers.

At the time, several students suggested that I contact you after you had been teaching in a "real classroom situation" to find out from the "real teacher perspective" how valuable the course was. Well, here we are, you have now been teaching for six months.

I would like to invite you to participate in an interview about what you have found valuable from the course "Teaching Aboriginal Perspectives" for use in your teaching context. I am also seeking recommendations as to how I can improve the course to better meet the needs of practicing teachers. I am conducting the interviews for the purposes of trying to:

1. Improve the content and methodology of the Teaching Aboriginal perspectives course
2. Make recommendations about other/additional courses that could be developed
3. Use the information generated from this study to support practicing teachers, and therefore, improve the quality of education for students.

The interview will take no longer than one hour. This interview is strictly voluntary and if you choose to participate by being interviewed, voluntary consent forms will be further explained, reviewed and signed before the interview. In fact, you can even withdraw after you have heard the detailed explanation regarding informed consent without any consequence or prejudice. Please be assured that your confidentiality will be maintained at all times. At no time will your name or closely identifying information be included in any documents generated from this study.

The time and location for the interview will be arranged based upon what works best for your teaching schedule.

Are you still interested in participating in this research by being interviewed?

If yes, I would go ahead and make potential appointments for the interviews... If NO, then I would thank them for their time and wish them the best in their first year of teaching.

** I would use this script for phoning the teachers. If I were contacting the teachers by email, I would include this script with the additional line asking that...

- Please reply if you are interested in participating in an interview either by email or by phoning me at 727 9696.

Appendix F

2009 BUREC Certificate for Post Course Surveys

BRANDON UNIVERSITY RESEARCH ETHICS CERTIFICATE

All research projects involving human subjects/participants that are carried out by persons connected with Brandon University must be reviewed and approved by the Brandon University Research Ethics Committee (BUREC) before being undertaken or submitted to an internal or external funding source (BURC, SSHRC, etc.)

Instructions: Please review the statements below and sign and submit two hard copies of this form to the Research Office. You will receive a signed copy of this certificate when your project has been approved by BUREC.

Name of Researcher(s): Sherry Peden

Department(s): Teacher Education

Name of Supervisor (if applicable):

Title of Project:

Teaching Aboriginal Studies Course Examination/Analysis

By signing this certificate, I agree: (1) to conduct my project in accordance with the principles for research involving human subjects as outlined in the Brandon University Research Ethics Committee Guidelines for Research Involving Humans and the Tri-Council Policy Statement, Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans; (2) to report any changes to the procedure and/or protocol of this research project to BUREC and, if appropriate, (3) to undergo subsequent review; (4) to submit annual progress reports to BUREC; and, (5) to notify BUREC in writing when the project is complete.

Nov 30 2009 Sherry Peden
Date Signature of Researcher

If Researcher is a Student, please have Supervisor sign below.

I have read and approved this Ethics Application.

NOTE: This portion of the certificate is completed by BUREC.

This certifies that the Brandon University University Research Ethics Committee has examined the above research proposal and has concluded that in all respects the proposed research meets the appropriate standards for research involving humans.

December 21, 2009 Bill Fort
Date Chair, Brandon University Research Ethics Committee

Your first annual progress report is due: December 21, 2010

Appendix G
2010 BUREC Certificate Pre & Post Course Surveys

BRANDON UNIVERSITY RESEARCH ETHICS CERTIFICATE

All research projects involving human subjects/participants that are carried out by persons connected with Brandon University must be reviewed and approved by the Brandon University Research Ethics Committee (BUREC) before being undertaken or submitted to an internal or external funding source (BURC, SSHRC, etc.)

Instructions: Please review the statements below and sign and submit two hard copies of this form to the Research Office. You will receive a signed copy of this certificate when your project has been approved by BUREC.

Name of Researcher(s): Sherry Peden, Assistant Professor

Department(s): Teacher Education

Name of Supervisor (if applicable):

Title of Project:

Pre & post surveys for students completing the "Teaching Aboriginal Perspectives Course"

By signing this certificate, I agree: (1) to conduct my project in accordance with the principles for research involving human subjects as outlined in the Brandon University Research Ethics Committee Guidelines for Research Involving Humans and the Tri-Council Policy Statement, Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans; (2) to report any changes to the procedure and/or protocol of this research project to BUREC and, if appropriate, (3) to undergo subsequent review; (4) to submit annual progress reports to BUREC; and, (5) to notify BUREC in writing when the project is complete.

Dec 2 2009 Sherry Peden
Date Signature of Researcher

If Researcher is a Student, please have Supervisor sign below.

I have read and approved this Ethics Application.

NOTE: This portion of the certificate is completed by BUREC.

This certifies that the Brandon University University Research Ethics Committee has examined the above research proposal and has concluded that in all respects the proposed research meets the appropriate standards for research involving humans.

December 21, 2009 Phillip Jant
Date Chair, Brandon University Research Ethics Committee

Your first annual progress report is due: December 21, 2010

Appendix H 2010 BUREC Certificate For Teacher Interviews

BRANDON UNIVERSITY RESEARCH ETHICS CERTIFICATE

All research projects involving human subjects/participants that are carried out by persons connected with Brandon University must be reviewed and approved by the Brandon University Research Ethics Committee (BUREC) before being undertaken or submitted to an internal or external funding source (BURC, SSHRC, etc.)

Instructions: Please review the statements below and sign and submit two hard copies of this form to the Research Office. You will receive a signed copy of this certificate when your project has been approved by BUREC.

Name of Researcher(s): Sherry Peden

Department(s): Teacher Education

Name of Supervisor (if applicable):

Title of Project:

Teaching Aboriginal Studies Course Examination/Analysis

By signing this certificate, I agree: (1) to conduct my project in accordance with the principles for research involving human subjects as outlined in the Brandon University Research Ethics Committee Guidelines for Research Involving Humans and the Tri-Council Policy Statement, Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans; (2) to report any changes to the procedure and/or protocol of this research project to BUREC and, if appropriate, (3) to undergo subsequent review; (4) to submit annual progress reports to BUREC; and, (5) to notify BUREC in writing when the project is complete.

Nov 30 2009 Sherry Peden
Date Signature of Researcher

If Researcher is a Student, please have Supervisor sign below.

I have read and approved this Ethics Application.

NOTE: This portion of the certificate is completed by BUREC.

This certifies that the Brandon University University Research Ethics Committee has examined the above research proposal and has concluded that in all respects the proposed research meets the appropriate standards for research involving humans.

December 21, 2009 Bill Fort
Date Chair, Brandon University Research Ethics Committee

Your first annual progress report is due: December 21, 2010

Appendix I

University of Manitoba Ethics Certificate




CTC Building
208 - 194 Dafoe Road
Winnipeg, MB R3T 2N2
Fax (204) 269-7173
www.umanitoba.ca/research

APPROVAL CERTIFICATE

December 9, 2010

TO: Sherry Peden (Advisor D. Wallin)
Principal Investigator

FROM: Stan Straw, Chair 
Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board (ENREB)

Re: Protocol #E2010:138
"Dancing with the Elephant: Teacher Education for the Inclusion of
First Nations, Metis and Inuit Histories, Worldviews and Pedagogies"

Please be advised that your above-referenced protocol has received human ethics approval by the **Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board**, which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement. This approval is valid for one year only.

Any significant changes of the protocol and/or informed consent form should be reported to the Human Ethics Secretariat in advance of implementation of such changes.

Please note:

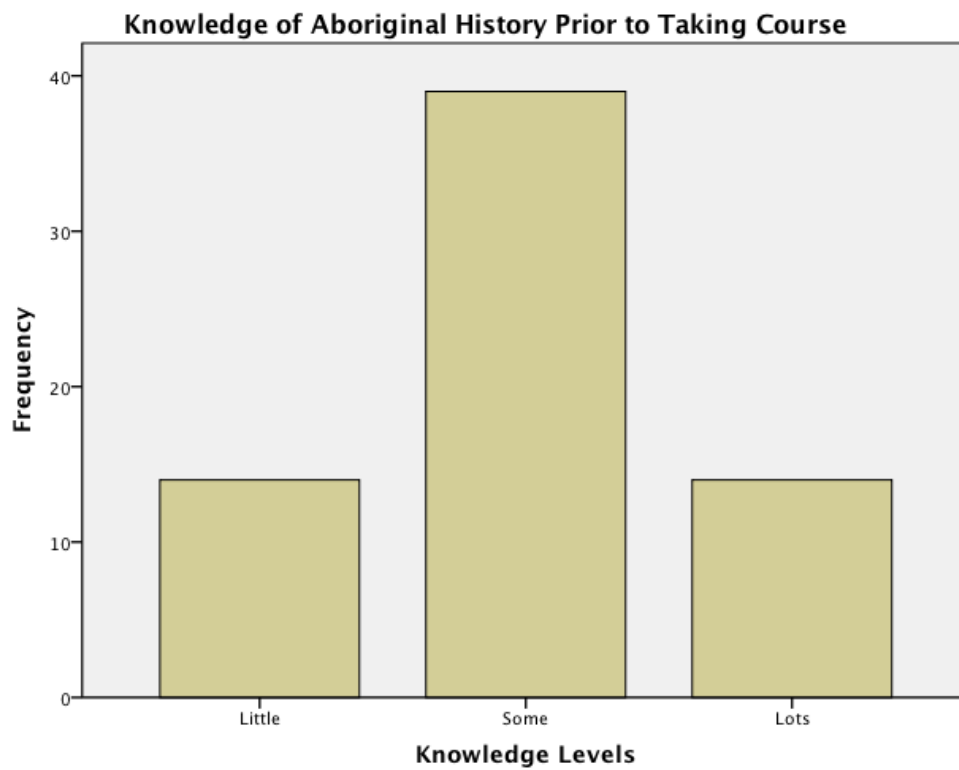
- If you have funds pending human ethics approval, the auditor requires that you submit a copy of this Approval Certificate to the Office of Research Services, fax 261-0325 - please include the name of the funding agency and your UM Project number. This must be faxed before your account can be accessed.
- if you have received multi-year funding for this research, responsibility lies with you to apply for and obtain Renewal Approval at the expiry of the initial one-year approval; otherwise the account will be locked.

The Research Ethics Board requests a final report for your study (available at: http://umanitoba.ca/research/ors/ethics/ors_ethics_human_REB_forms_guidelines.html) in order to be in compliance with Tri-Council Guidelines.

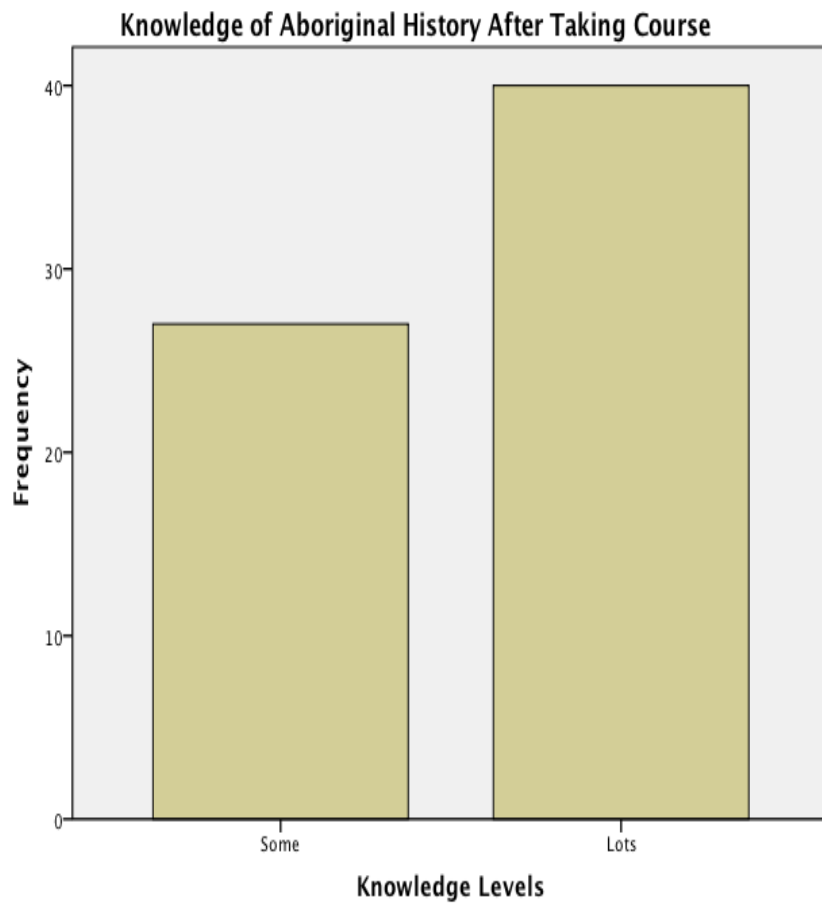
Appendix J

Knowledge Items Prior To and After Taking the APC: Total Sample

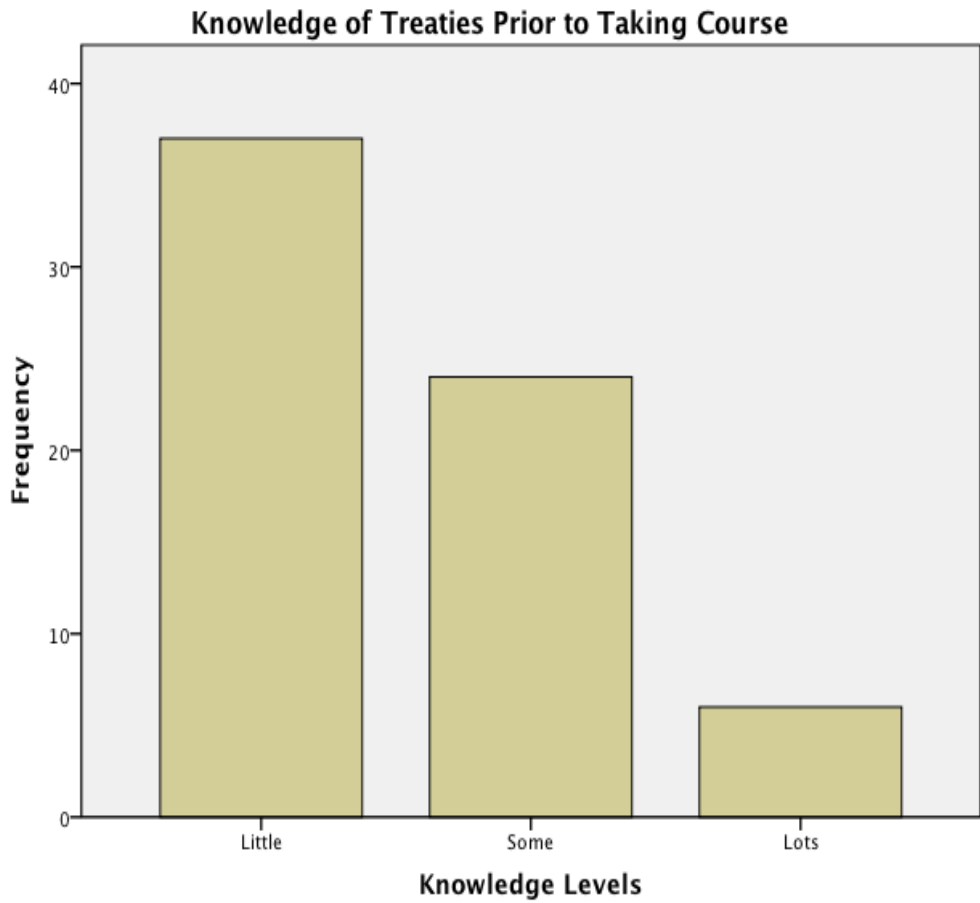
Knowledge of Aboriginal History Prior to Taking Course					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Little	14	20.9	20.9	20.9
	Some	39	58.2	58.2	79.1
	Lots	14	20.9	20.9	100.0
	Total	67	100.0	100.0	



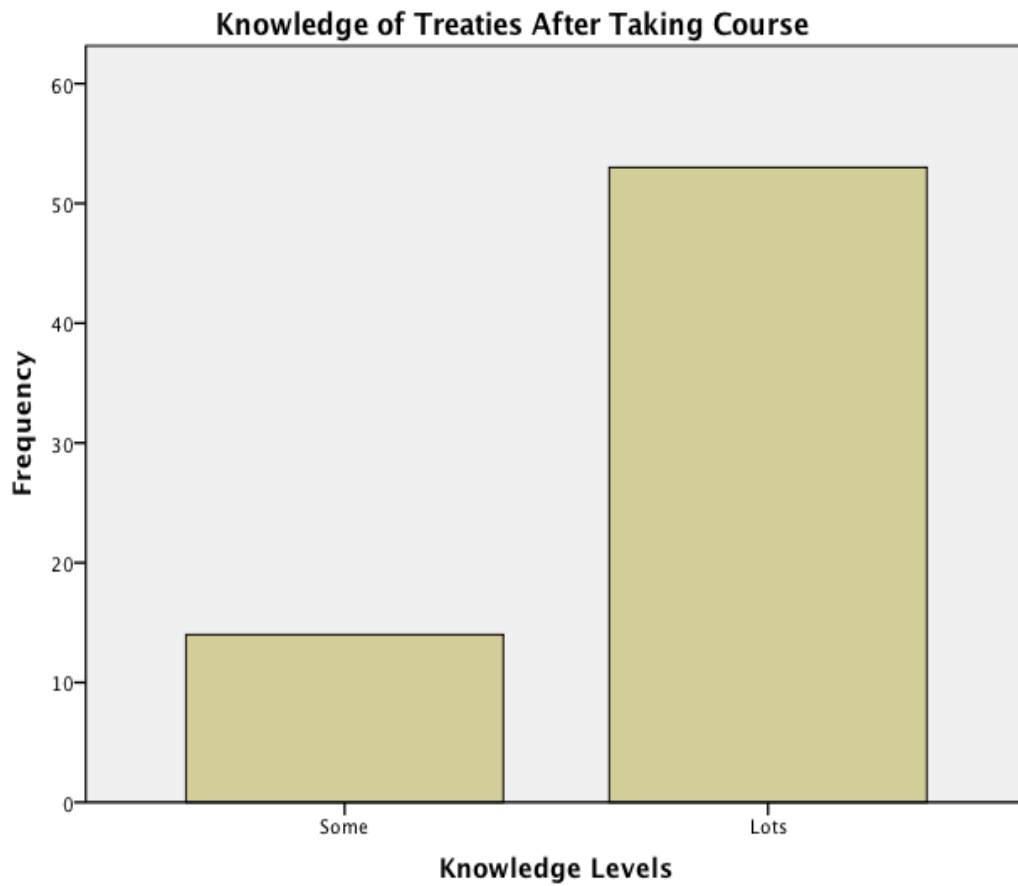
Knowledge of Aboriginal History After Taking Course					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Some	27	40.3	40.3	40.3
	Lots	40	59.7	59.7	100.0
	Total	67	100.0	100.0	



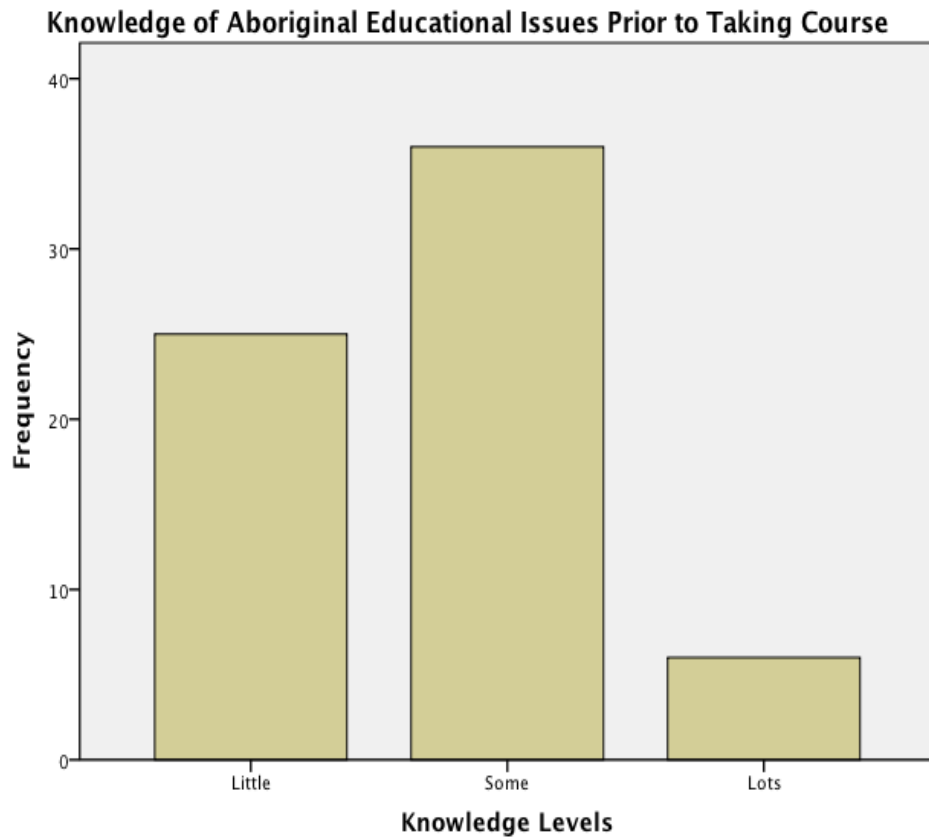
Knowledge of Treaties Prior to Taking Course					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Little	37	55.2	55.2	55.2
	Some	24	35.8	35.8	91.0
	Lots	6	9.0	9.0	100.0
	Total	67	100.0	100.0	



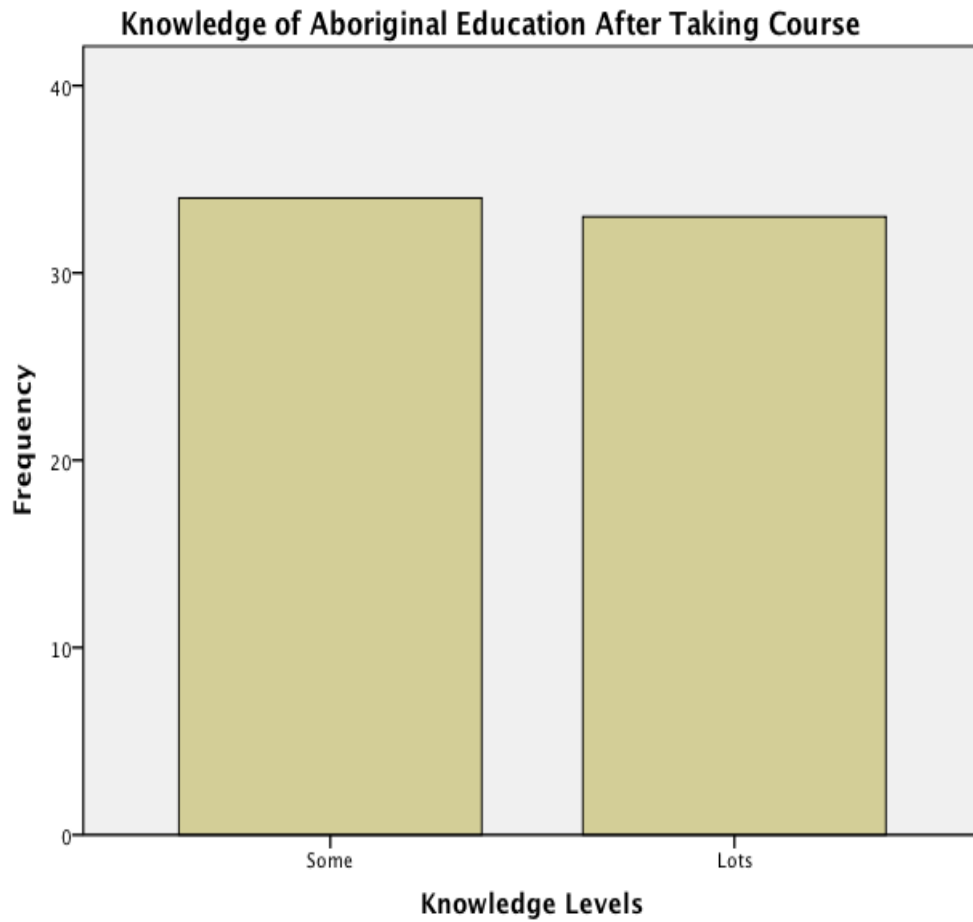
Knowledge of Treaties After Taking Course					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Some	14	20.9	20.9	20.9
	Lots	53	79.1	79.1	100.0
	Total	67	100.0	100.0	



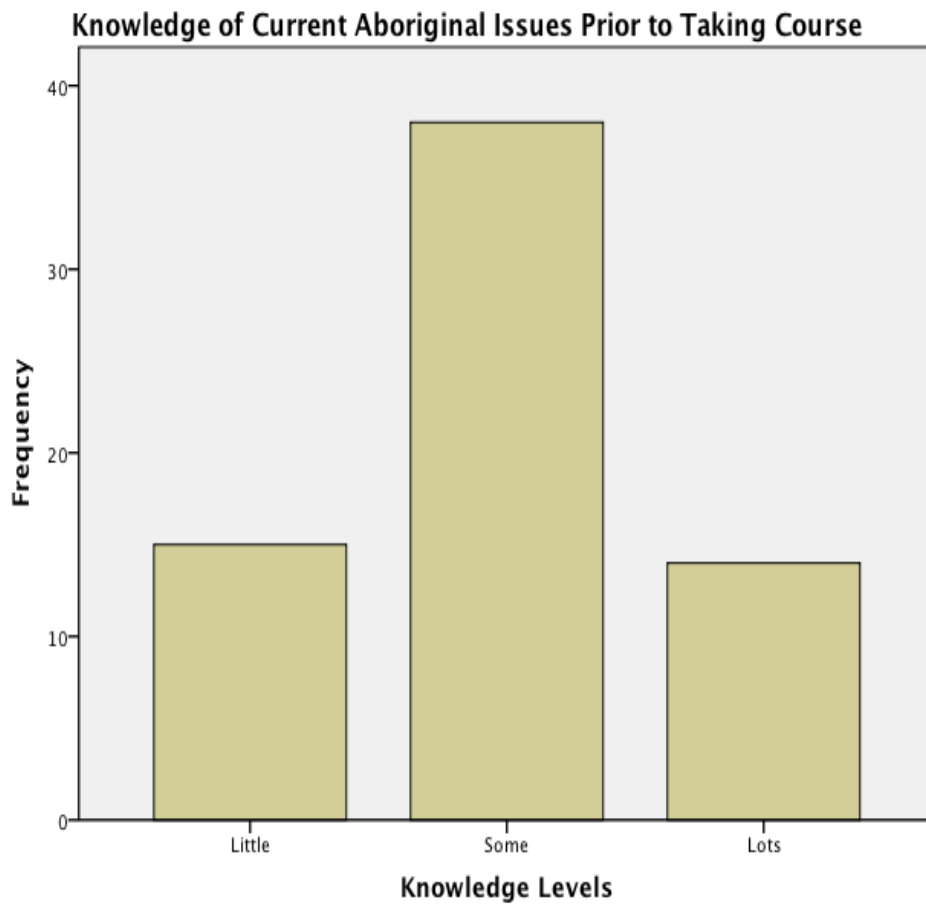
Knowledge of Aboriginal Education Issues Prior to Taking Course					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Little	25	37.3	37.3	37.3
	Some	36	53.7	53.7	91.0
	Lots	6	9.0	9.0	100.0
	Total	67	100.0	100.0	



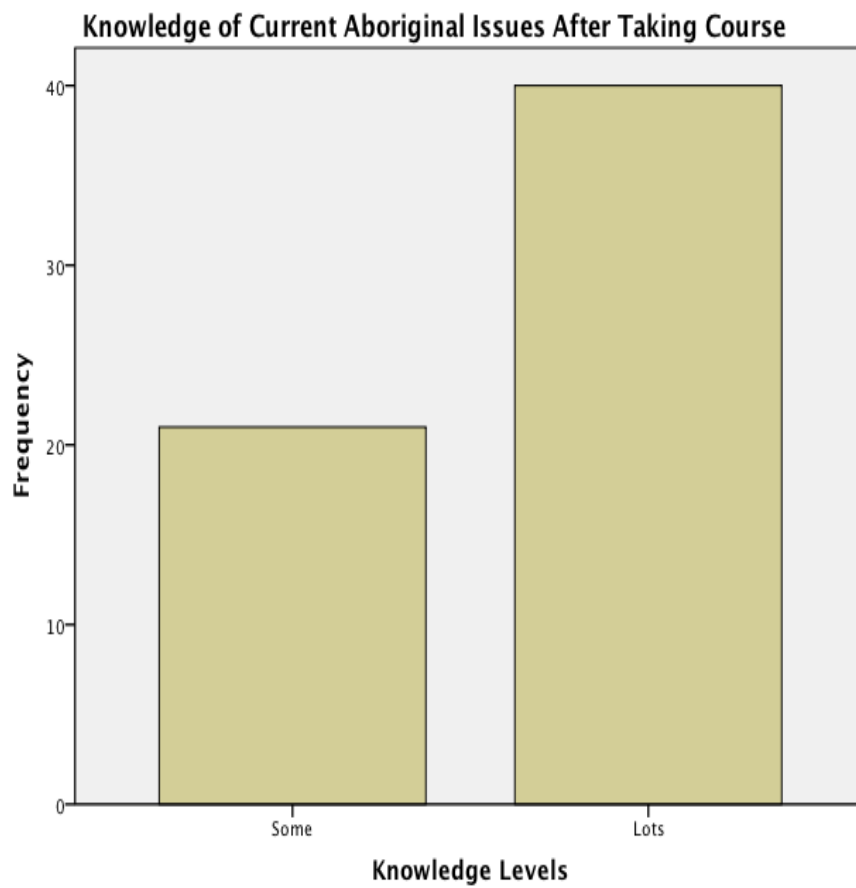
Knowledge of Aboriginal Education After Taking Course					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Some	34	50.7	50.7	50.7
	Lots	33	49.3	49.3	100.0
	Total	67	100.0	100.0	



Knowledge of Current Aboriginal Issues Prior to Taking Course					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Little	15	22.4	22.4	22.4
	Some	38	56.7	56.7	79.1
	Lots	14	20.9	20.9	100.0
	Total	67	100.0	100.0	



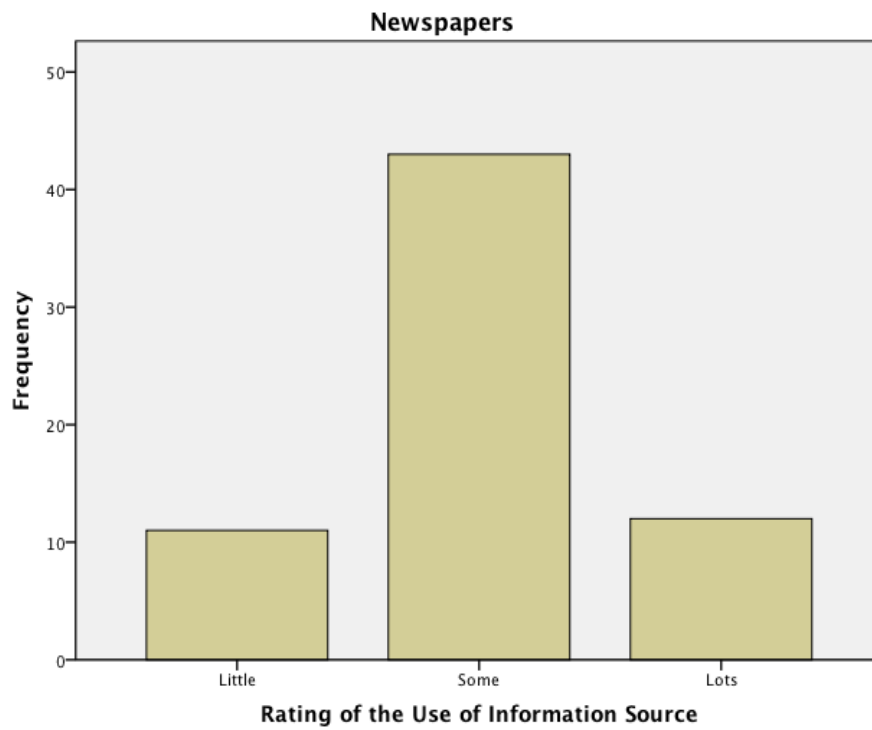
Knowledge of Current Aboriginal Issues After Taking Course					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Some	21	31.3	34.4	34.4
	Lots	40	59.7	65.6	100.0
	Total	61	91.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	9.0		
Total		67	100.0		



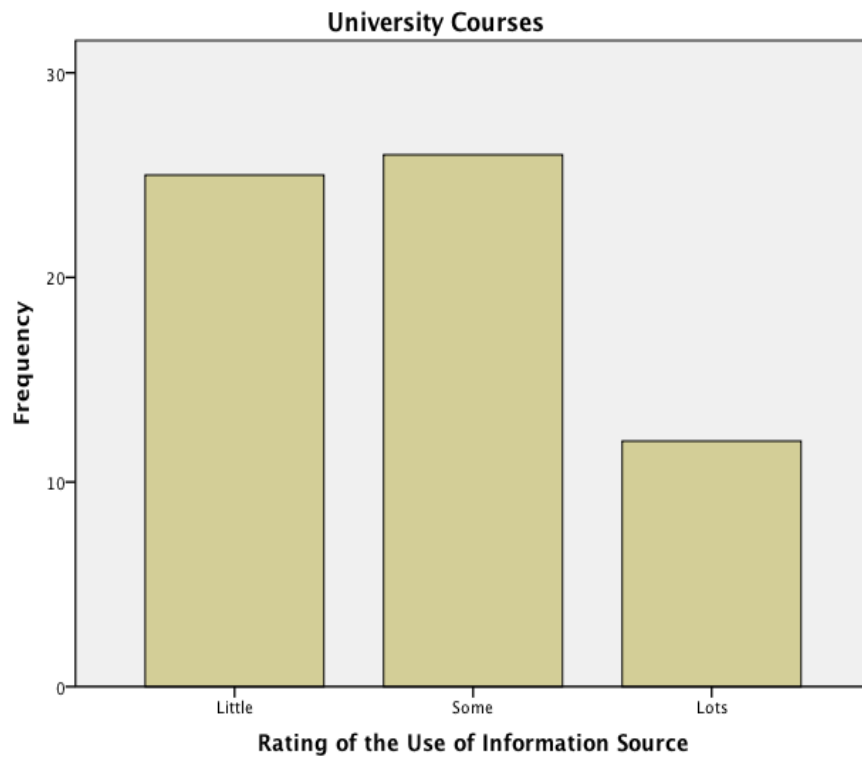
Appendix K

2009 Survey Results: Use of Knowledge Sources (Total Sample)

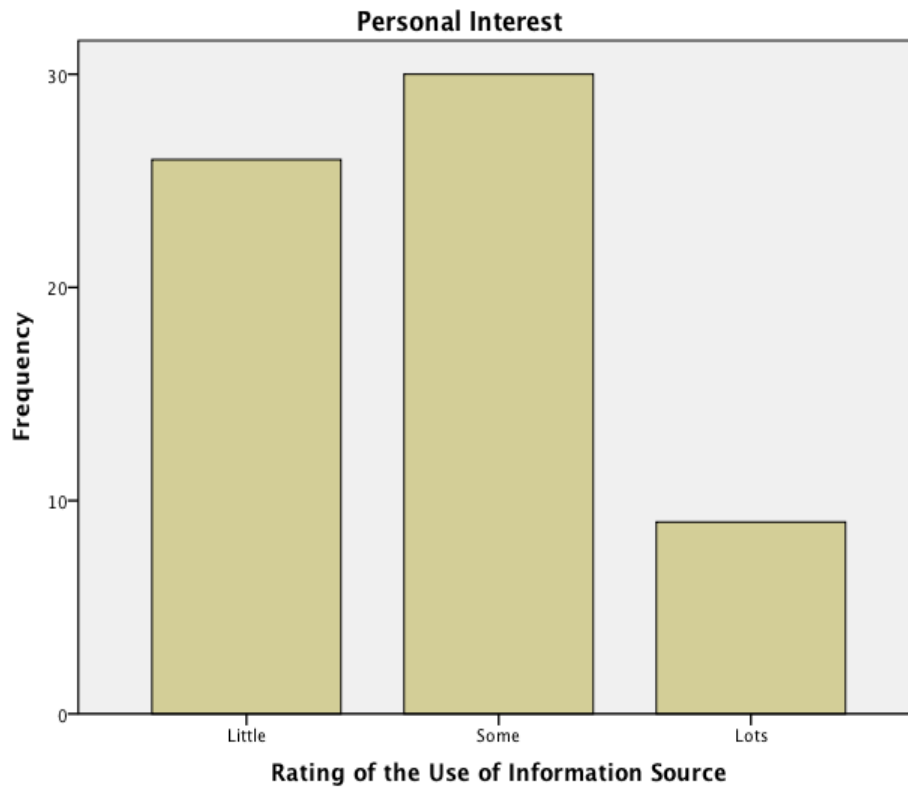
Newspapers					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Little	11	16.4	16.7	16.7
	Some	43	64.2	65.2	81.8
	Lots	12	17.9	18.2	100.0
	Total	66	98.5	100.0	
Missing	System	1	1.5		
Total		67	100.0		



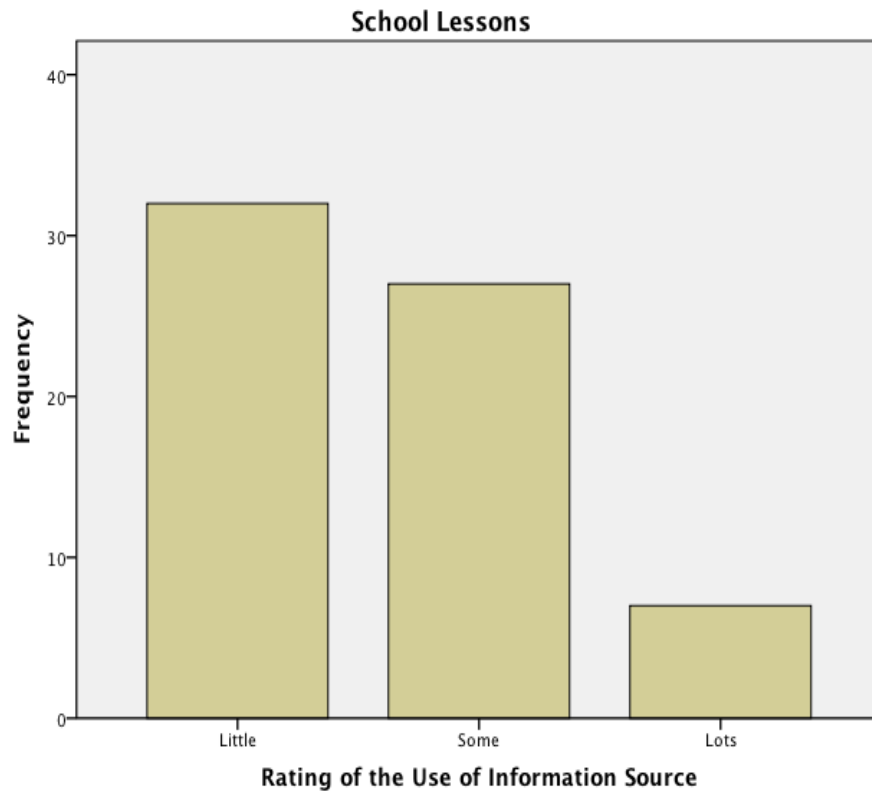
University Courses					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Little	25	37.3	39.7	39.7
	Some	26	38.8	41.3	81.0
	Lots	12	17.9	19.0	100.0
	Total	63	94.0	100.0	
Missing	System	4	6.0		
Total		67	100.0		



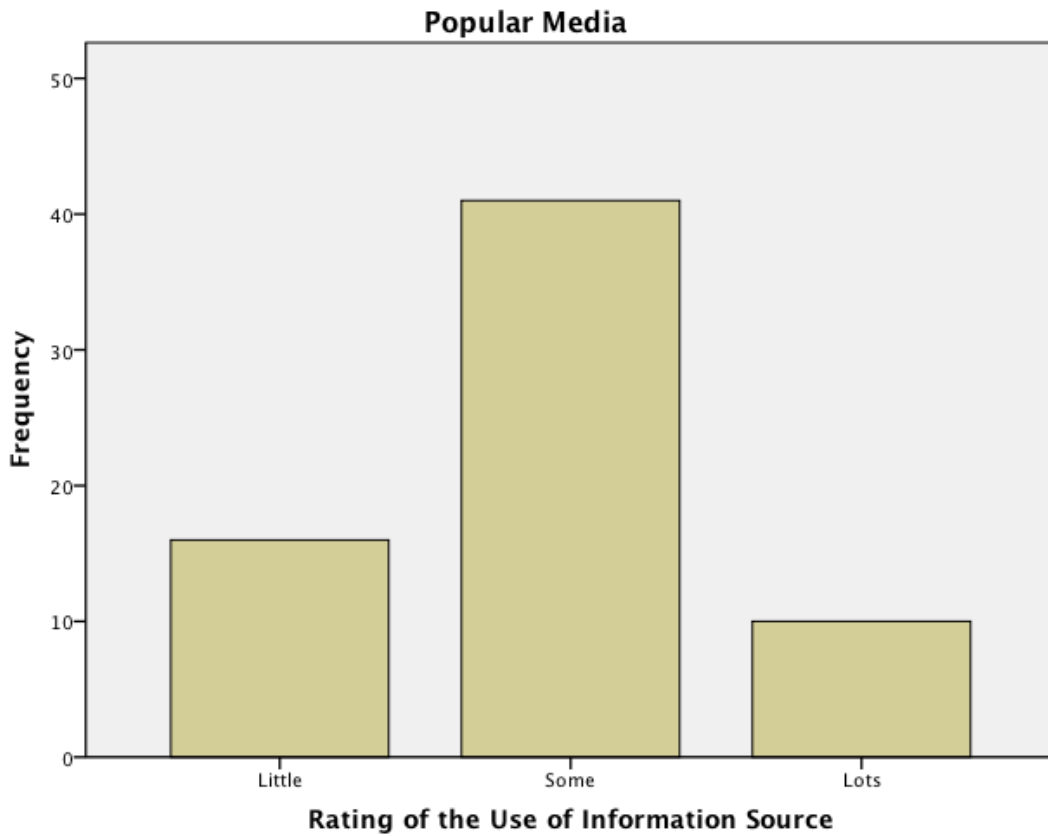
Personal Interest					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Little	26	38.8	40.0	40.0
	Some	30	44.8	46.2	86.2
	Lots	9	13.4	13.8	100.0
	Total	65	97.0	100.0	
Missing	System	2	3.0		
Total		67	100.0		



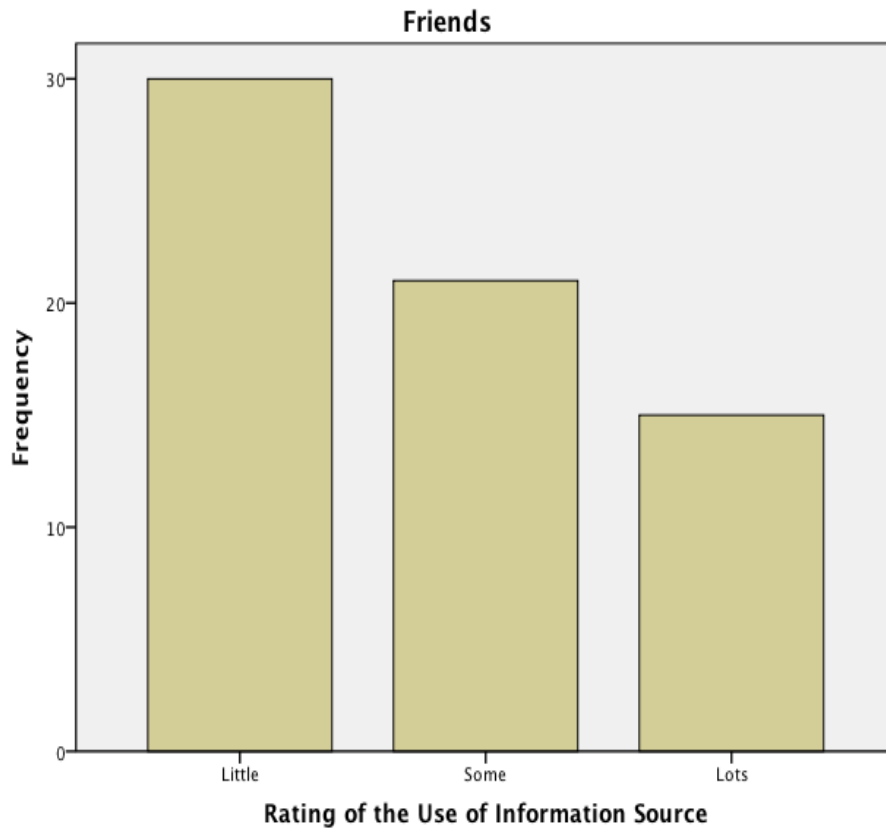
School Lessons					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Little	32	47.8	48.5	48.5
	Some	27	40.3	40.9	89.4
	Lots	7	10.4	10.6	100.0
	Total	66	98.5	100.0	
Missing	System	1	1.5		
Total		67	100.0		



Popular Media					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Little	16	23.9	23.9	23.9
	Some	41	61.2	61.2	85.1
	Lots	10	14.9	14.9	100.0
	Total	67	100.0	100.0	



Friends					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Little	30	44.8	45.5	45.5
	Some	21	31.3	31.8	77.3
	Lots	15	22.4	22.7	100.0
	Total	66	98.5	100.0	
Missing	System	1	1.5		
Total		67	100.0		

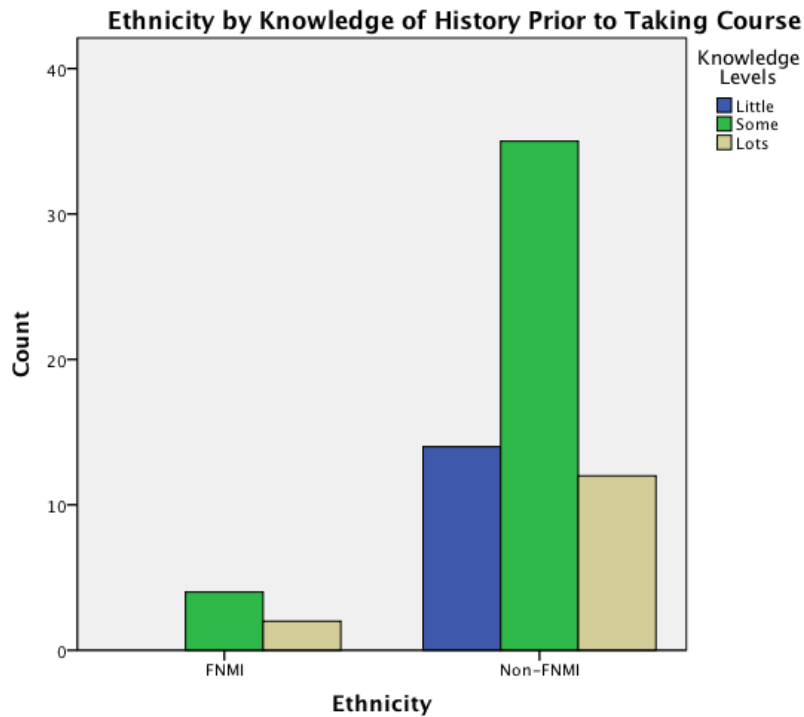


Appendix L

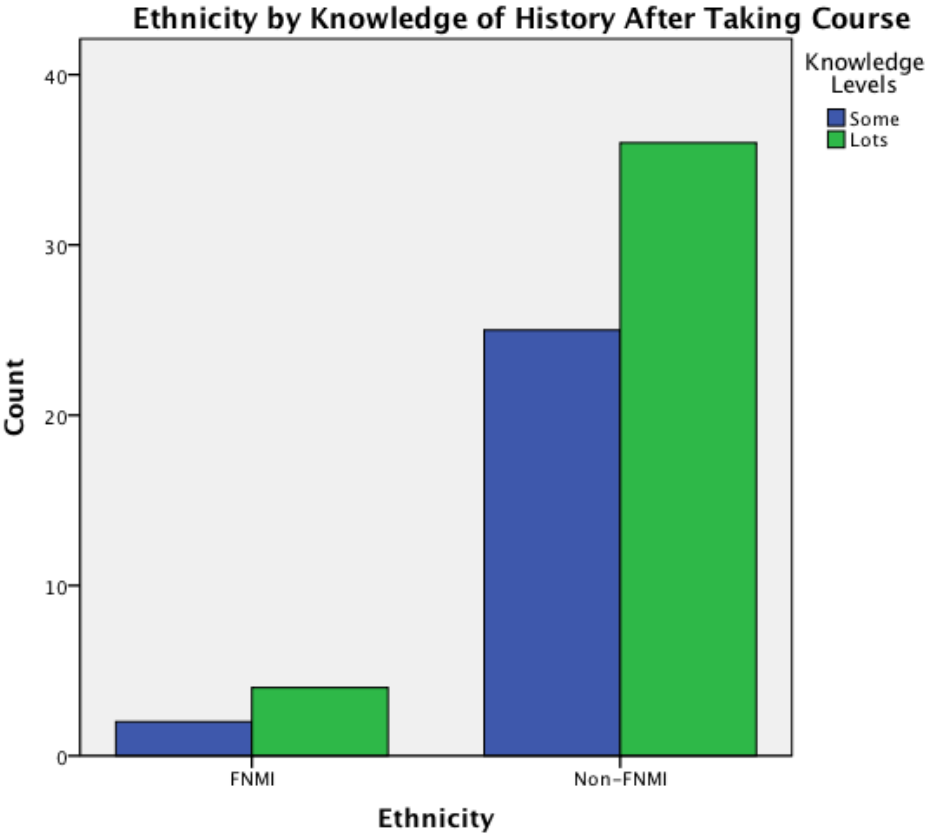
2009 Survey Sources of Knowledge Disaggregated by Ethnicity

Prior to and After Taking the Aboriginal Perspectives Course

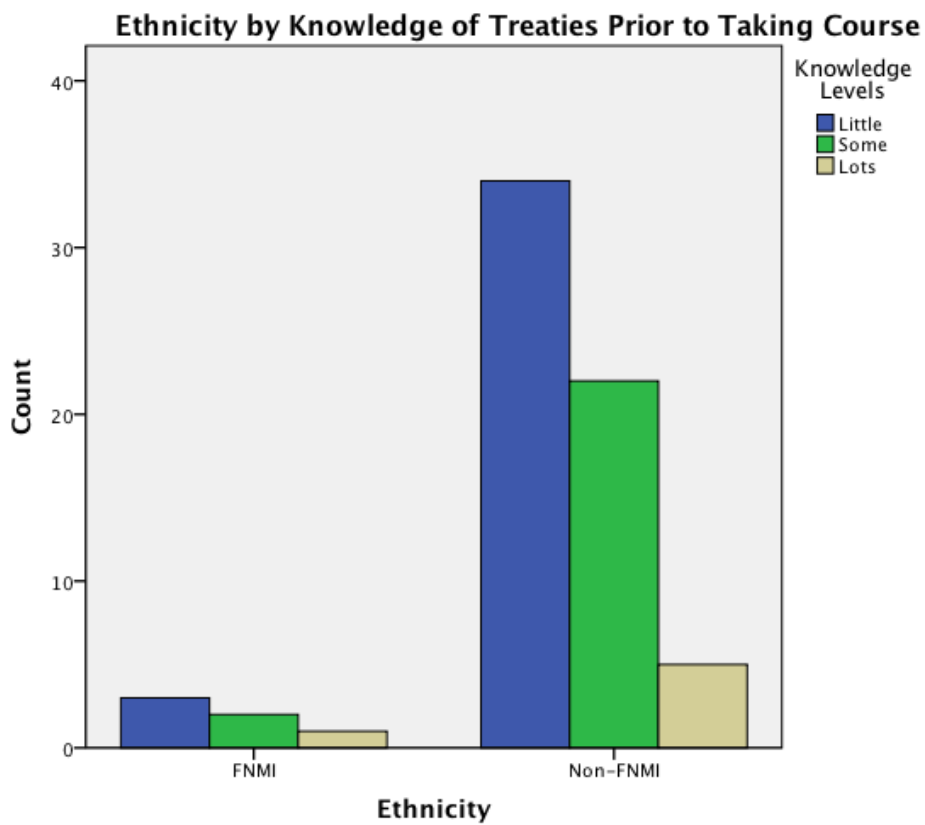
Ethnicity * HistoryPrior Crosstabulation						
			HistoryPrior			Total
			Little	Some	Lots	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	0	4	2	6
		% within Ethnicity	.0%	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	14	35	12	61
		% within Ethnicity	23.0%	57.4%	19.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	14	39	14	67
		% within Ethnicity	20.9%	58.2%	20.9%	100.0%



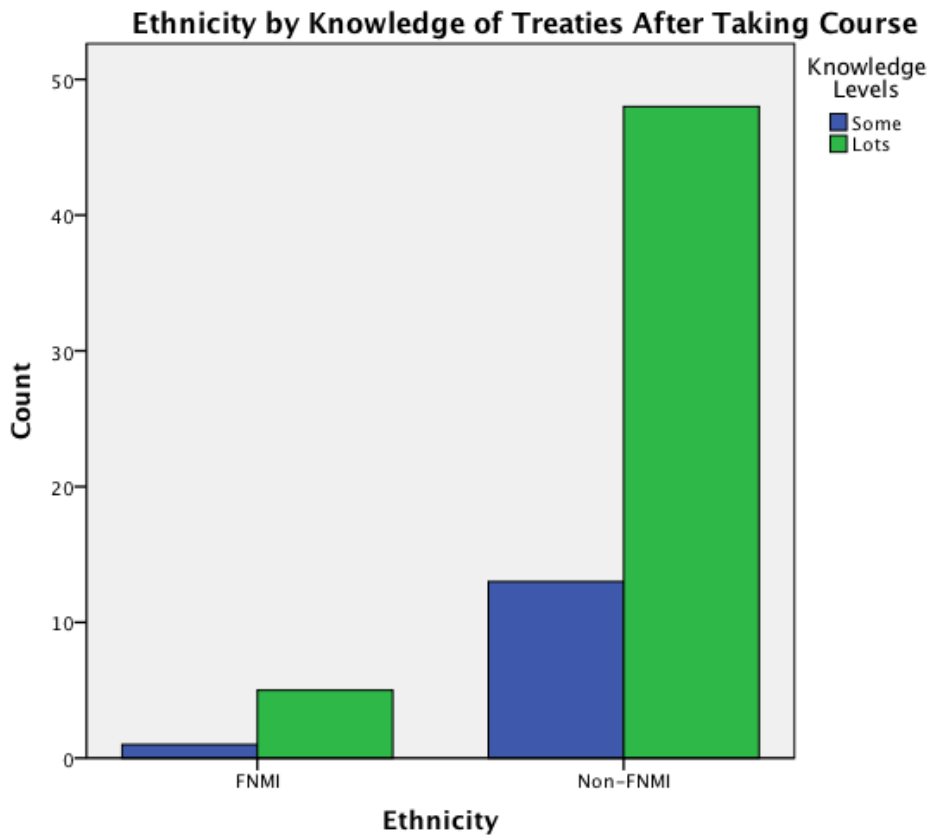
Ethnicity * HistoryAfter Crosstabulation					
			HistoryAfter		Total
			Some	Lots	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	2	4	6
		% within Ethnicity	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	25	36	61
		% within Ethnicity	41.0%	59.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	27	40	67
		% within Ethnicity	40.3%	59.7%	100.0%



Ethnicity * TreatiesPrior Crosstabulation						
			TreatiesPrior			Total
			Little	Some	Lots	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	3	2	1	6
		% within Ethnicity	50.0%	33.3%	16.7%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	34	22	5	61
		% within Ethnicity	55.7%	36.1%	8.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	37	24	6	67
		% within Ethnicity	55.2%	35.8%	9.0%	100.0%

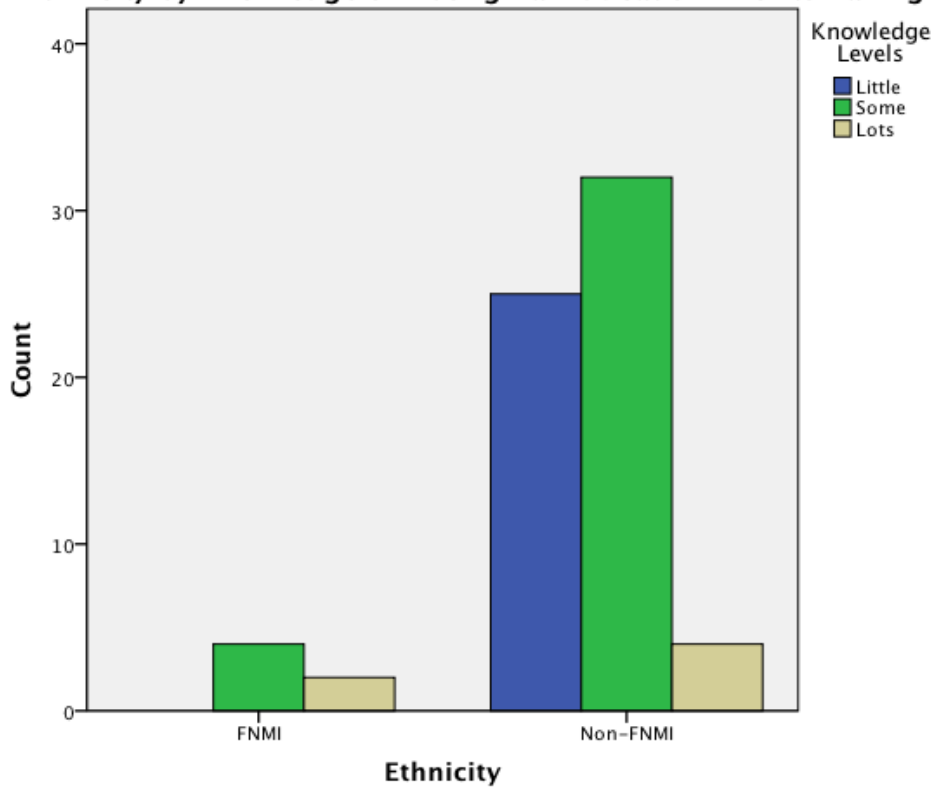


Ethnicity * TreatiesAfter Crosstabulation					
			TreatiesAfter		Total
			Some	Lots	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	1	5	6
		% within Ethnicity	16.7%	83.3%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	13	48	61
		% within Ethnicity	21.3%	78.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	14	53	67
		% within Ethnicity	20.9%	79.1%	100.0%



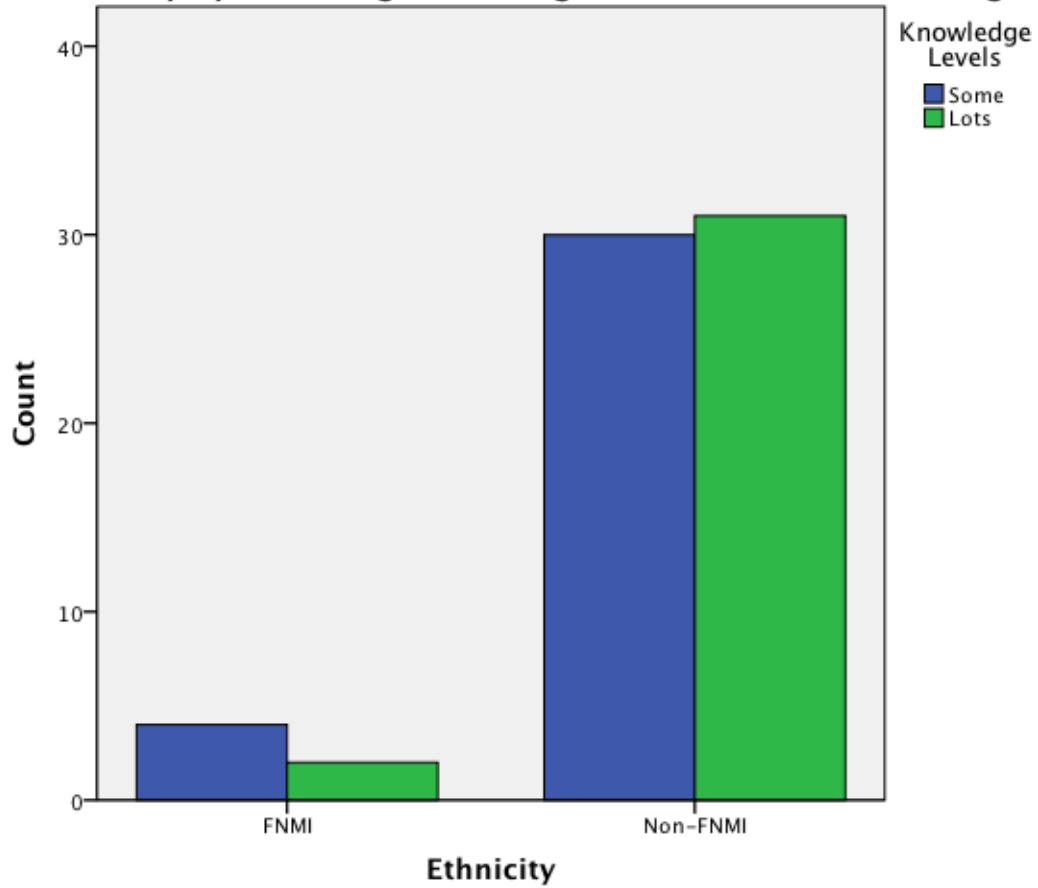
Ethnicity * EducationPrior Crosstabulation						
			EducationPrior			Total
			Little	Some	Lots	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	0	4	2	6
		% within Ethnicity	.0%	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	25	32	4	61
		% within Ethnicity	41.0%	52.5%	6.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	25	36	6	67
		% within Ethnicity	37.3%	53.7%	9.0%	100.0%

Ethnicity by Knowledge of Aboriginal Education Prior to Taking Course



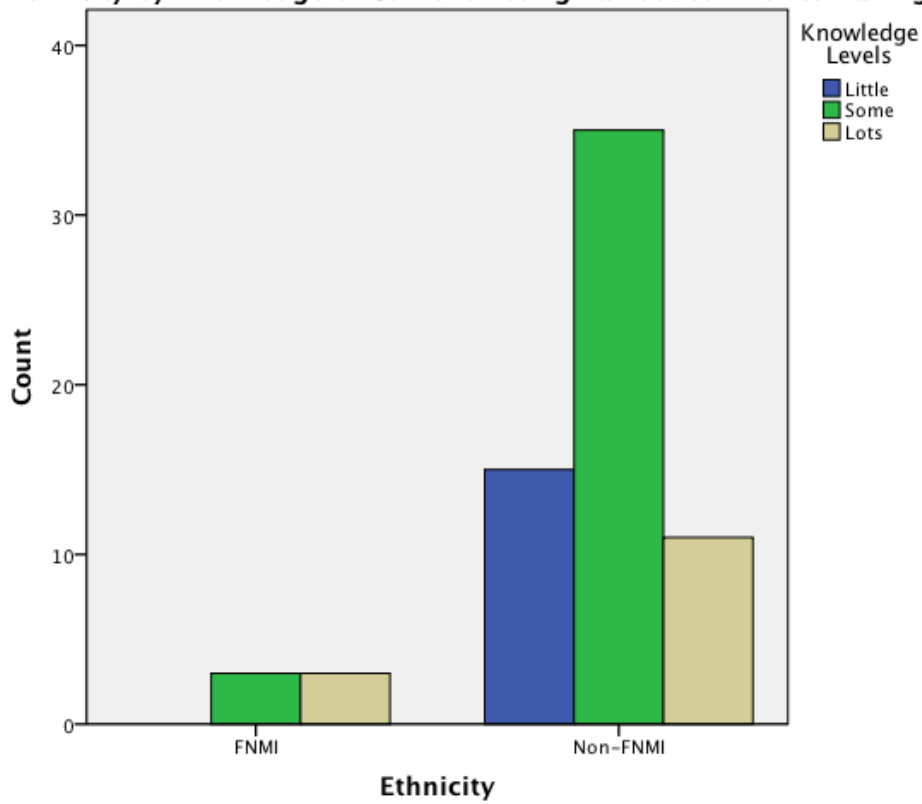
Ethnicity * EducationAfter Crosstabulation					
			EducationAfter		Total
			Some	Lots	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	4	2	6
		% within Ethnicity	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	30	31	61
		% within Ethnicity	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	34	33	67
		% within Ethnicity	50.7%	49.3%	100.0%

Ethnicity by Knowledge of Aboriginal Education After Taking Course



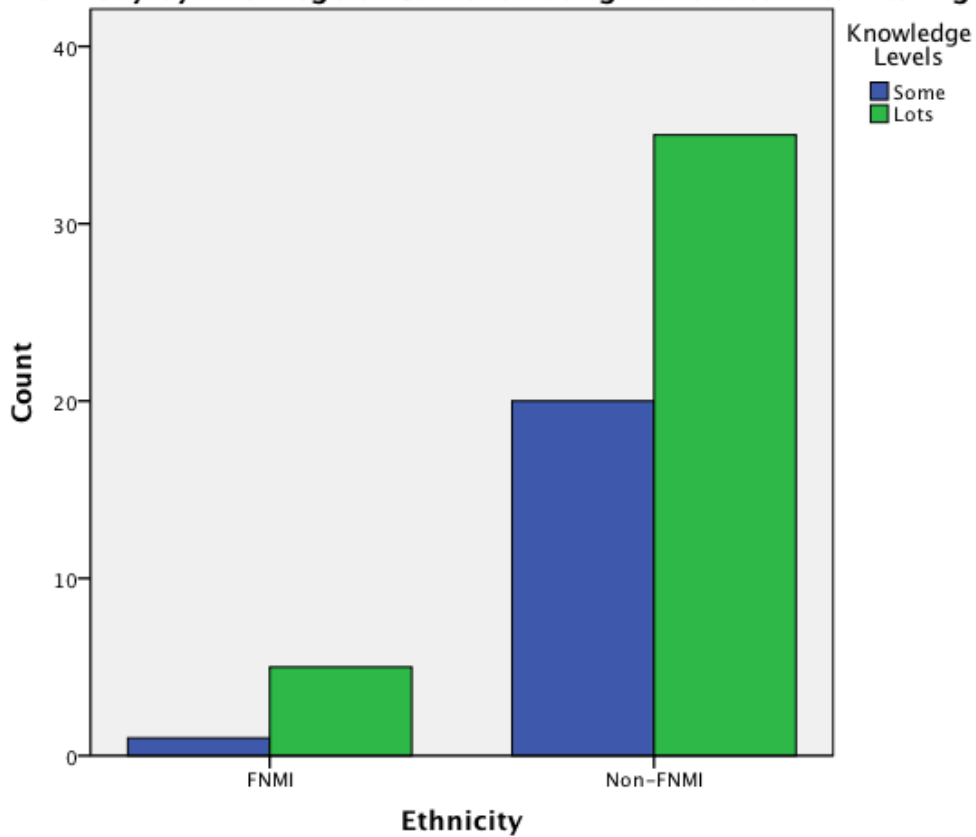
Ethnicity * IssuesPrior Crosstabulation						
			IssuesPrior			Total
			Little	Some	Lots	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	0	3	3	6
		% within Ethnicity	.0%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	15	35	11	61
		% within Ethnicity	24.6%	57.4%	18.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	15	38	14	67
		% within Ethnicity	22.4%	56.7%	20.9%	100.0%

Ethnicity by Knowledge of Current Aboriginal Issues Prior to Taking Course



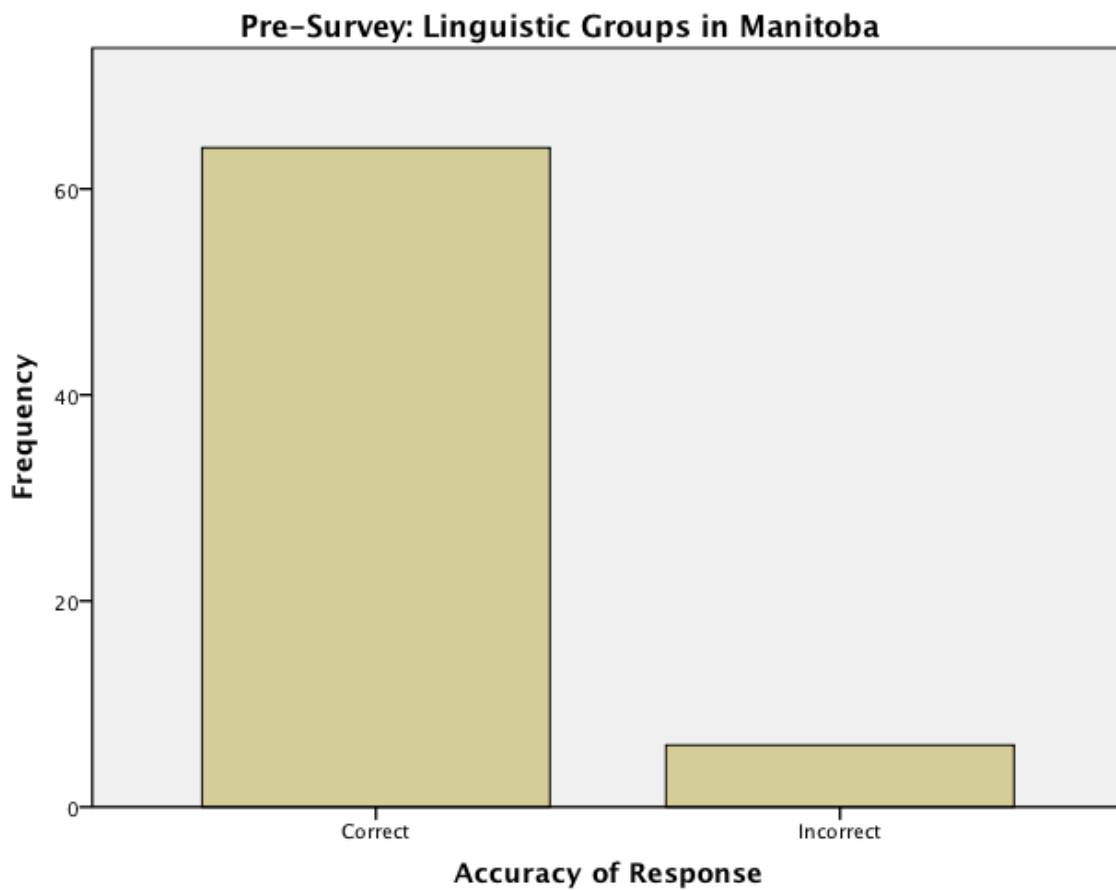
Ethnicity * Issues After Crosstabulation					
			Issues After		Total
			Some	Lots	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	1	5	6
		% within Ethnicity	16.7%	83.3%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	20	35	55
		% within Ethnicity	36.4%	63.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	21	40	61
		% within Ethnicity	34.4%	65.6%	100.0%

Ethnicity by Knowledge of Current Aboriginal Issues After Taking Course

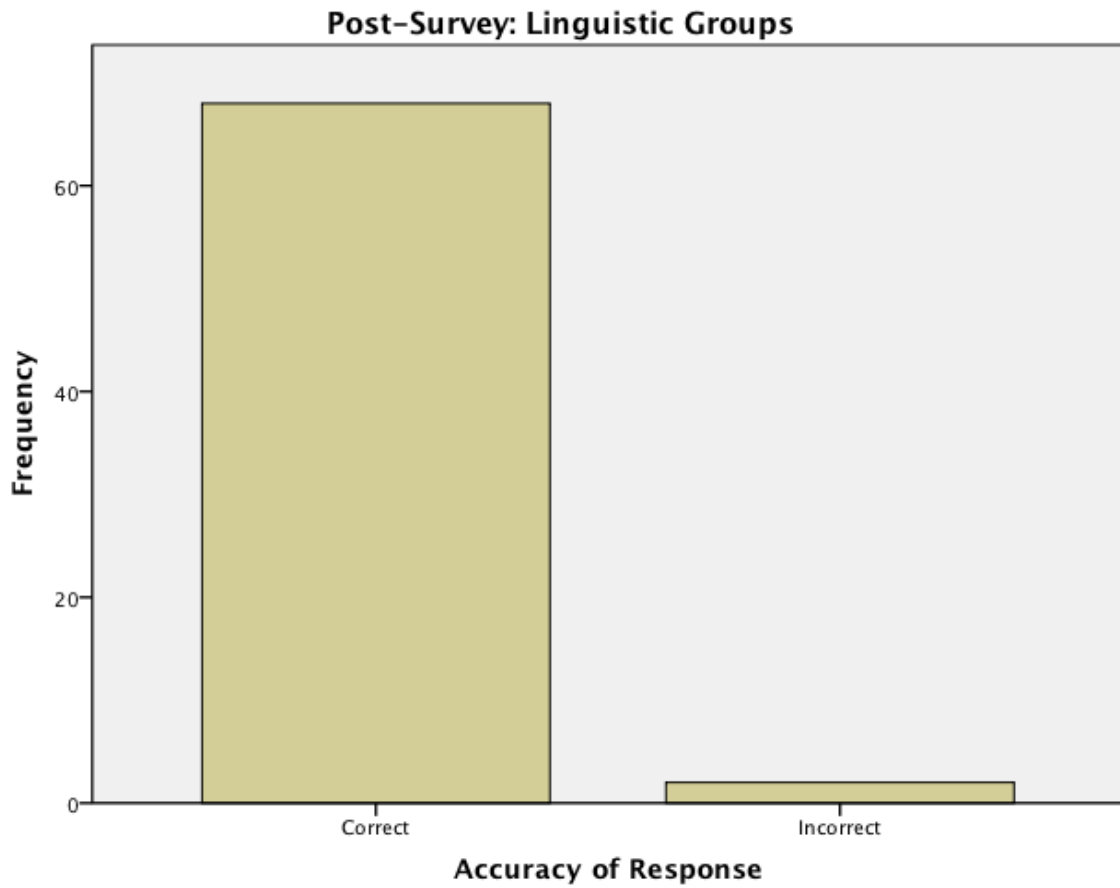


Appendix M
Survey 2010 Descriptive Statistics Pre-Test and Post-Test (Total Sample)

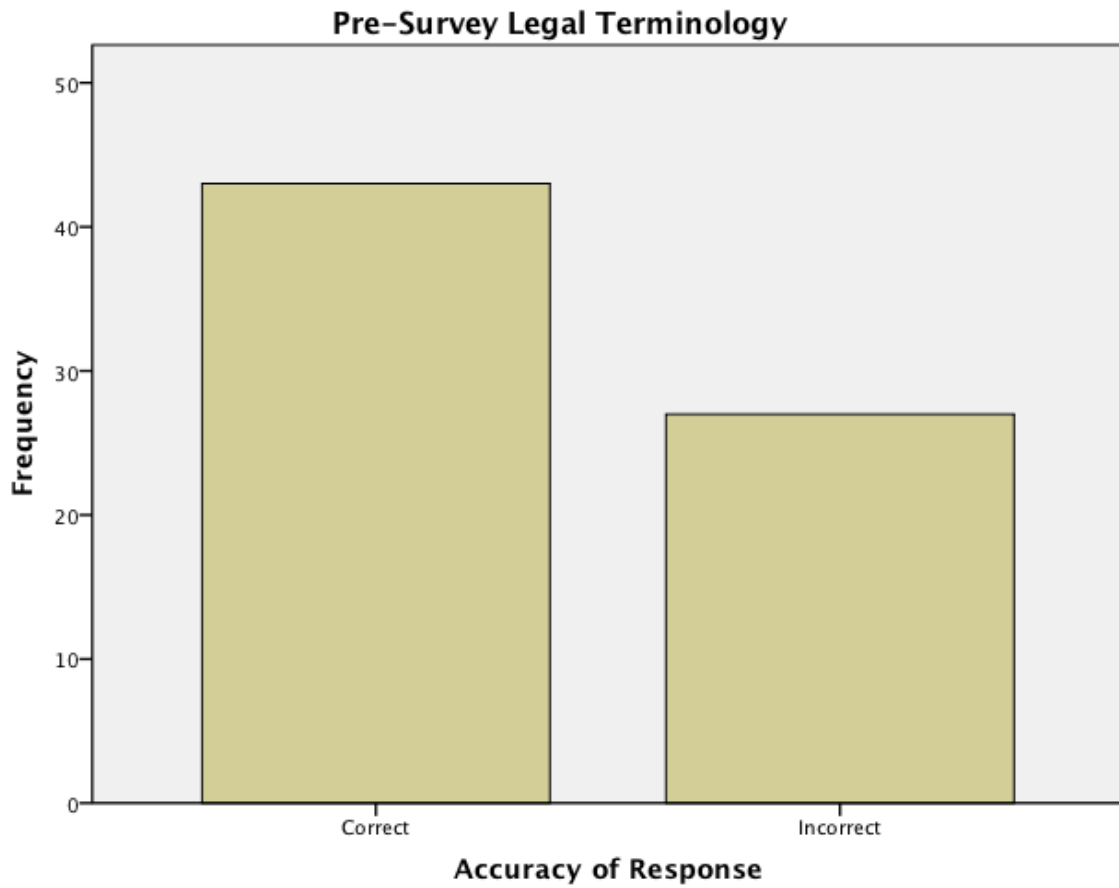
Pre-Survey Linguistic Groups					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Correct	64	91.4	91.4	91.4
	Incorrect	6	8.6	8.6	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	



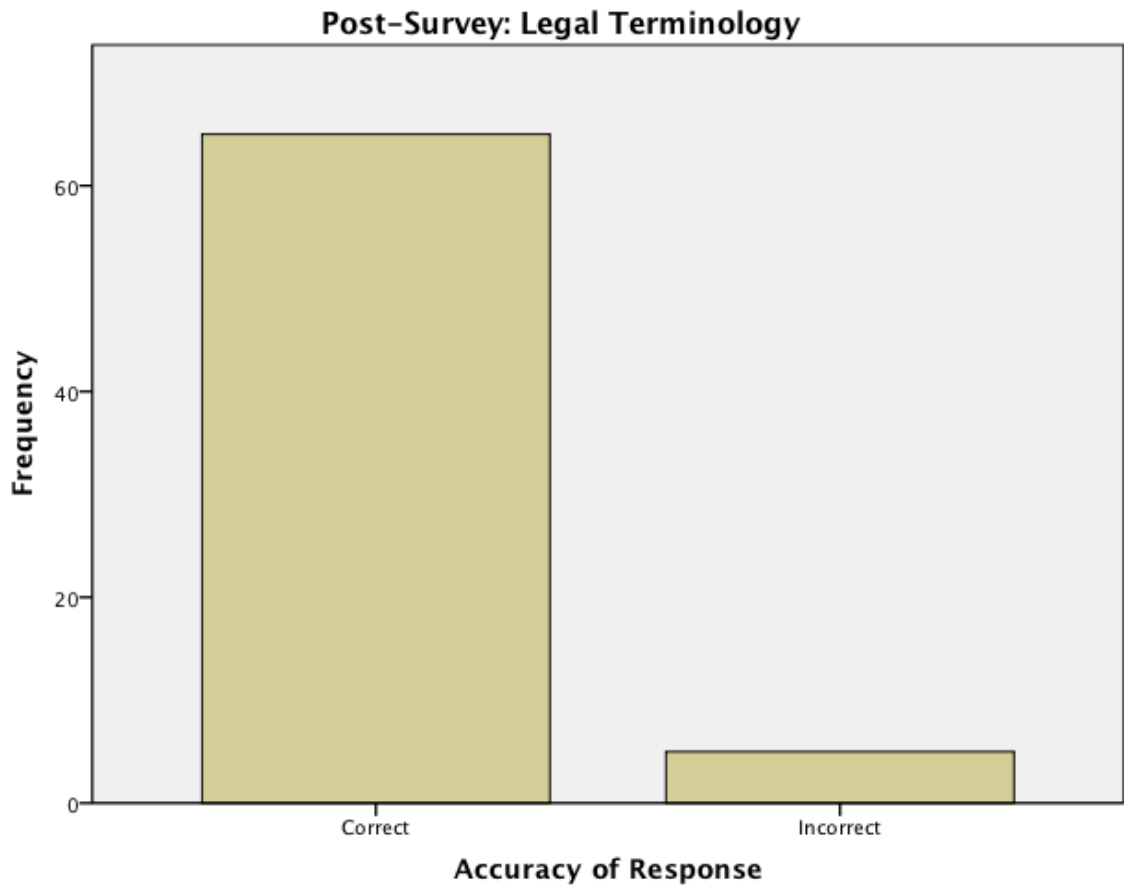
Post-Survey: Linguistic Groups					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Correct	68	97.1	97.1	97.1
	Incorrect	2	2.9	2.9	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	



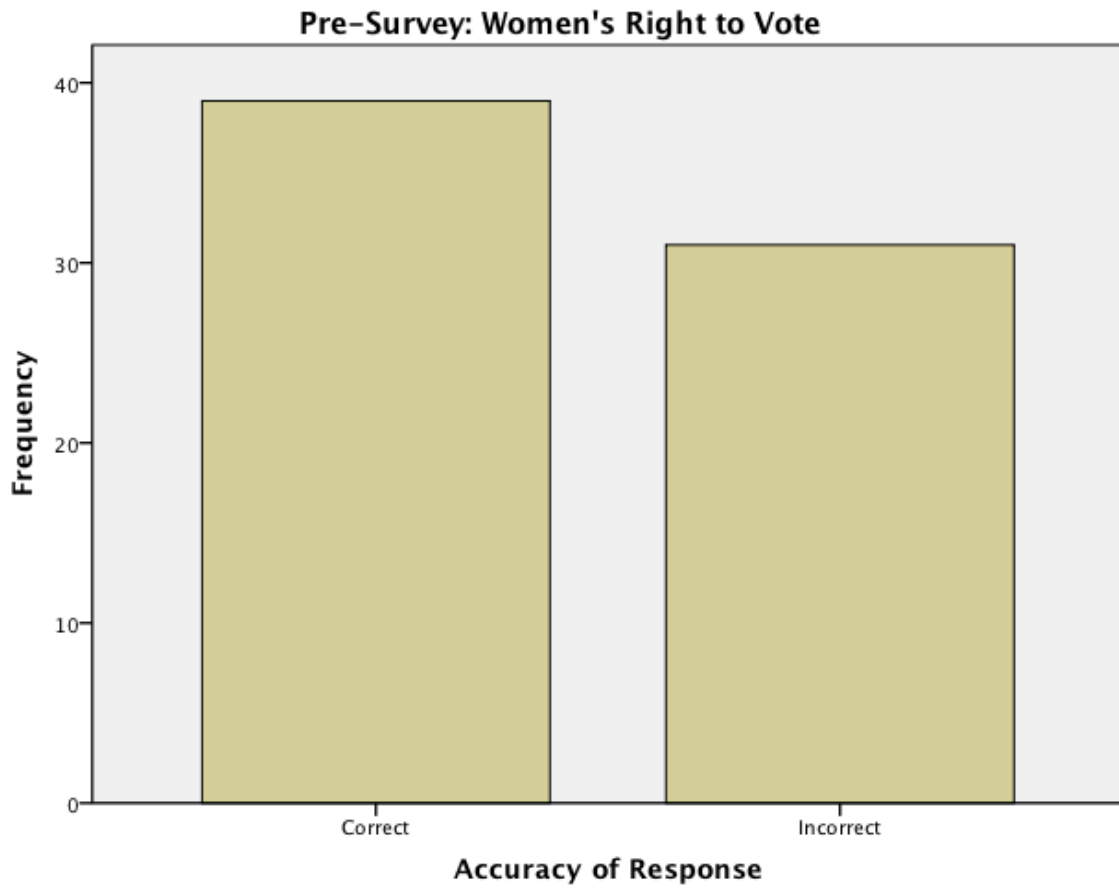
Pre-Survey Legal Term					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Correct	43	61.4	61.4	61.4
	Incorrect	27	38.6	38.6	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	



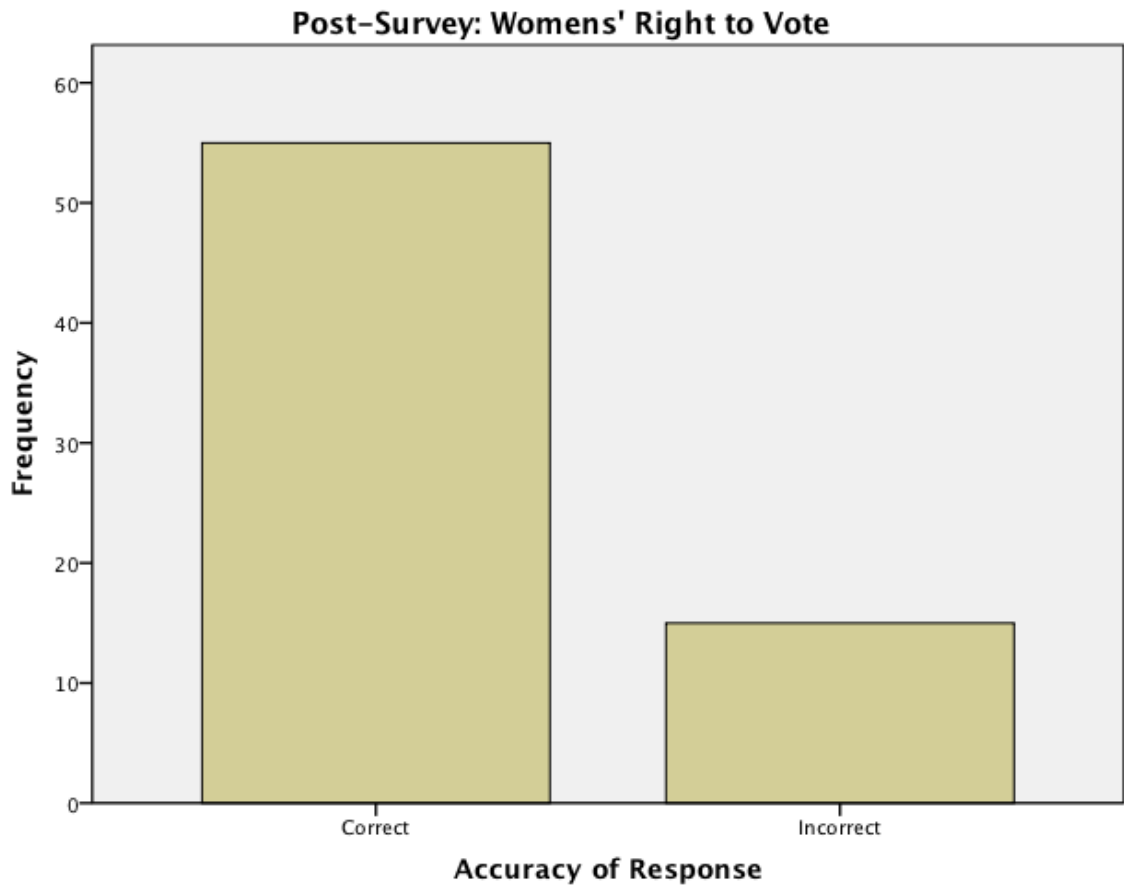
Post-Survey: Legal Term					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Correct	65	92.9	92.9	92.9
	Incorrect	5	7.1	7.1	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	



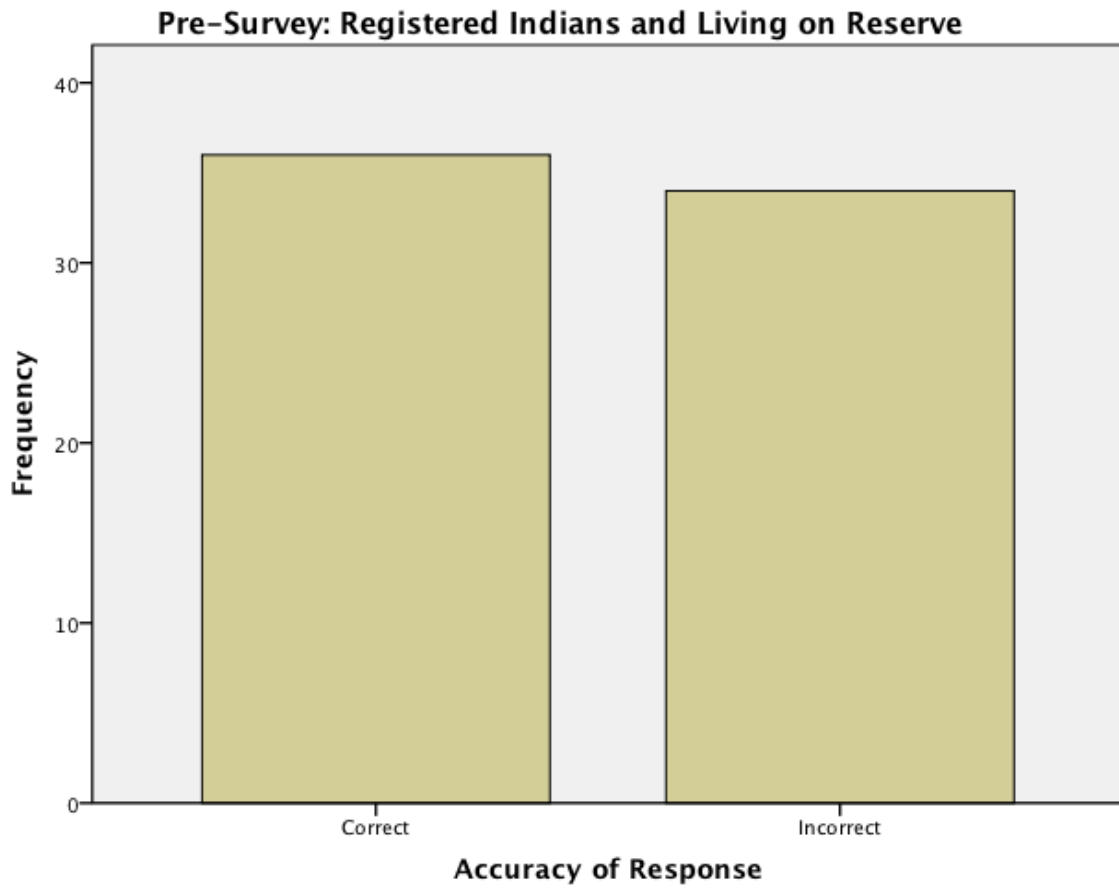
Pre-Survey Women's Right to Vote					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Correct	39	55.7	55.7	55.7
	Incorrect	31	44.3	44.3	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	



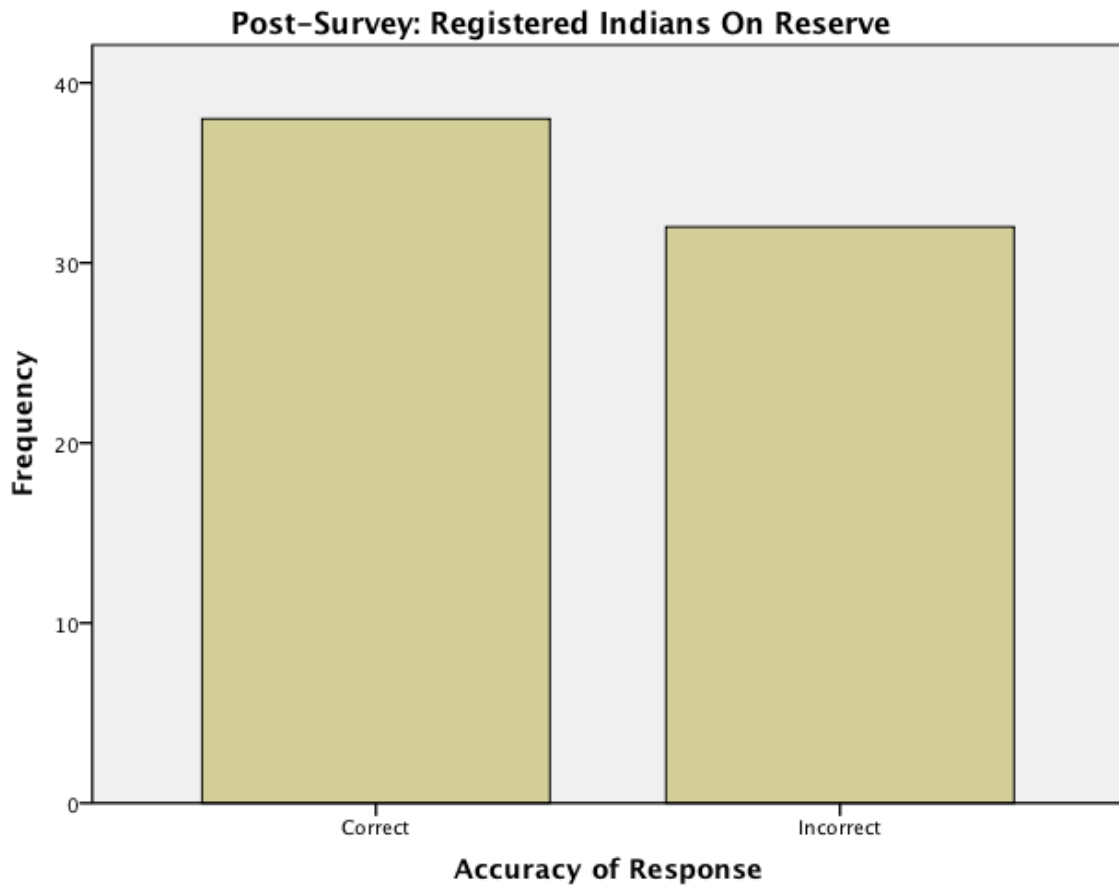
Post-Survey: Women's Right to Vote					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Correct	55	78.6	78.6	78.6
	Incorrect	15	21.4	21.4	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	



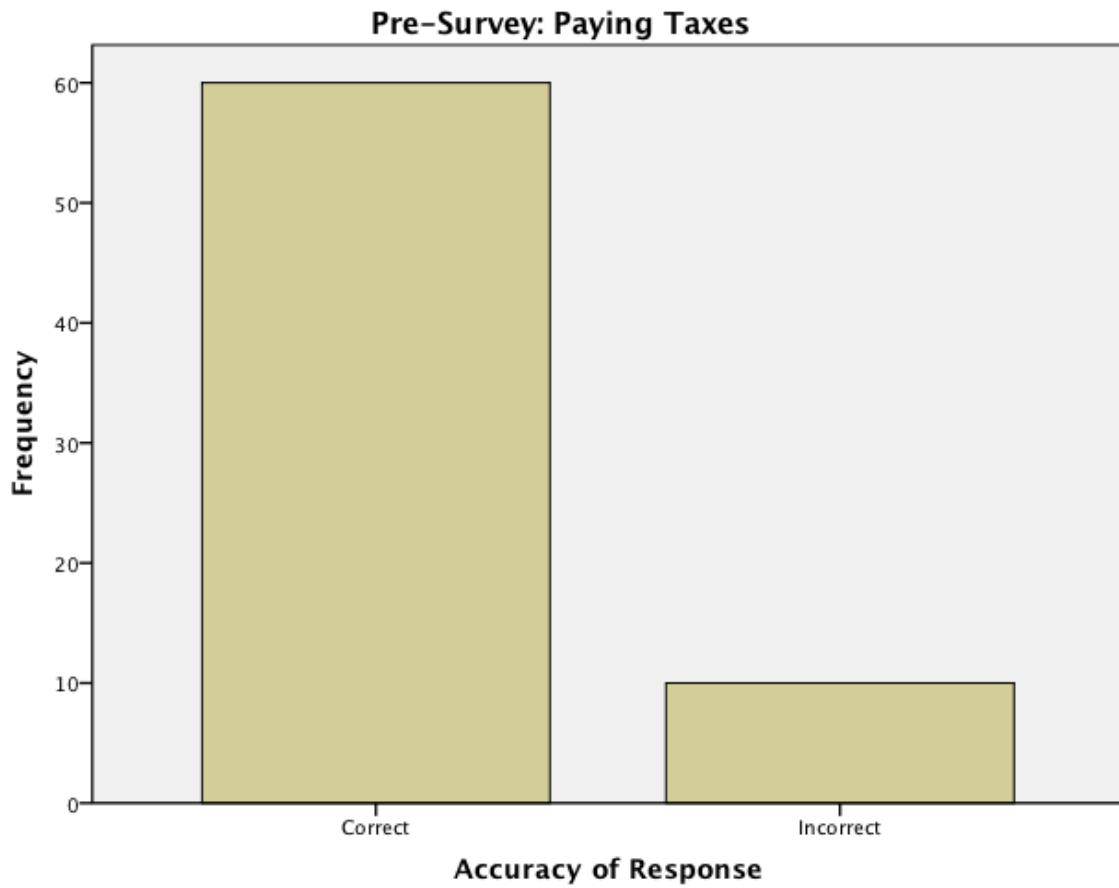
Pre-Survey Reserves					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Correct	36	51.4	51.4	51.4
	Incorrect	34	48.6	48.6	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	



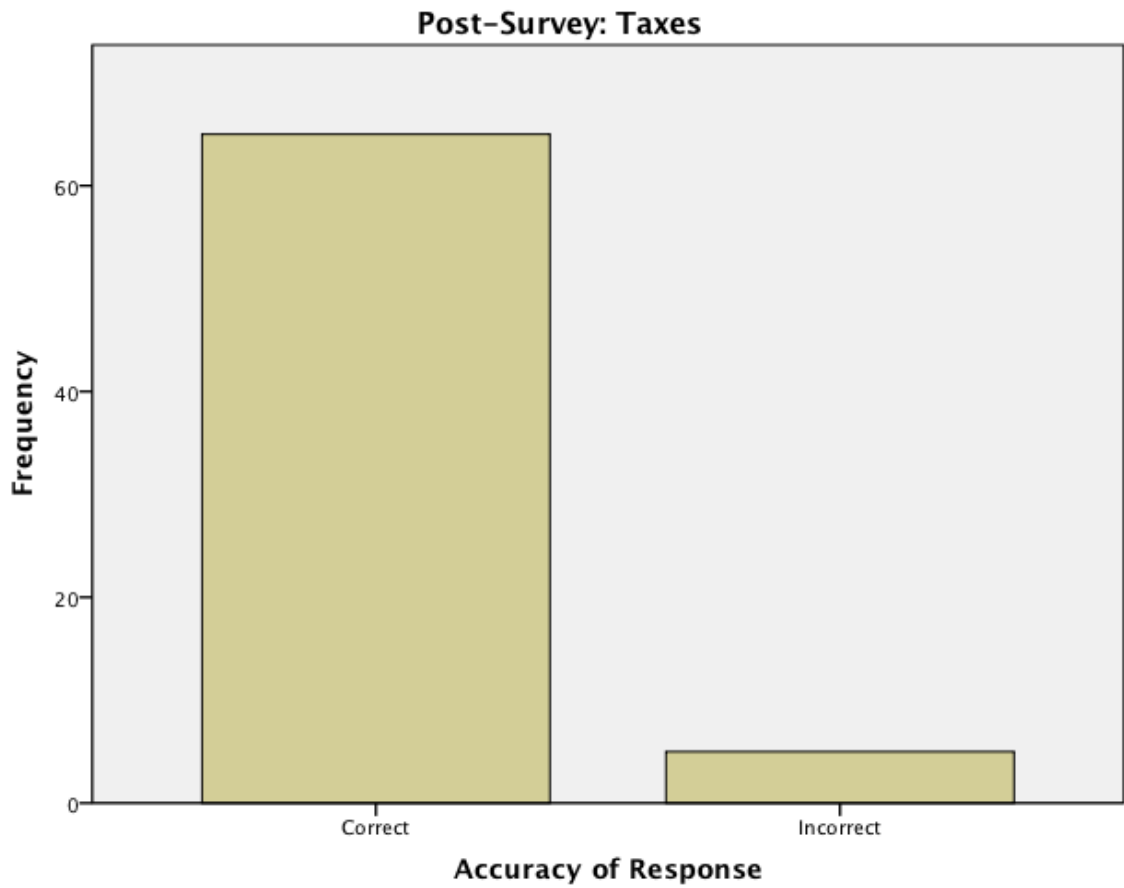
Post-Survey: Registered Indians On Reserve					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Correct	38	54.3	54.3	54.3
	Incorrect	32	45.7	45.7	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	



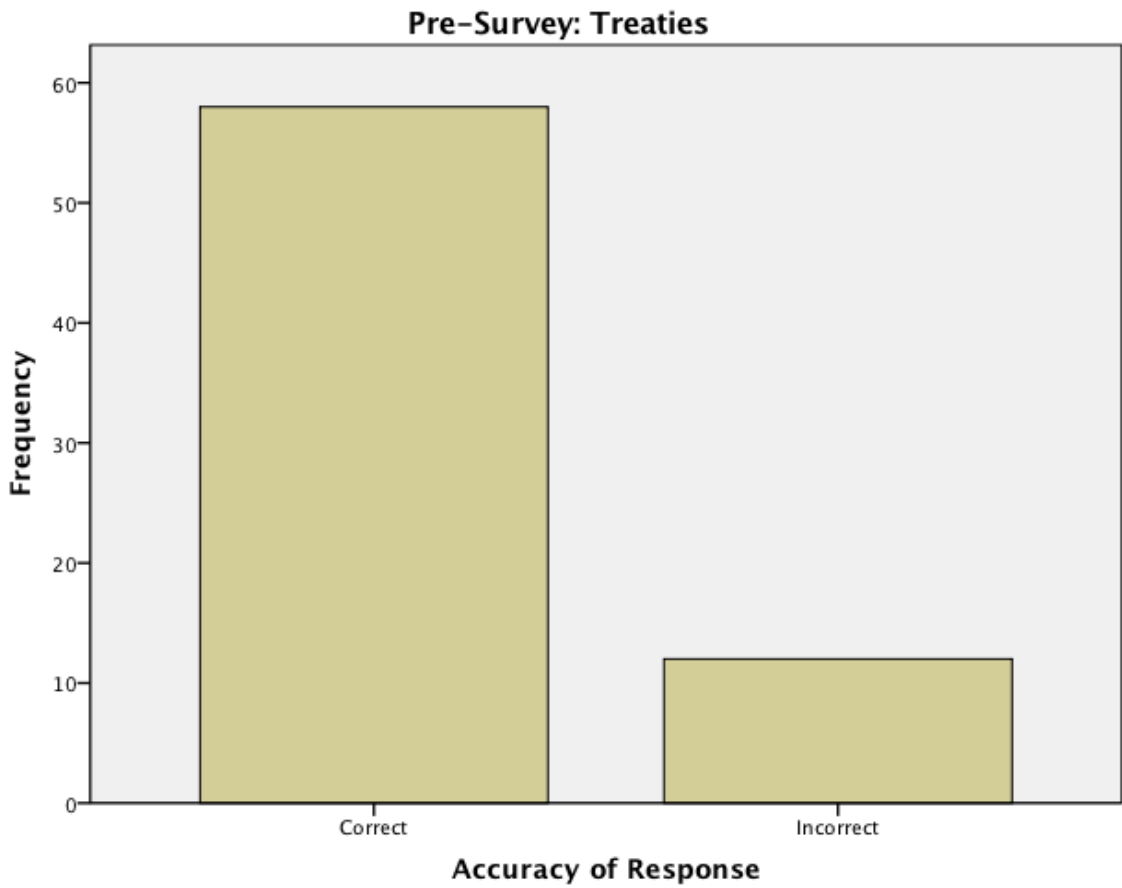
Pre-Survey Taxes					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Correct	60	85.7	85.7	85.7
	Incorrect	10	14.3	14.3	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	



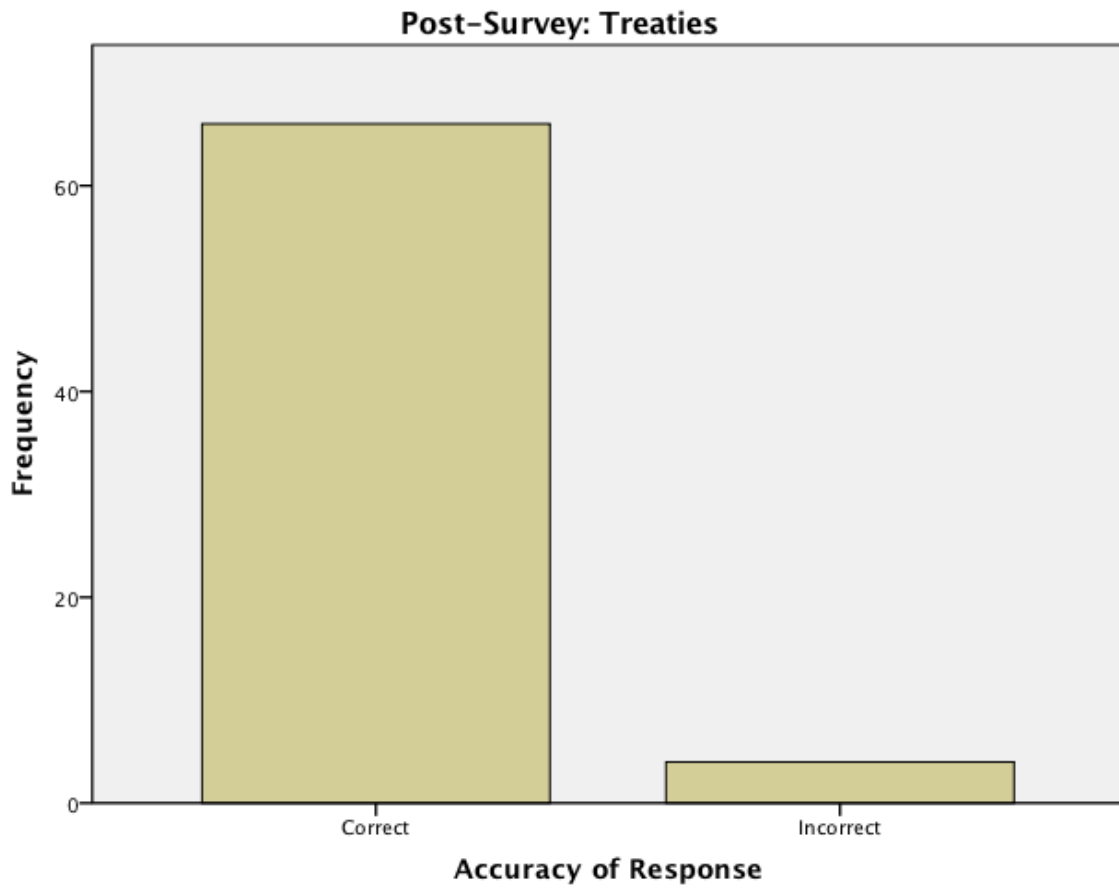
Post-Survey: Taxes					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Correct	65	92.9	92.9	92.9
	Incorrect	5	7.1	7.1	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	



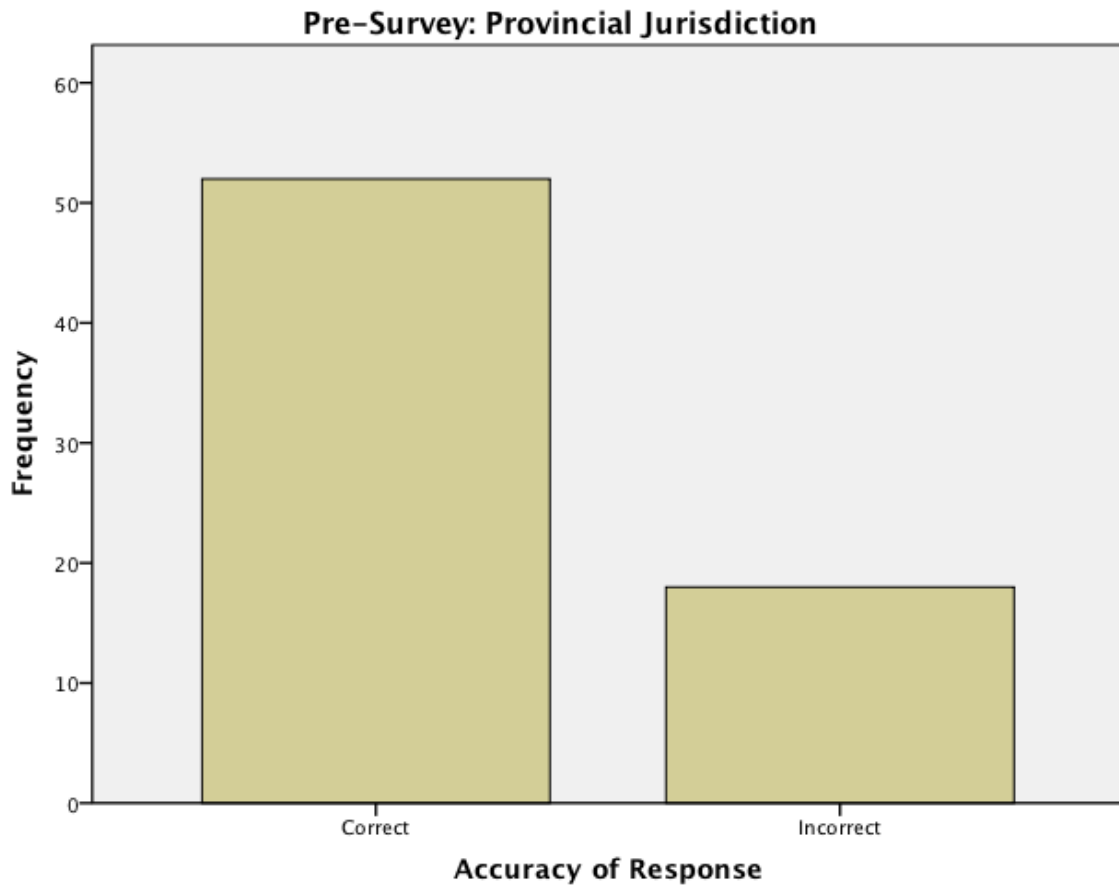
Pre-Survey Treaties					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Correct	58	82.9	82.9	82.9
	Incorrect	12	17.1	17.1	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	



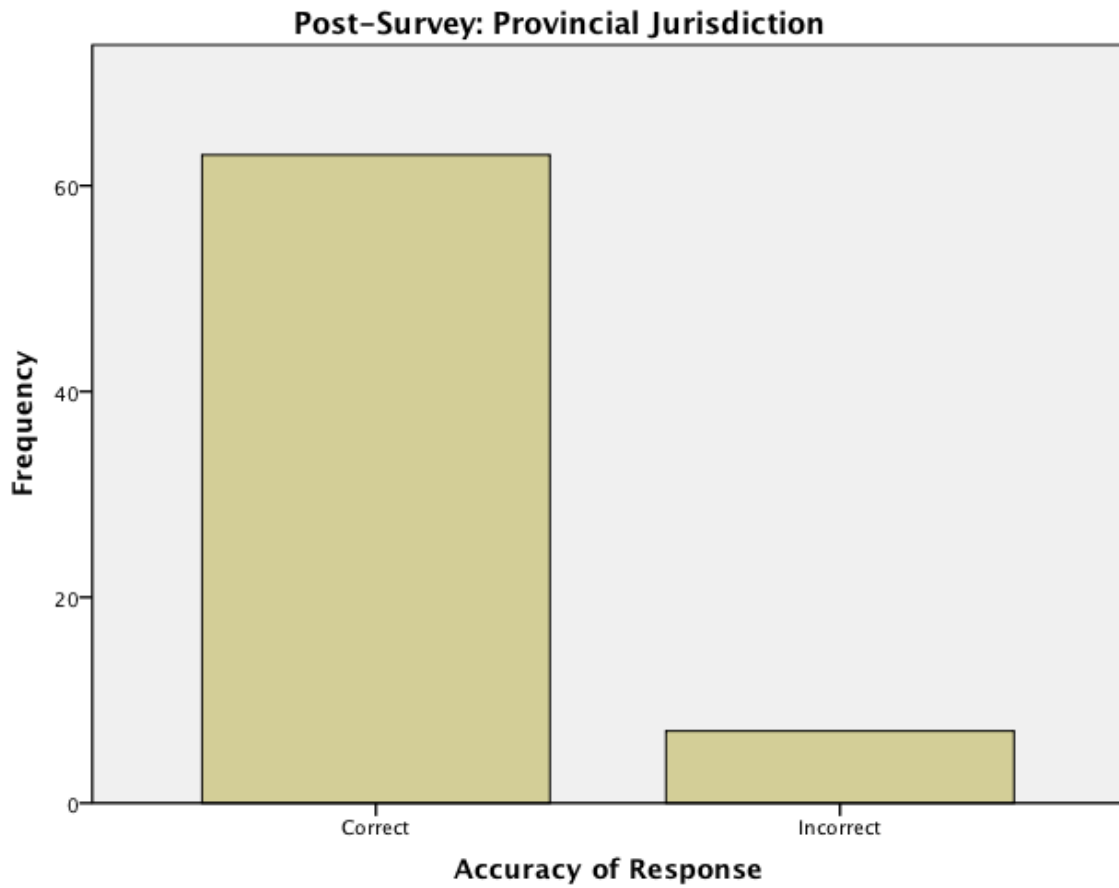
Post-Survey: Treaties					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Correct	66	94.3	94.3	94.3
	Incorrect	4	5.7	5.7	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	



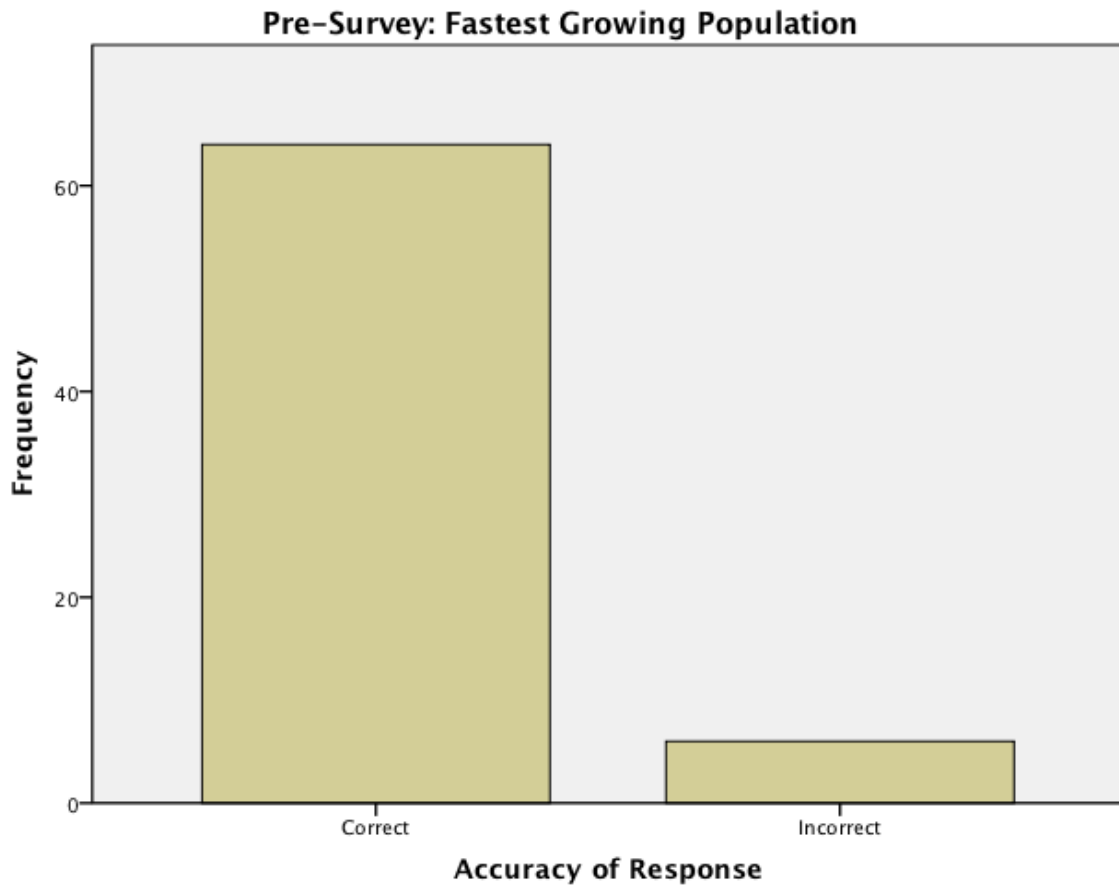
Pre-Survey Provincial Jurisdiction					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Correct	52	74.3	74.3	74.3
	Incorrect	18	25.7	25.7	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	



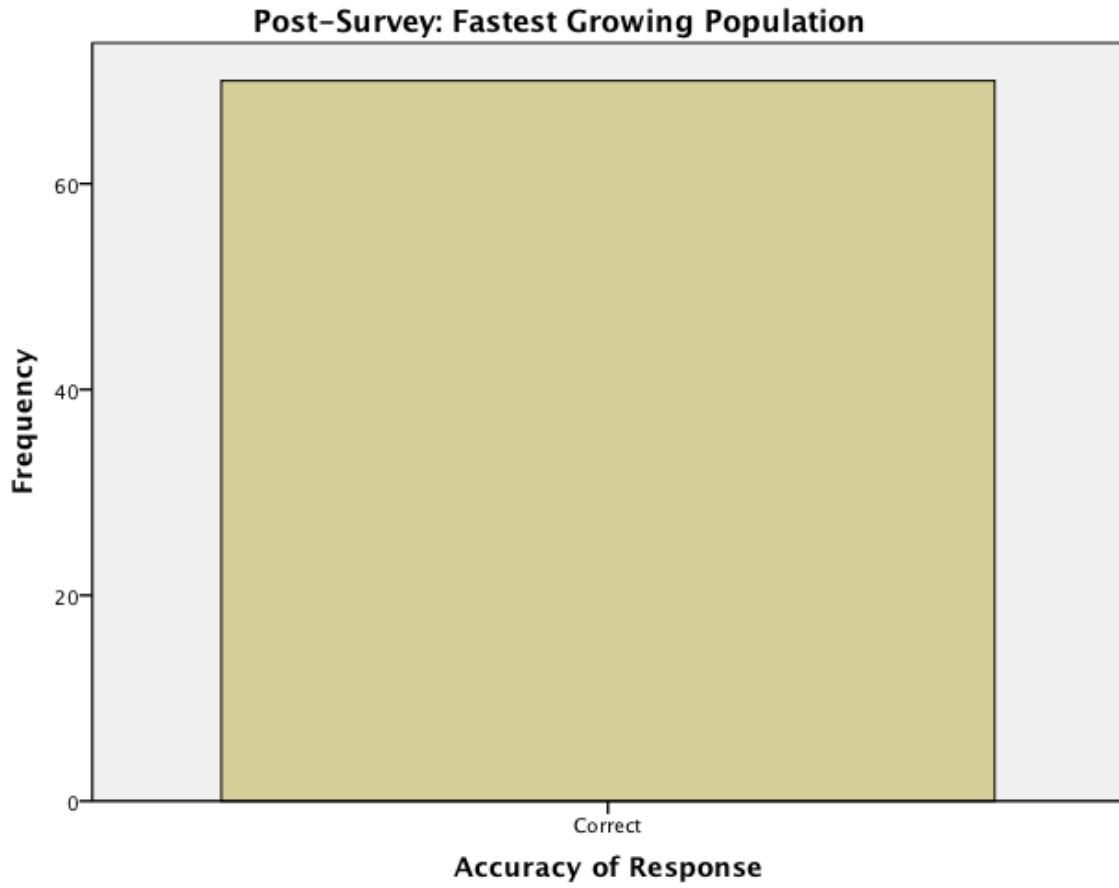
Post-Survey: Provincial Jurisdiction					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Correct	63	90.0	90.0	90.0
	Incorrect	7	10.0	10.0	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	



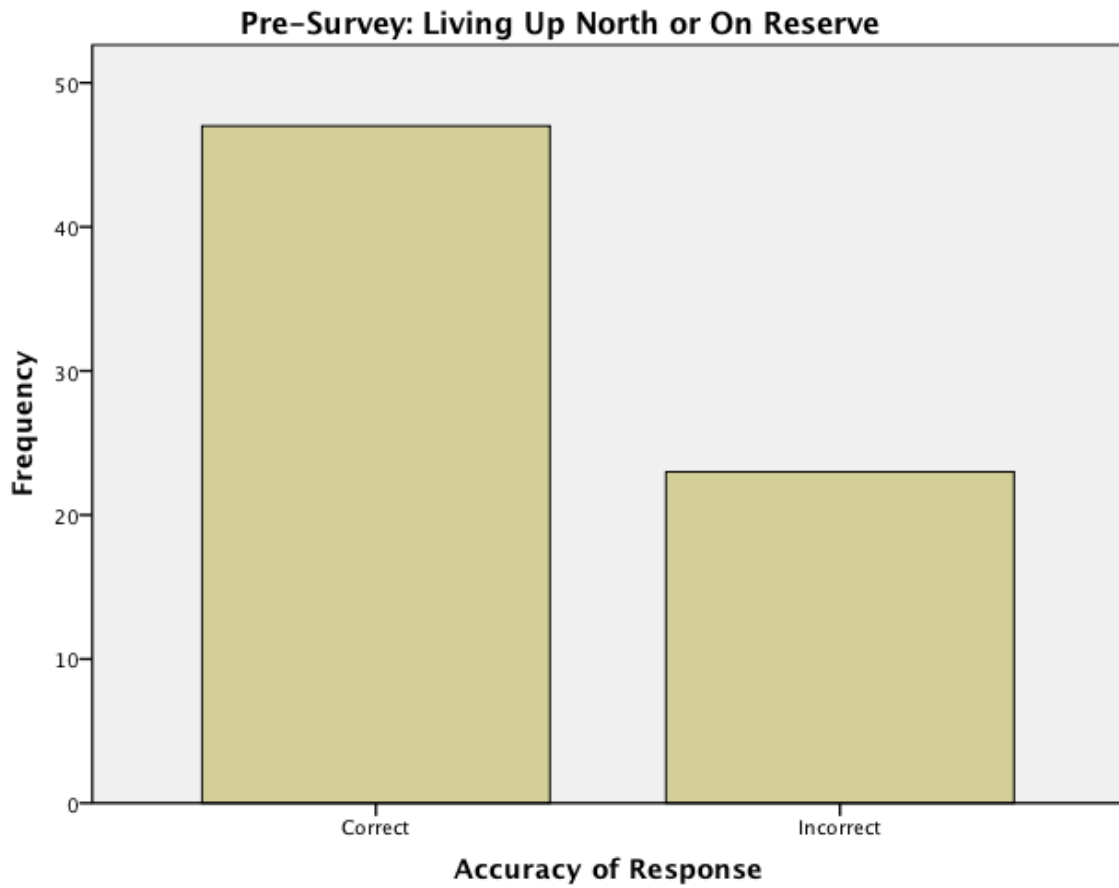
Pre-Survey Fastest Growing Population					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Correct	64	91.4	91.4	91.4
	Incorrect	6	8.6	8.6	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	



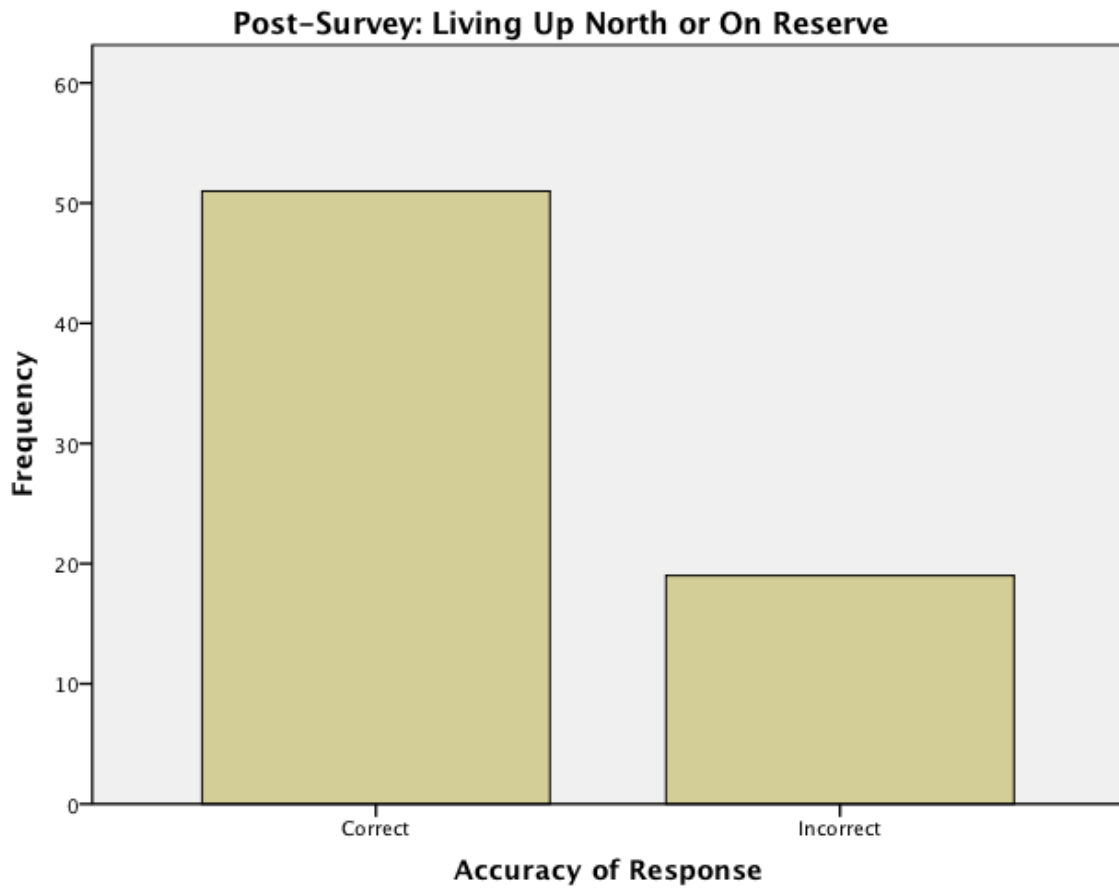
Post-Survey: Fastest Growing Population					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Correct	70	100.0	100.0	100.0



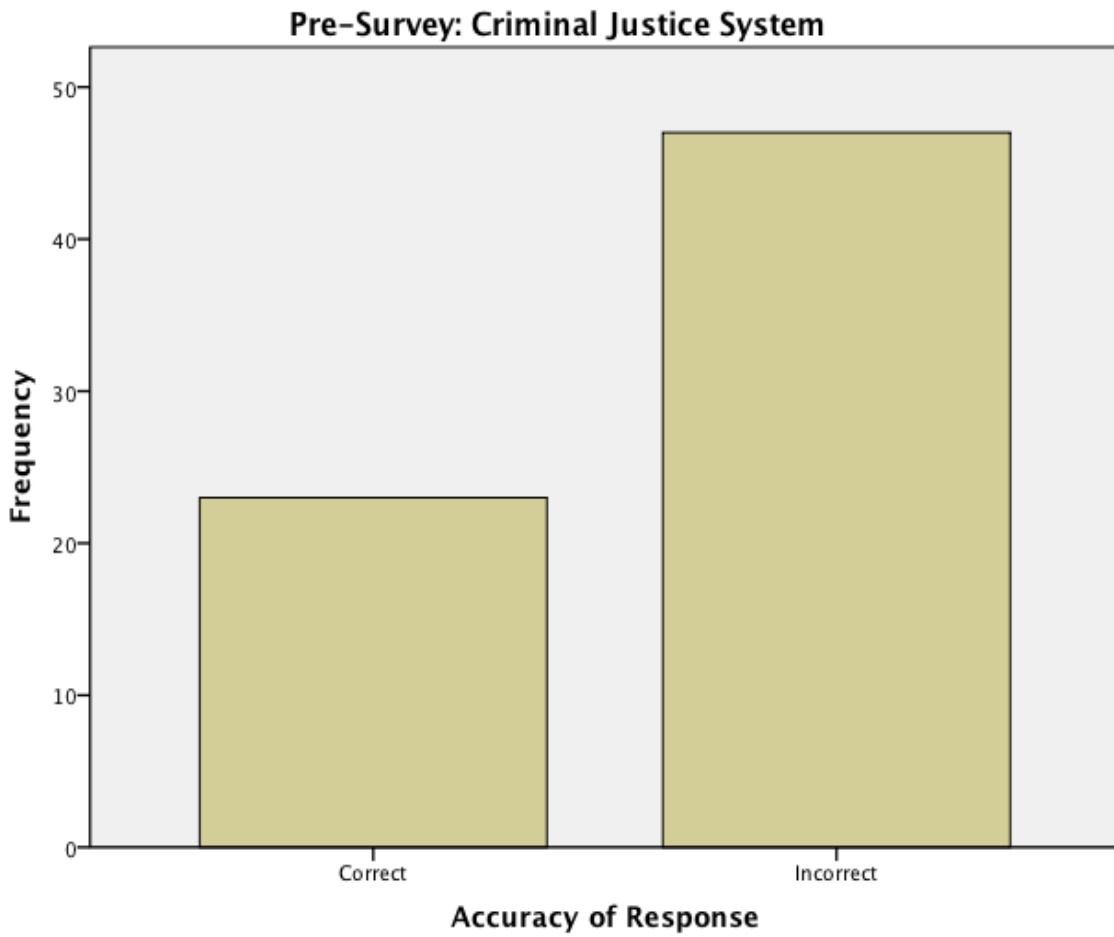
Pre-Survey Live North or On Reserve					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Correct	47	67.1	67.1	67.1
	Incorrect	23	32.9	32.9	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	



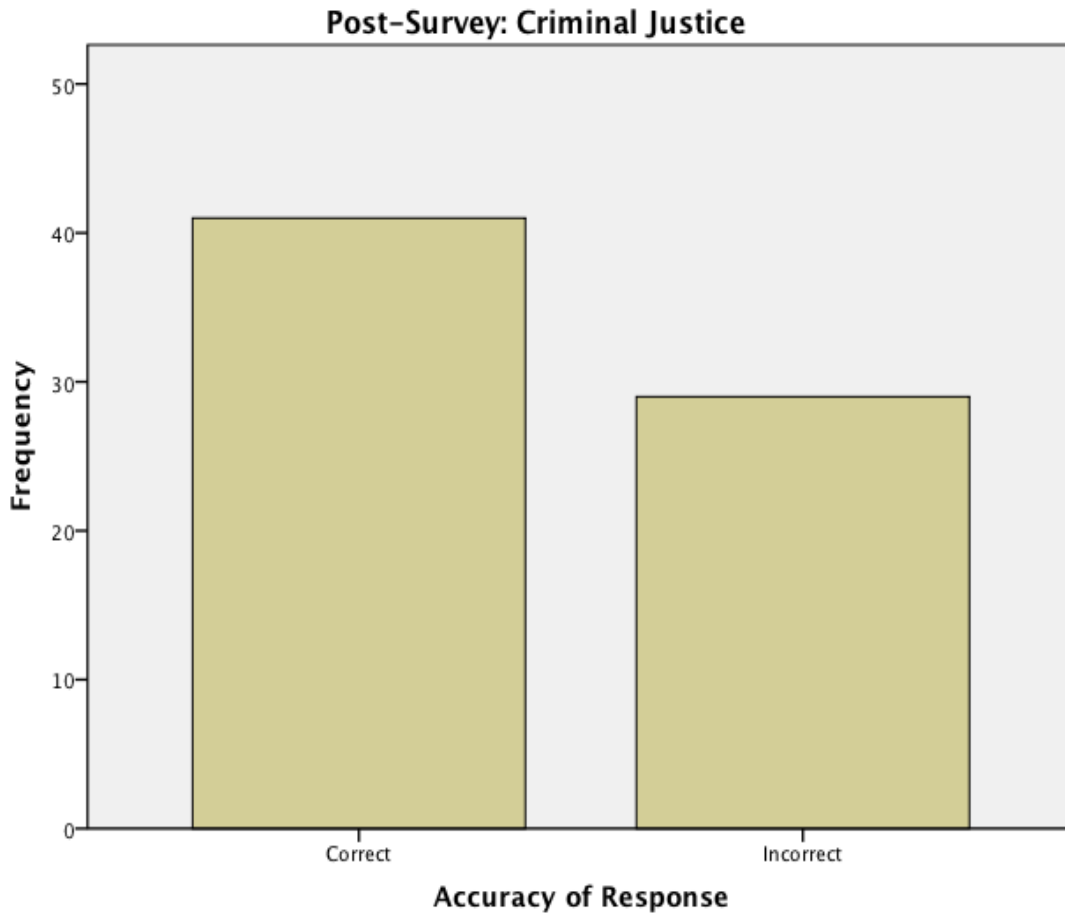
Post-Survey: Living Up North or On-Reserve					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Correct	51	72.9	72.9	72.9
	Incorrect	19	27.1	27.1	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	



Pre-Survey Criminal Justice System					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Correct	23	32.9	32.9	32.9
	Incorrect	47	67.1	67.1	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	

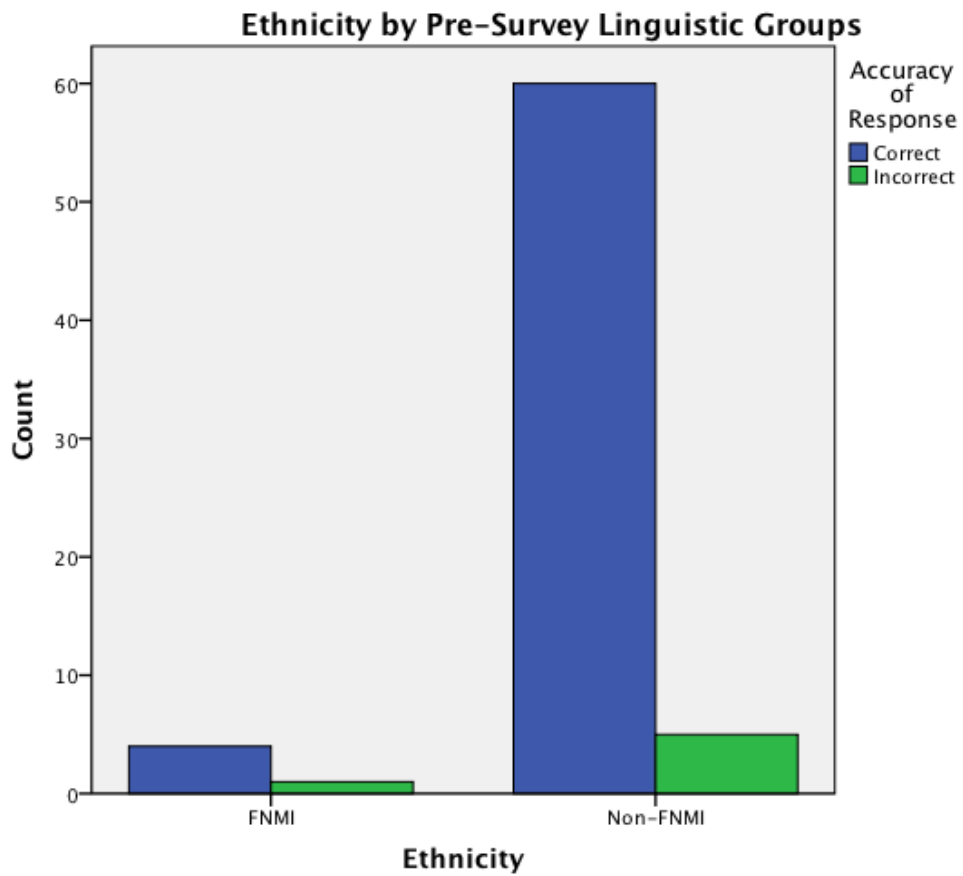


Post-Survey: Criminal Justice System					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Correct	41	58.6	58.6	58.6
	Incorrect	29	41.4	41.4	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	

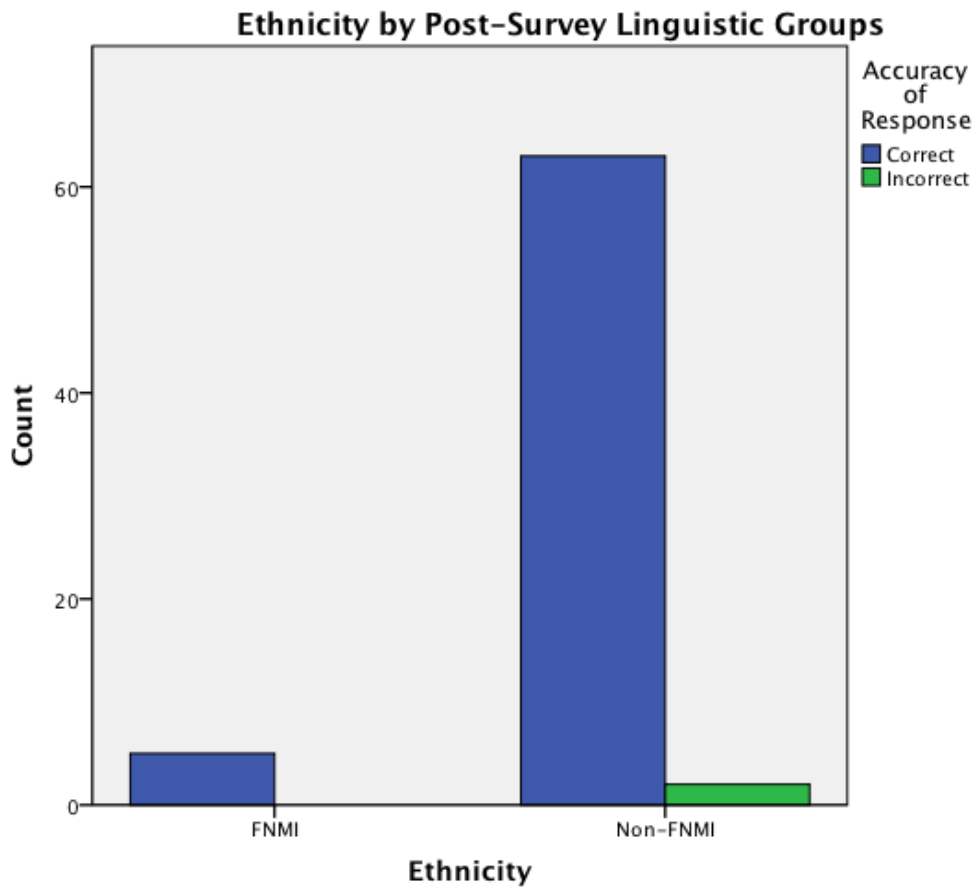


Descriptive Statistics for Knowledge Items by Ethnicity

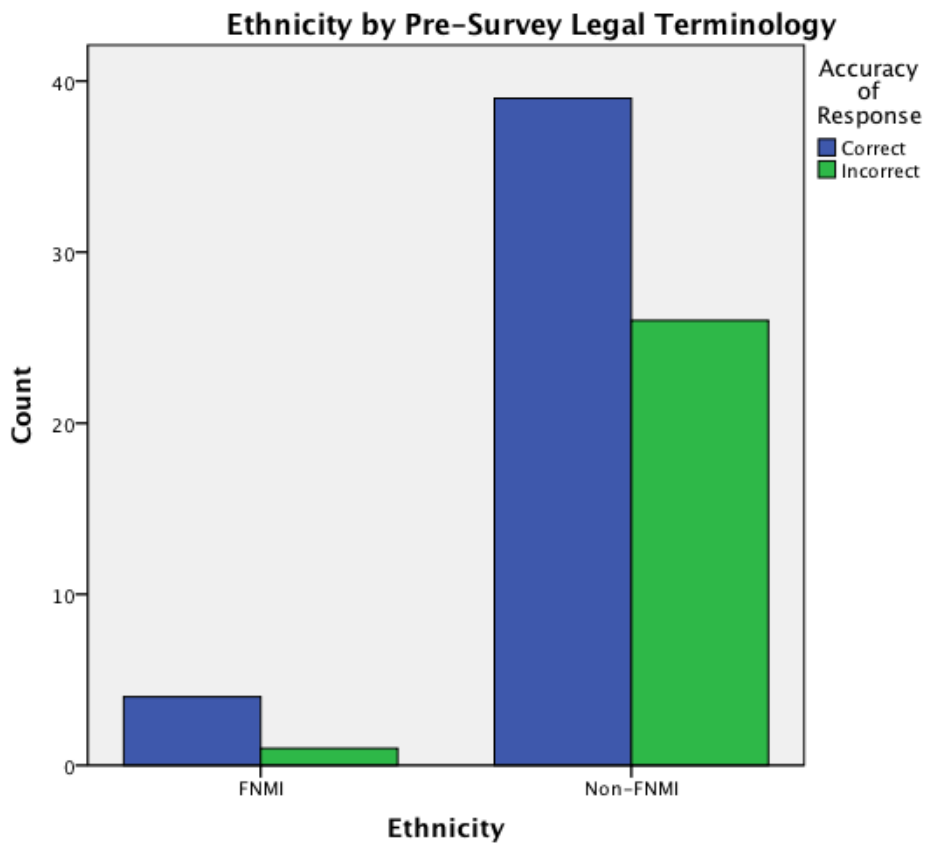
Ethnicity by Pre-Survey Linguistic Groups					
			Pre Linguistic Groups		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	4	1	5
		% within Ethnicity	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	60	5	65
		% within Ethnicity	92.3%	7.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	64	6	70
		% within Ethnicity	91.4%	8.6%	100.0%



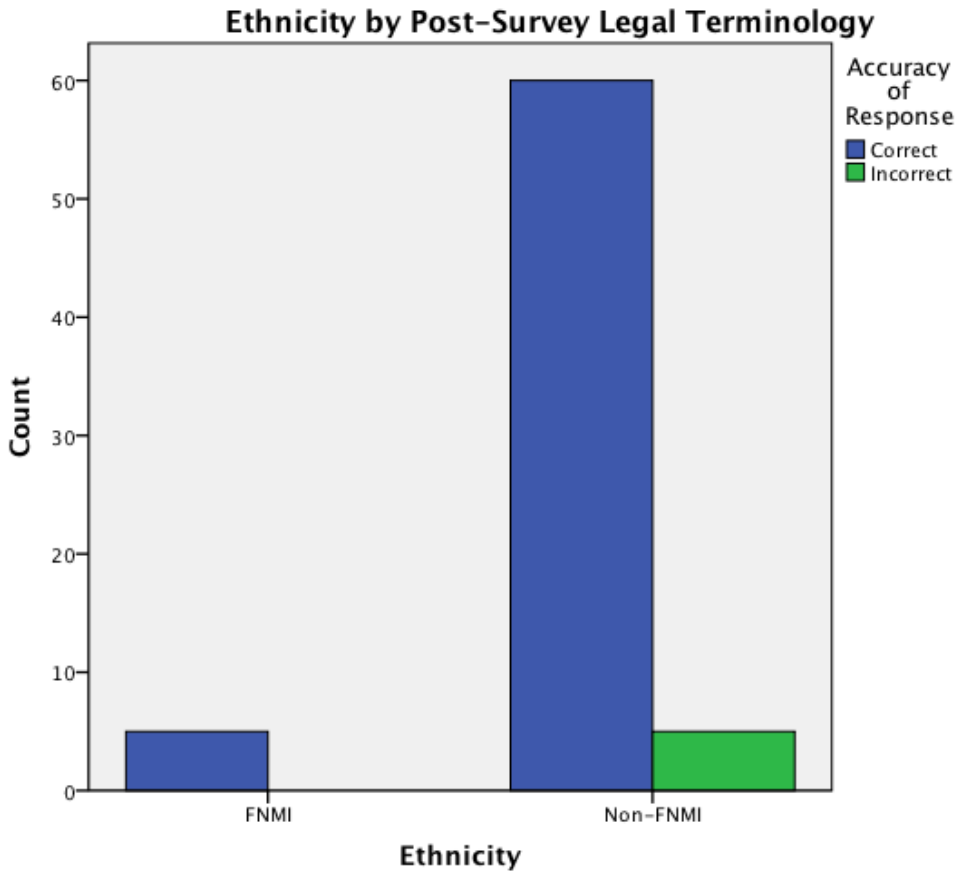
Ethnicity by Post-Survey Linguistic Groups					
			Post Linguistic Groups		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	5	0	5
		% within Ethnicity	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	63	2	65
		% within Ethnicity	96.9%	3.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	68	2	70
		% within Ethnicity	97.1%	2.9%	100.0%



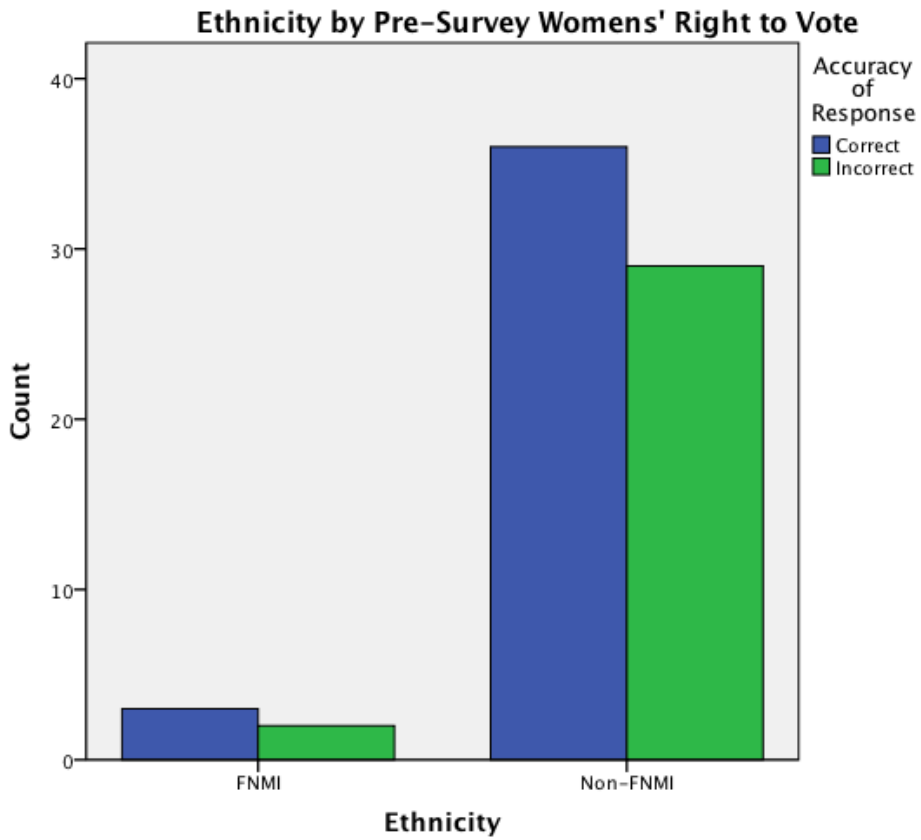
Ethnicity by Pre-Survey Legal Terminology					
			Pre Legal Terminology		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	4	1	5
		% within Ethnicity	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	39	26	65
		% within Ethnicity	60.0%	40.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	43	27	70
		% within Ethnicity	61.4%	38.6%	100.0%



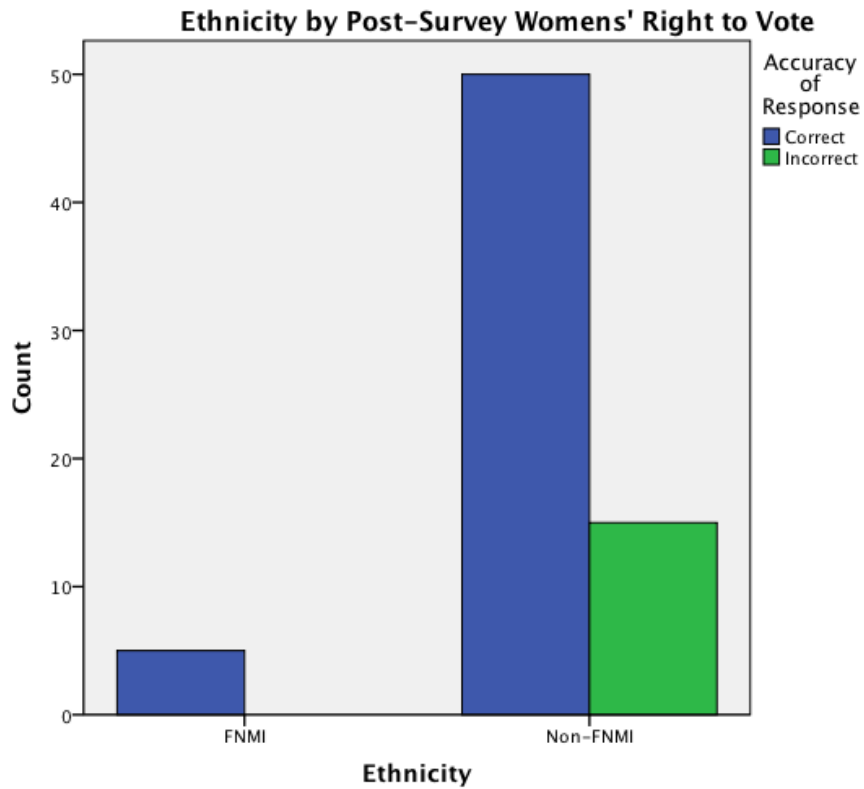
Ethnicity by Post-Survey Legal Terminology					
			Post Legal Terminology		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	5	0	5
		% within Ethnicity	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	60	5	65
		% within Ethnicity	92.3%	7.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	65	5	70
		% within Ethnicity	92.9%	7.1%	100.0%



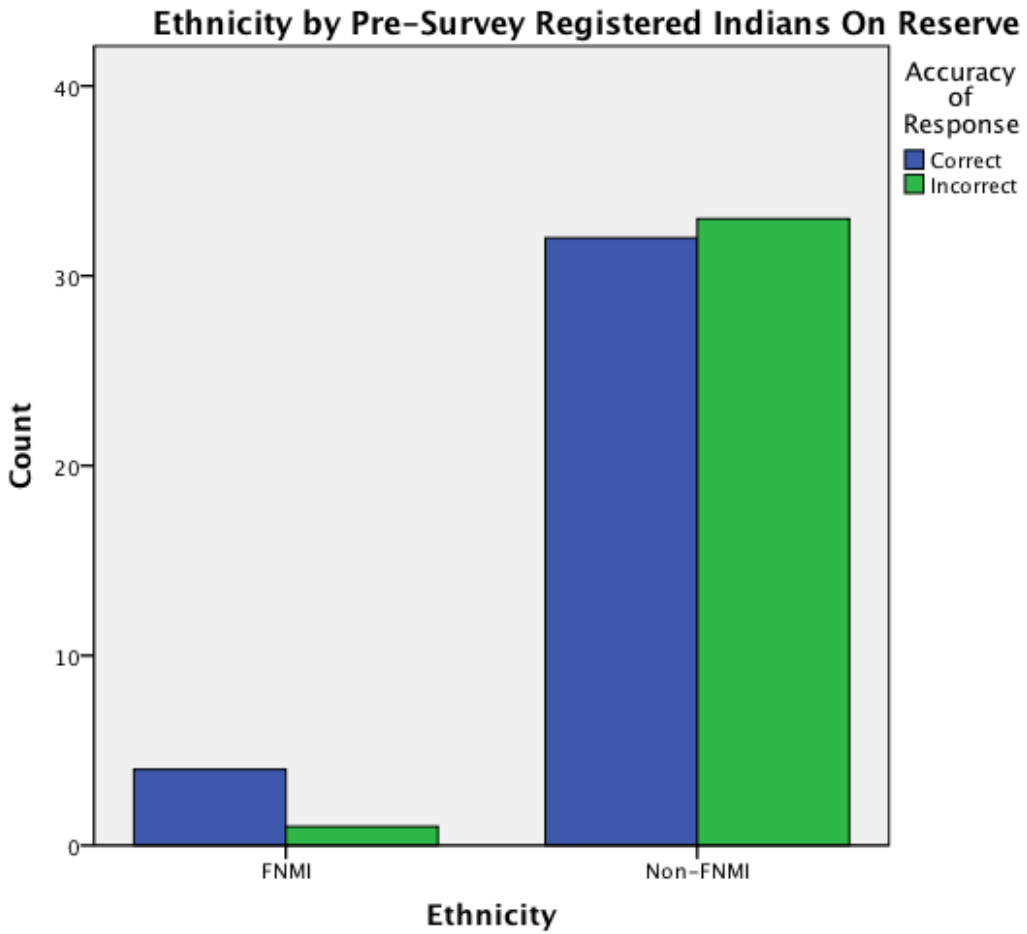
Ethnicity by Pre-Survey Women's Right to Vote					
			Pre Women		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	3	2	5
		% within Ethnicity	60.0%	40.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	36	29	65
		% within Ethnicity	55.4%	44.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	39	31	70
		% within Ethnicity	55.7%	44.3%	100.0%



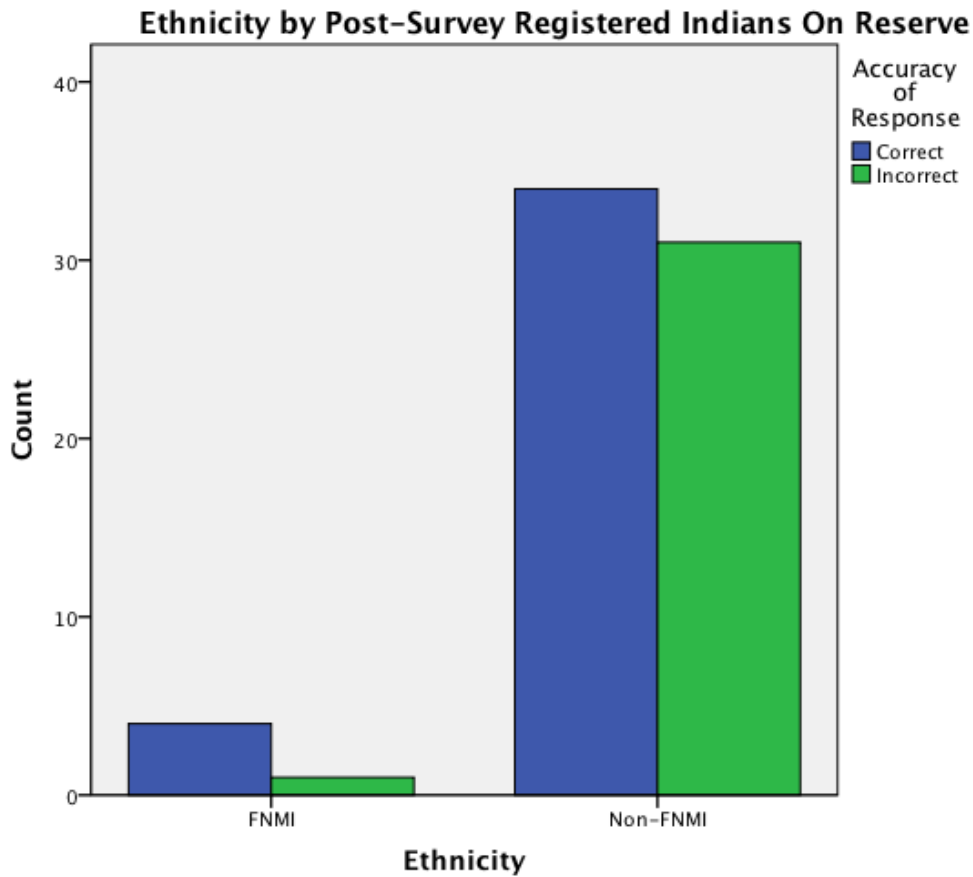
Ethnicity by Post-Survey Women's Right to Vote					
			Post Women		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	5	0	5
		% within Ethnicity	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	50	15	65
		% within Ethnicity	76.9%	23.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	55	15	70
		% within Ethnicity	78.6%	21.4%	100.0%



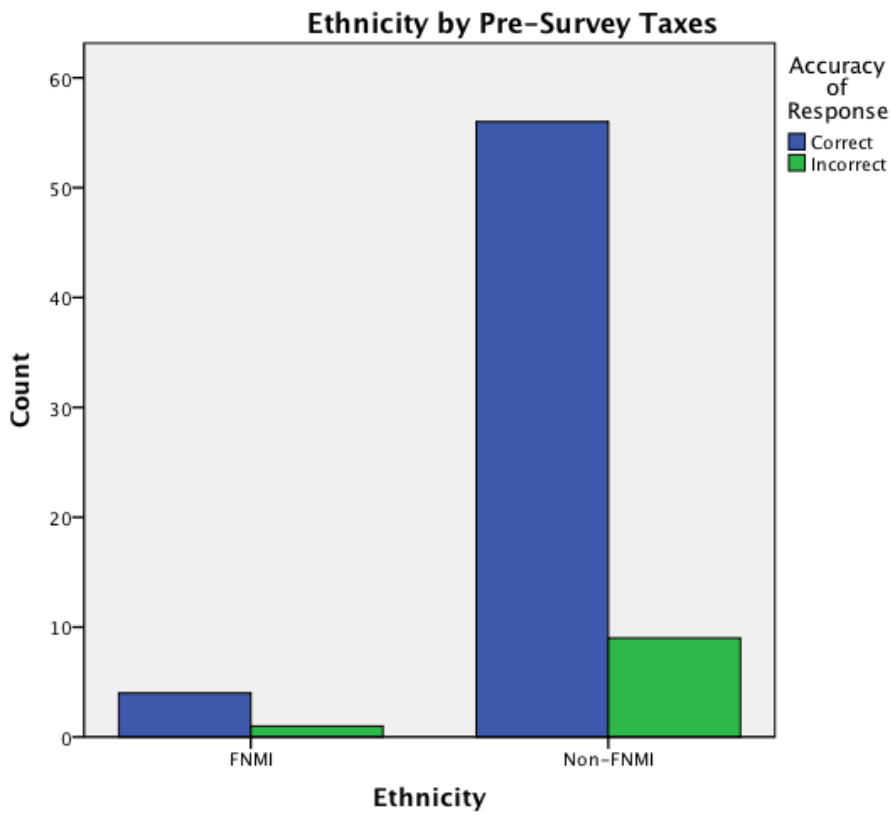
Ethnicity by Pre-Survey Registered Indians On Reserve					
			Pre Reserve		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	4	1	5
		% within Ethnicity	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	32	33	65
		% within Ethnicity	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	36	34	70
		% within Ethnicity	51.4%	48.6%	100.0%



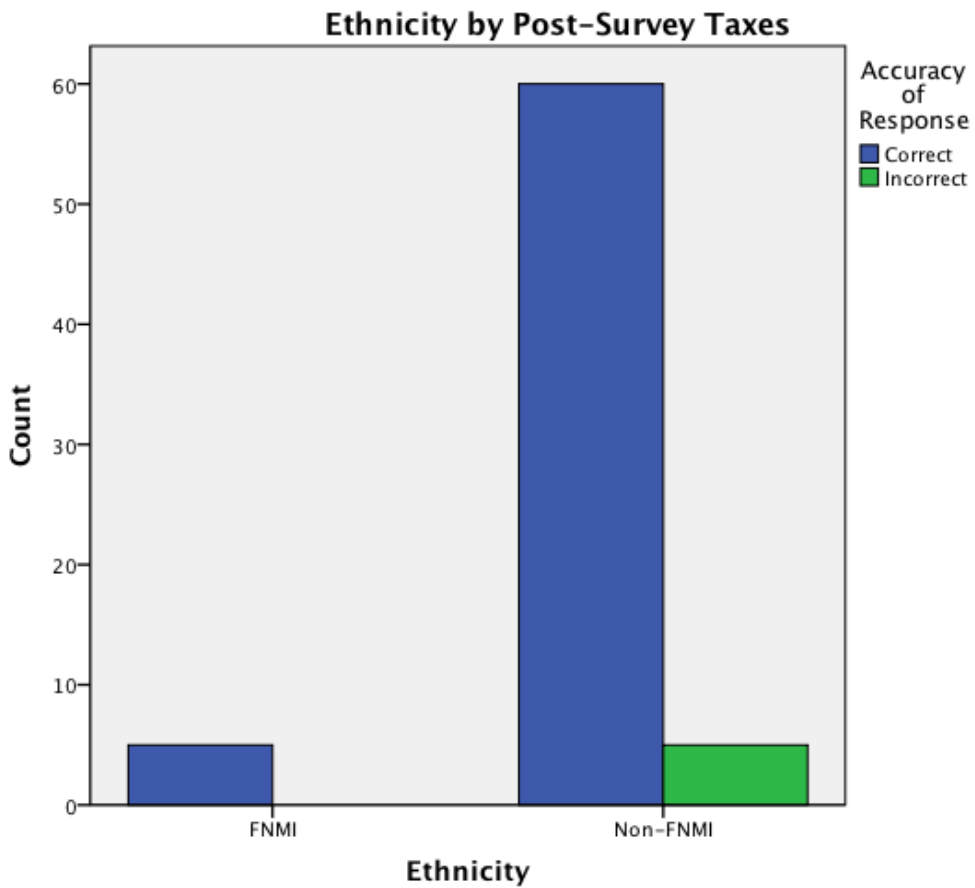
Ethnicity by Post-Survey Registered Indians On Reserve					
			Post Reserve		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	4	1	5
		% within Ethnicity	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	34	31	65
		% within Ethnicity	52.3%	47.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	38	32	70
		% within Ethnicity	54.3%	45.7%	100.0%



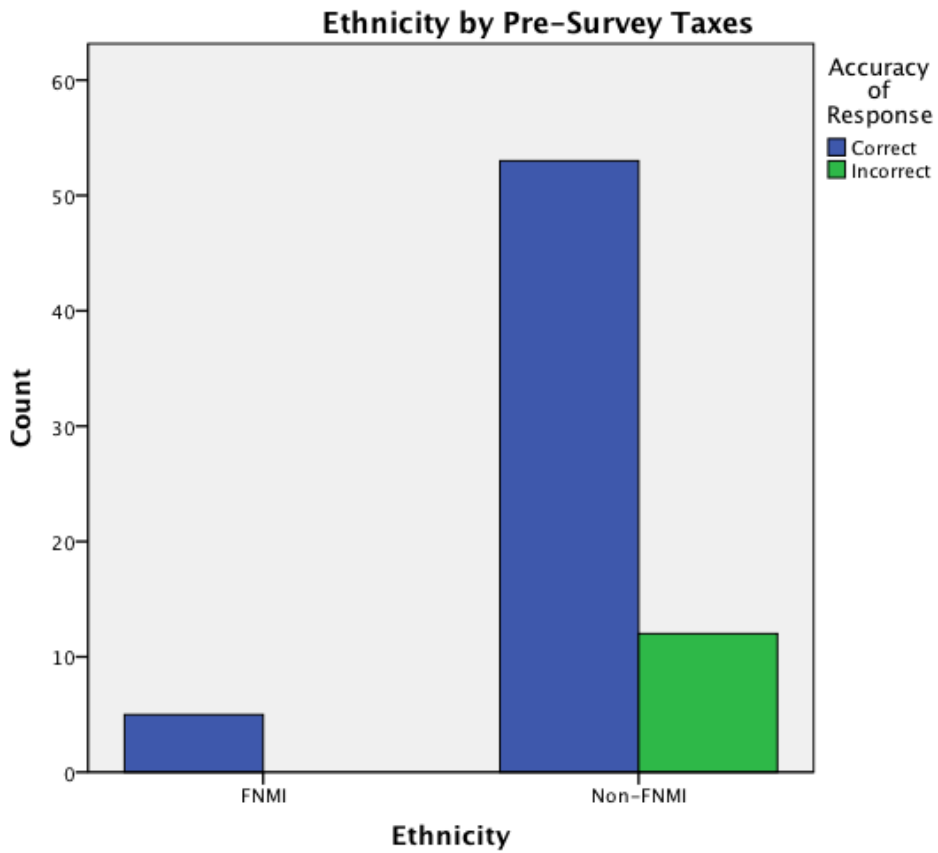
Ethnicity by Pre-Survey Taxes					
			Pre Taxes		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	4	1	5
		% within Ethnicity	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	56	9	65
		% within Ethnicity	86.2%	13.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	60	10	70
		% within Ethnicity	85.7%	14.3%	100.0%



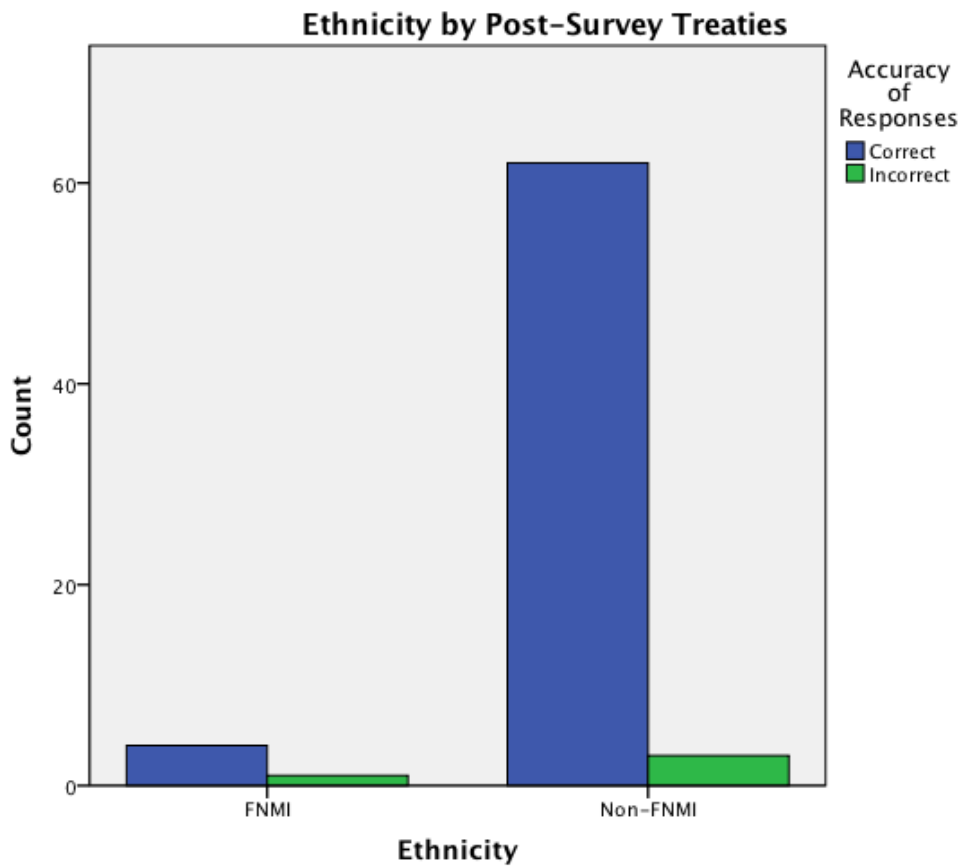
Ethnicity by Post-Survey Taxes					
			Post Taxes		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	5	0	5
		% within Ethnicity	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	60	5	65
		% within Ethnicity	92.3%	7.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	65	5	70
		% within Ethnicity	92.9%	7.1%	100.0%



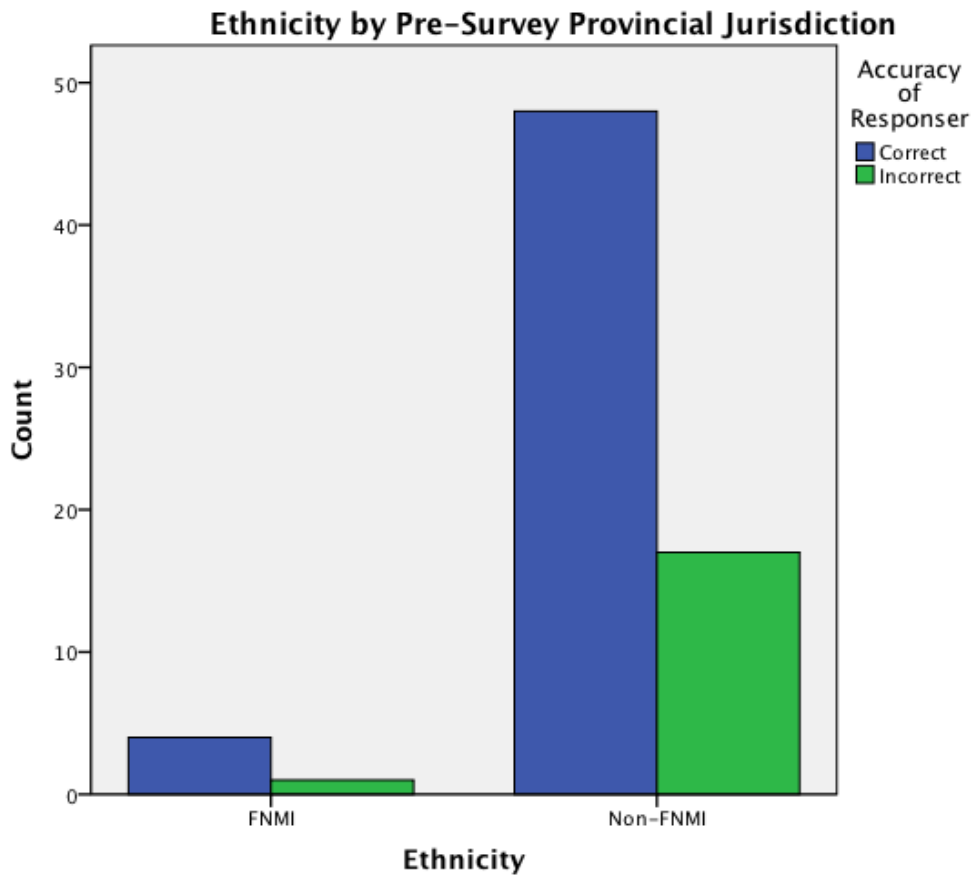
Ethnicity by Pre-Survey Treaties					
			Pre Treaties		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	5	0	5
		% within Ethnicity	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	53	12	65
		% within Ethnicity	81.5%	18.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	58	12	70
		% within Ethnicity	82.9%	17.1%	100.0%



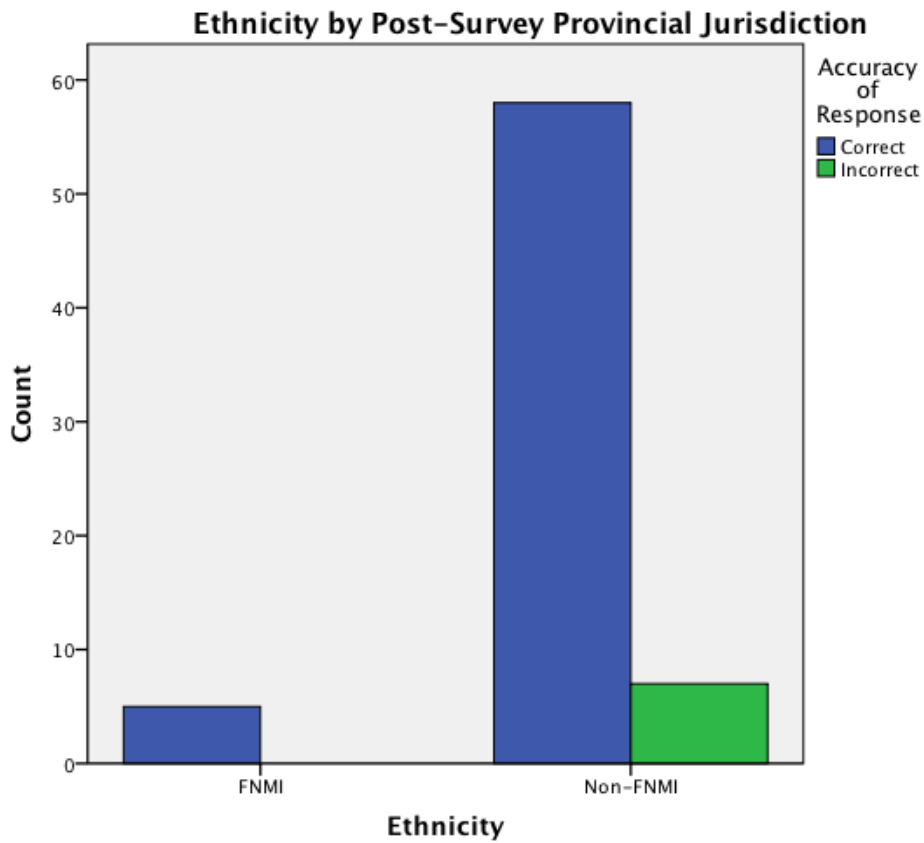
Ethnicity by Post-Survey Treaties					
			Post Treaties		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	4	1	5
		% within Ethnicity	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	62	3	65
		% within Ethnicity	95.4%	4.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	66	4	70
		% within Ethnicity	94.3%	5.7%	100.0%



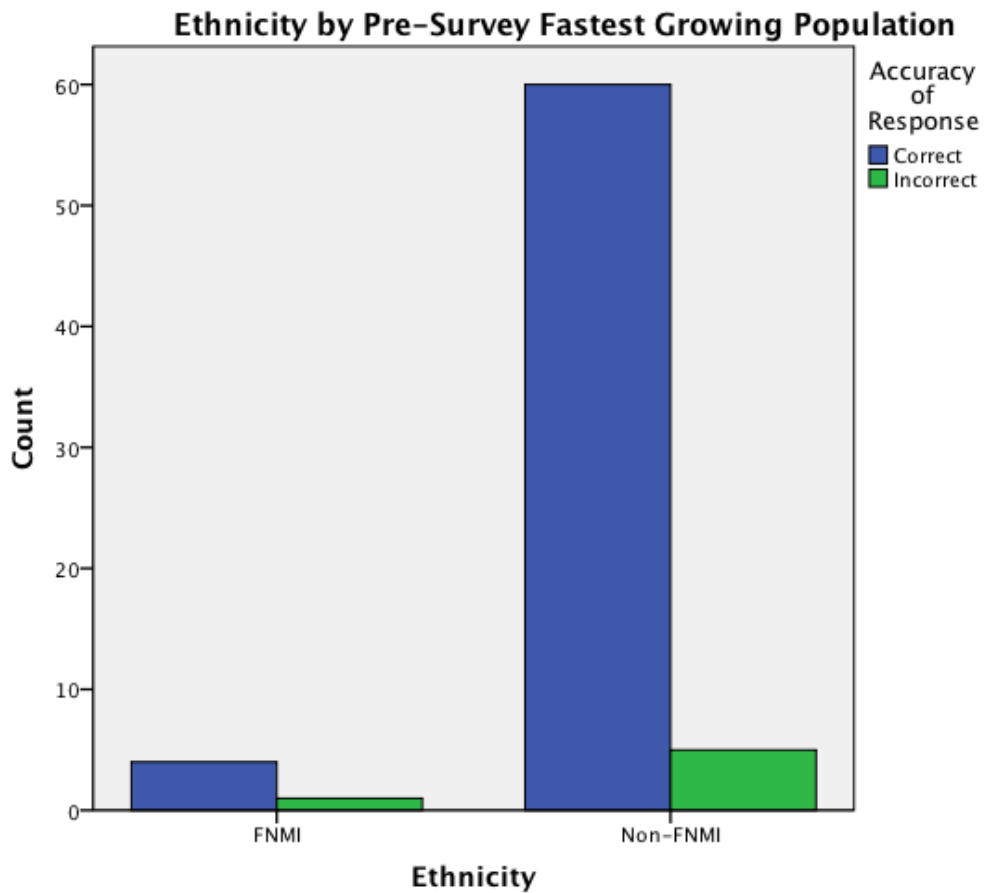
Ethnicity by Pre-Survey Provincial Jurisdiction					
			Pre Prov Jur		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	4	1	5
		% within Ethnicity	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	48	17	65
		% within Ethnicity	73.8%	26.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	52	18	70
		% within Ethnicity	74.3%	25.7%	100.0%



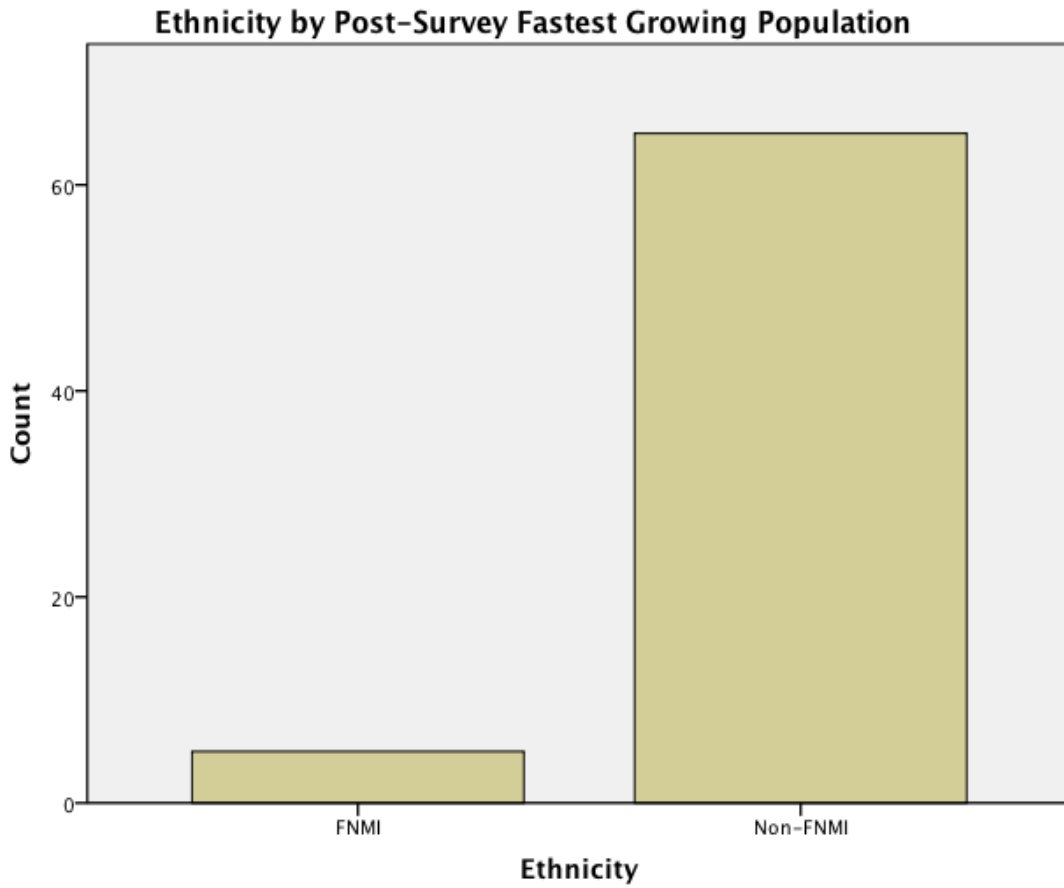
Ethnicity by Post-Survey Provincial Jurisdiction					
			Post Prov Jur		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	5	0	5
		% within Ethnicity	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	58	7	65
		% within Ethnicity	89.2%	10.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	63	7	70
		% within Ethnicity	90.0%	10.0%	100.0%



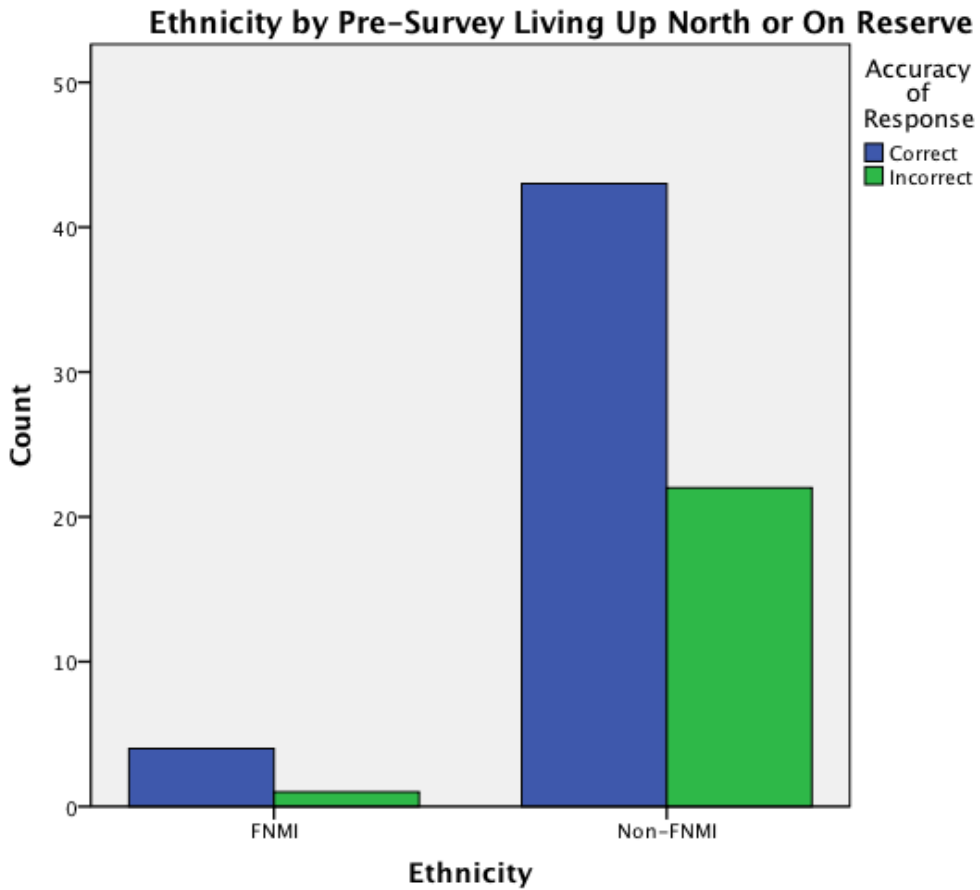
Ethnicity by Pre-Survey Fastest Growing Population					
			Pre Pop		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	4	1	5
		% within Ethnicity	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	60	5	65
		% within Ethnicity	92.3%	7.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	64	6	70
		% within Ethnicity	91.4%	8.6%	100.0%



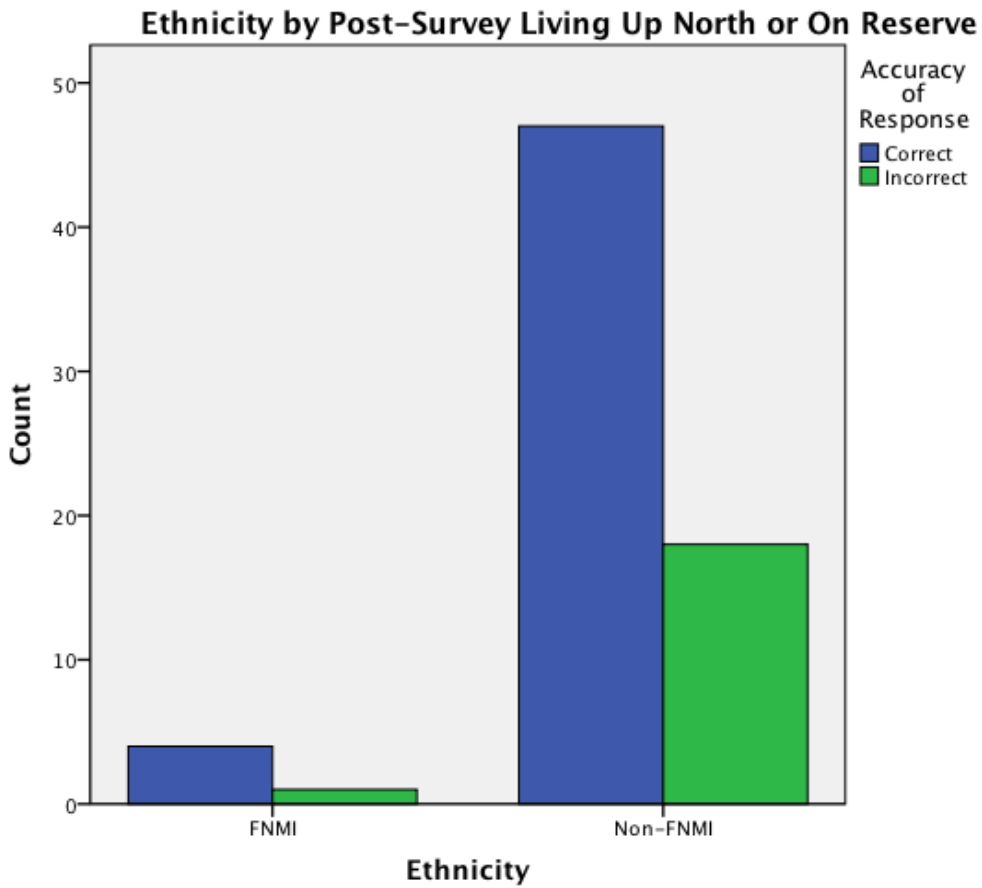
Ethnicity by Post-Survey Fastest Growing Population				
			Post Pop	Total
			Correct	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	5	5
		% within Ethnicity	100.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	65	65
		% within Ethnicity	100.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	70	70
		% within Ethnicity	100.0%	100.0%



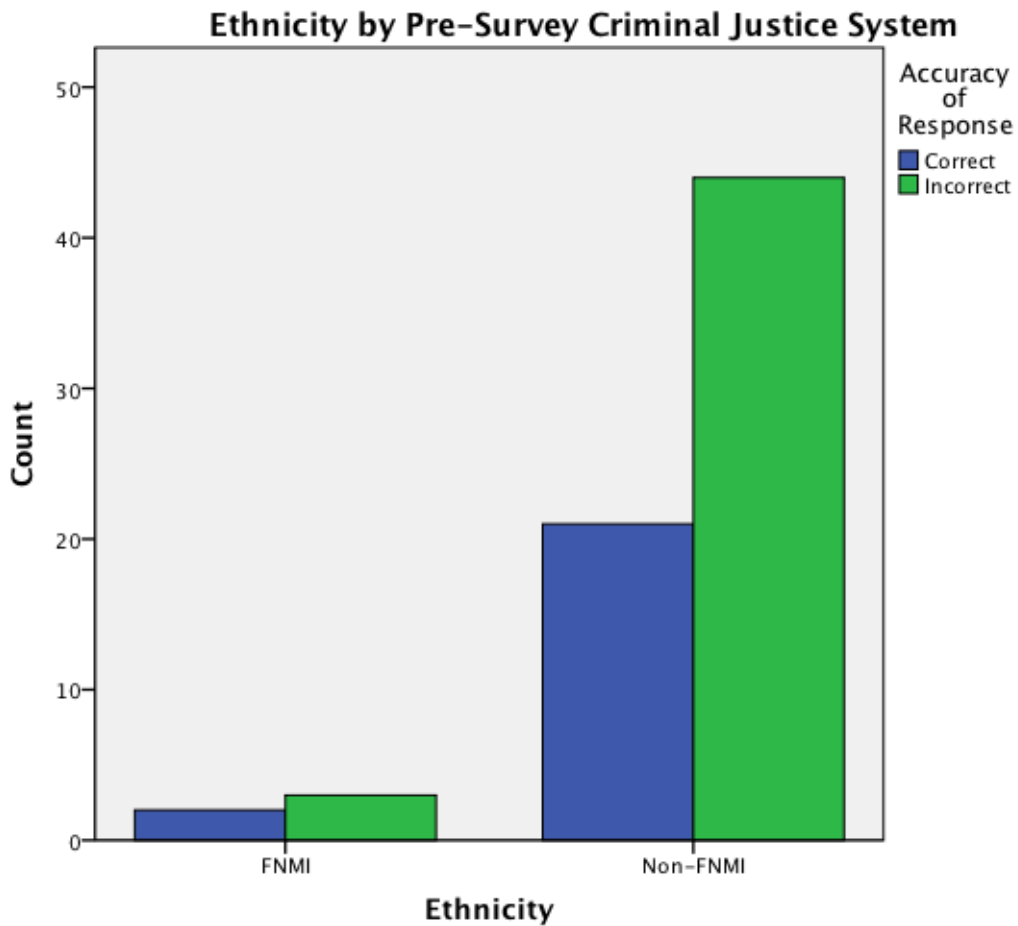
Ethnicity by Pre-Survey Living Up North or On Reserve					
			Pre Live		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	4	1	5
		% within Ethnicity	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	43	22	65
		% within Ethnicity	66.2%	33.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	47	23	70
		% within Ethnicity	67.1%	32.9%	100.0%



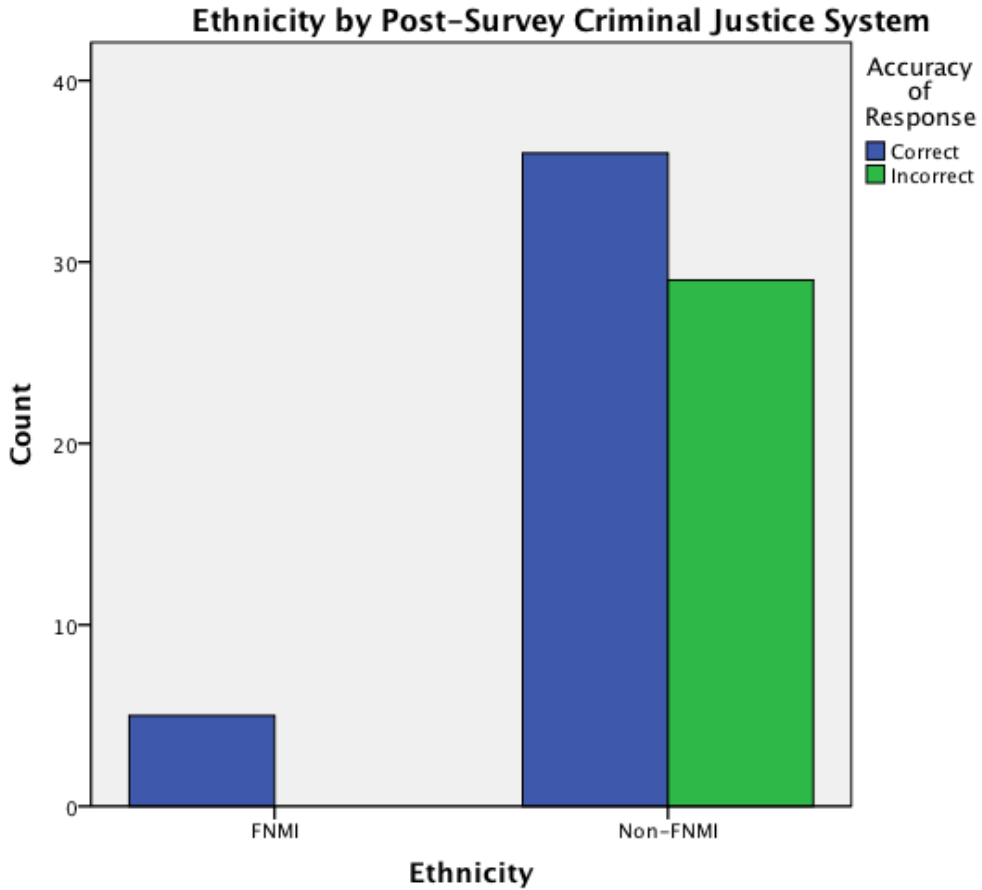
Ethnicity by Post-Survey Living Up North or On Reserve					
			Post Live		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	4	1	5
		% within Ethnicity	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	47	18	65
		% within Ethnicity	72.3%	27.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	51	19	70
		% within Ethnicity	72.9%	27.1%	100.0%



Ethnicity by Pre-Survey Criminal Justice System					
			Pre Crim Jus Sys		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	2	3	5
		% within Ethnicity	40.0%	60.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	21	44	65
		% within Ethnicity	32.3%	67.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	23	47	70
		% within Ethnicity	32.9%	67.1%	100.0%

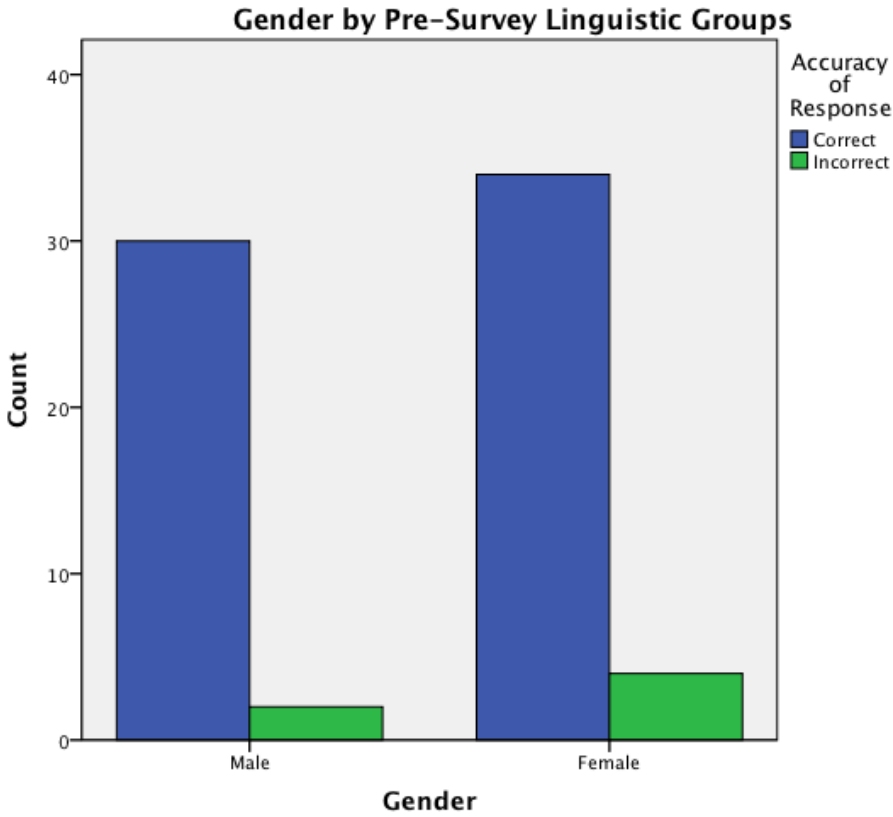


Ethnicity by Post-Survey Criminal Justice System					
			PostCrimJust		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	5	0	5
		% within Ethnicity	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	36	29	65
		% within Ethnicity	55.4%	44.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	41	29	70
		% within Ethnicity	58.6%	41.4%	100.0%

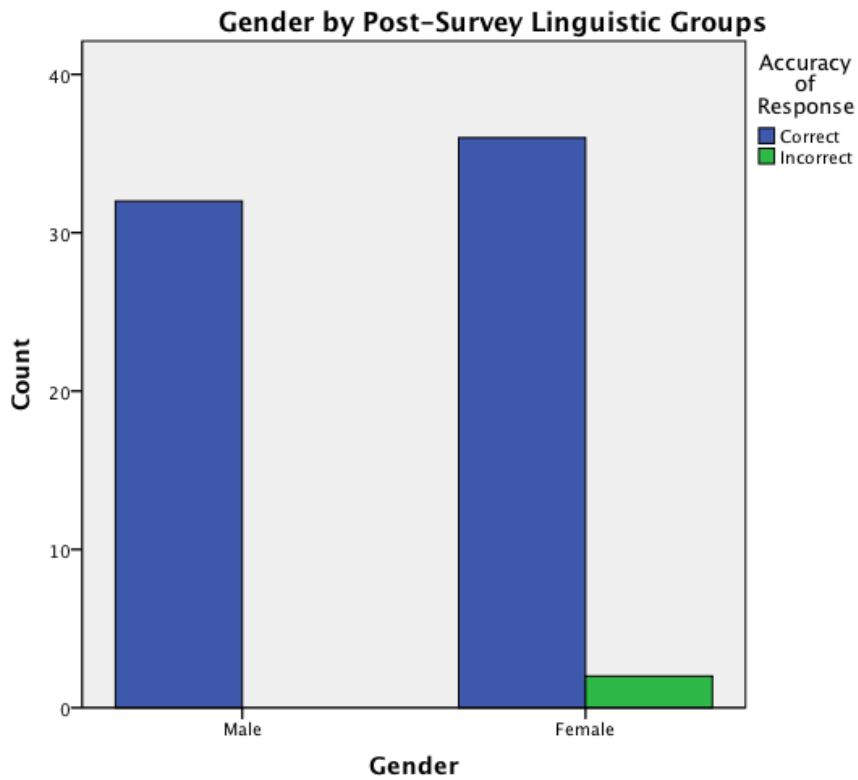


Descriptives of Pre-Survey and Post-Survey Knowledge Items by Gender

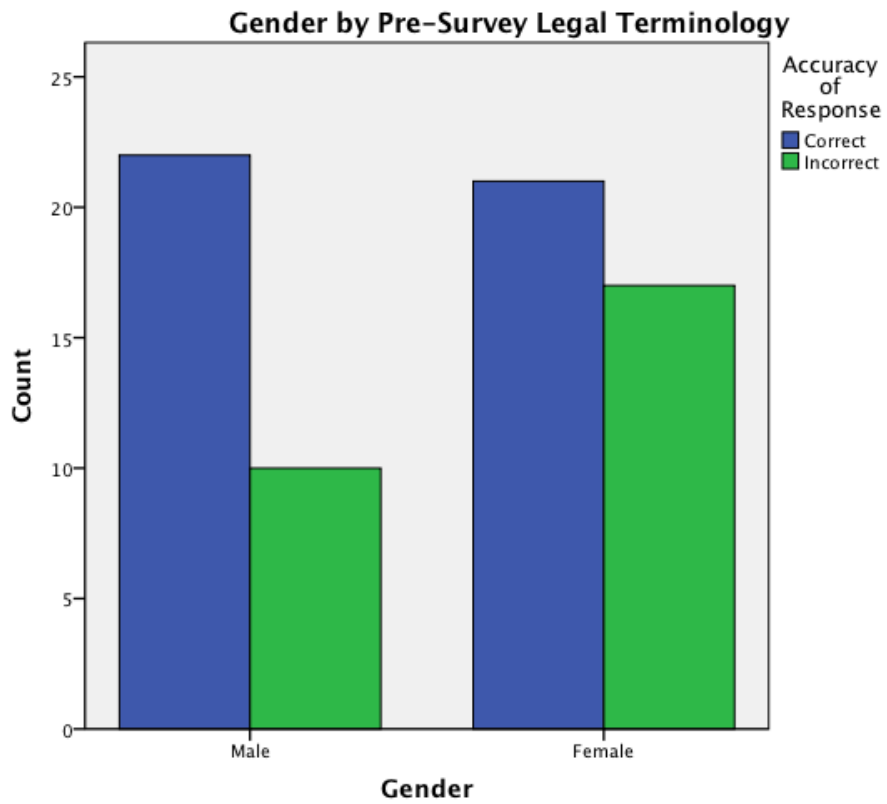
Gender by Pre-Survey Linguistic Groups					
			PreLinGrps		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Gender	Male	Count	30	2	32
		% within Gender	93.8%	6.3%	100.0%
	Female	Count	34	4	38
		% within Gender	89.5%	10.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	64	6	70
		% within Gender	91.4%	8.6%	100.0%



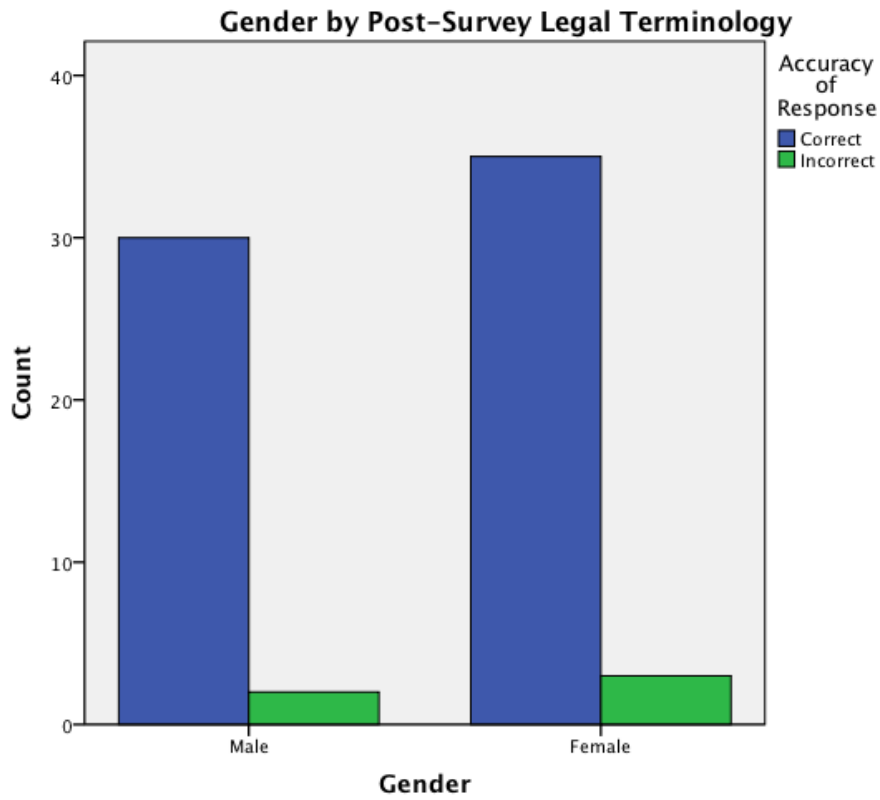
Gender by Post-Survey Linguistic Groups					
			PostLinGrps		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Gender	Male	Count	32	0	32
		% within Gender	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Female	Count	36	2	38
		% within Gender	94.7%	5.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	68	2	70
		% within Gender	97.1%	2.9%	100.0%



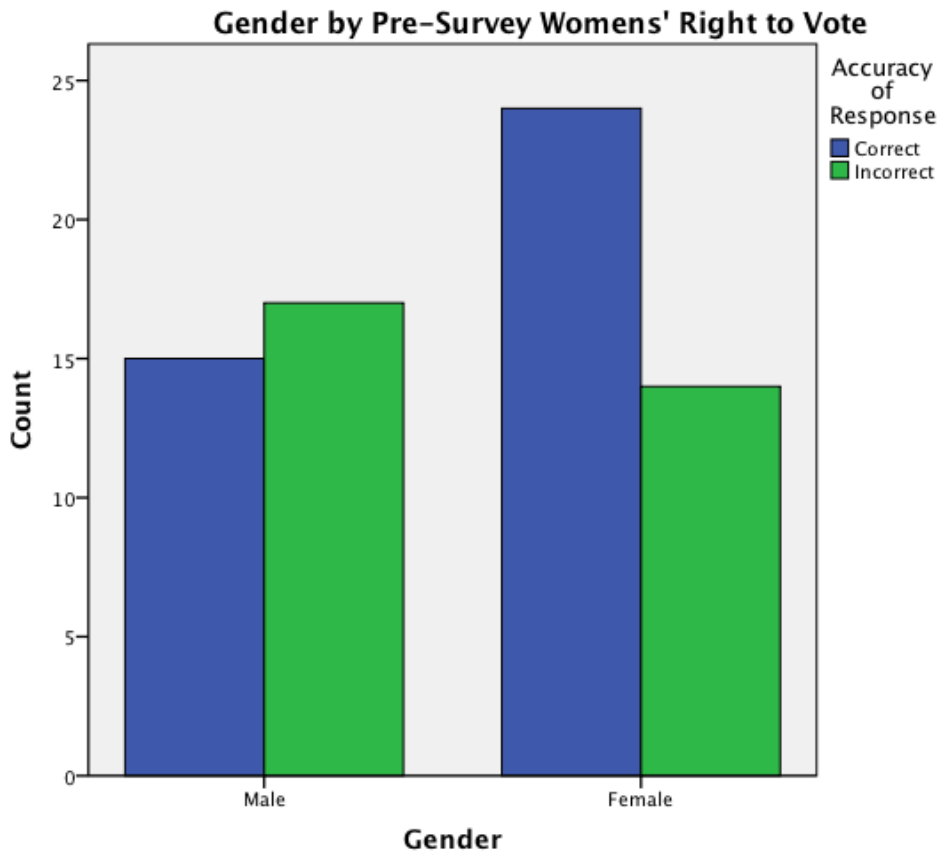
Gender by Pre-Survey Legal Terminology					
			PreLegTerm		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Gender	Male	Count	22	10	32
		% within Gender	68.8%	31.3%	100.0%
	Female	Count	21	17	38
		% within Gender	55.3%	44.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	43	27	70
		% within Gender	61.4%	38.6%	100.0%



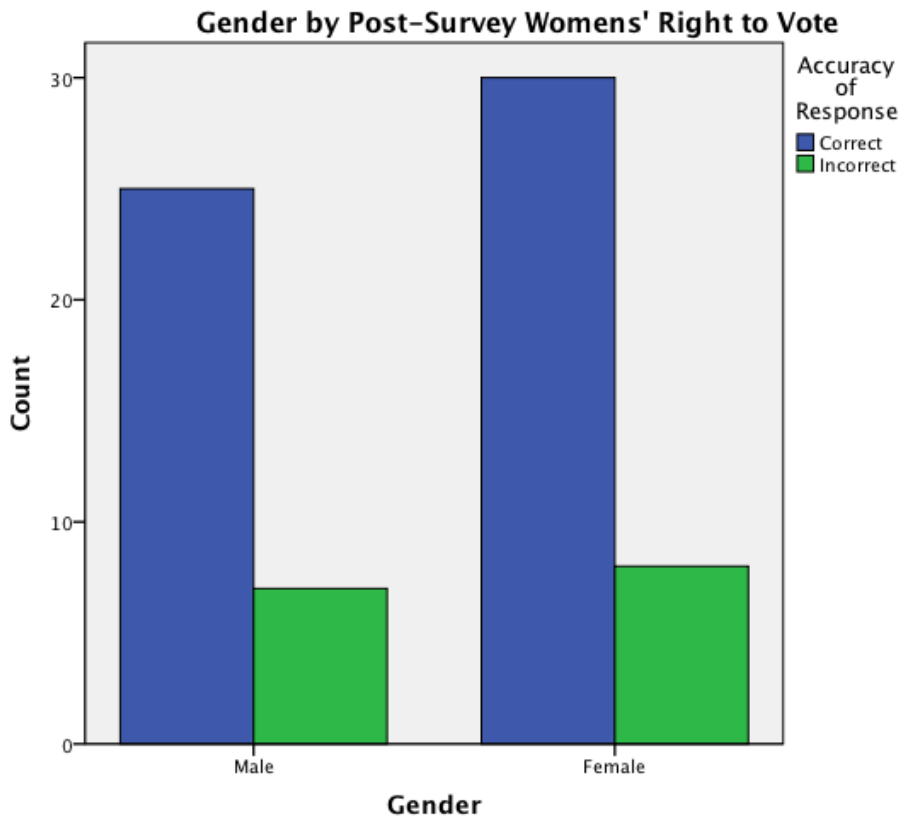
Gender by Post-Survey Legal Terminology					
			PostLegTerm		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Gender	Male	Count	30	2	32
		% within Gender	93.8%	6.3%	100.0%
	Female	Count	35	3	38
		% within Gender	92.1%	7.9%	100.0%
Total		Count	65	5	70
		% within Gender	92.9%	7.1%	100.0%



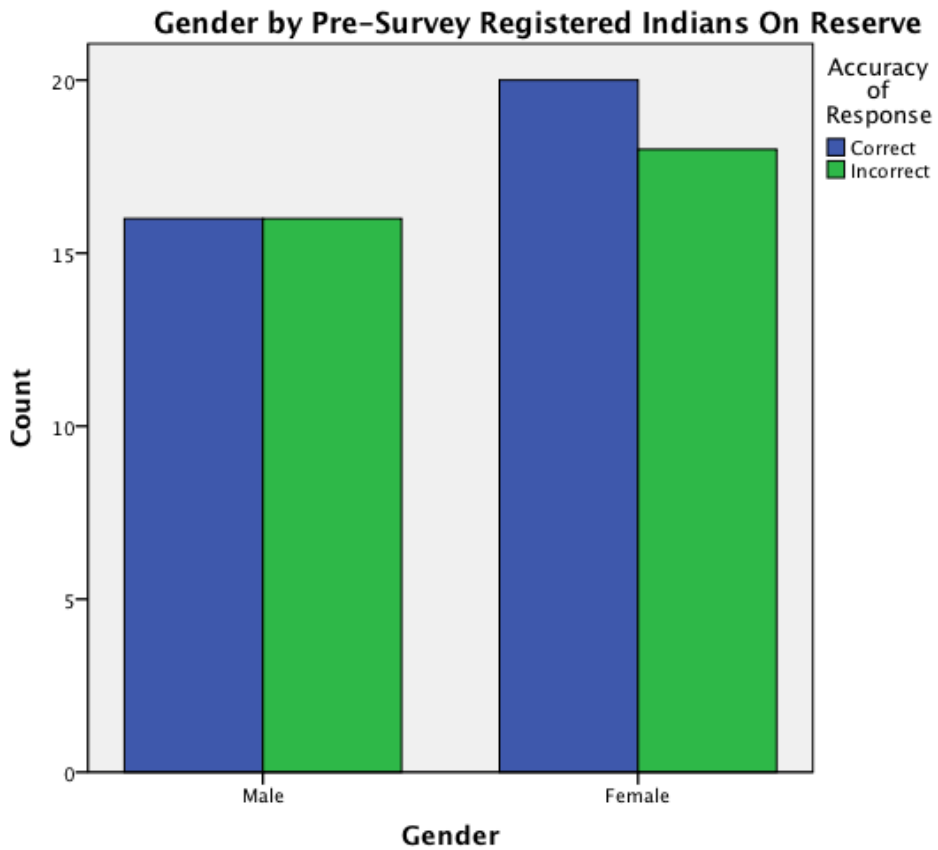
Gender by Pre-Survey Womens' Right to Vote					
			PreWomen		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Gender	Male	Count	15	17	32
		% within Gender	46.9%	53.1%	100.0%
	Female	Count	24	14	38
		% within Gender	63.2%	36.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	39	31	70
		% within Gender	55.7%	44.3%	100.0%



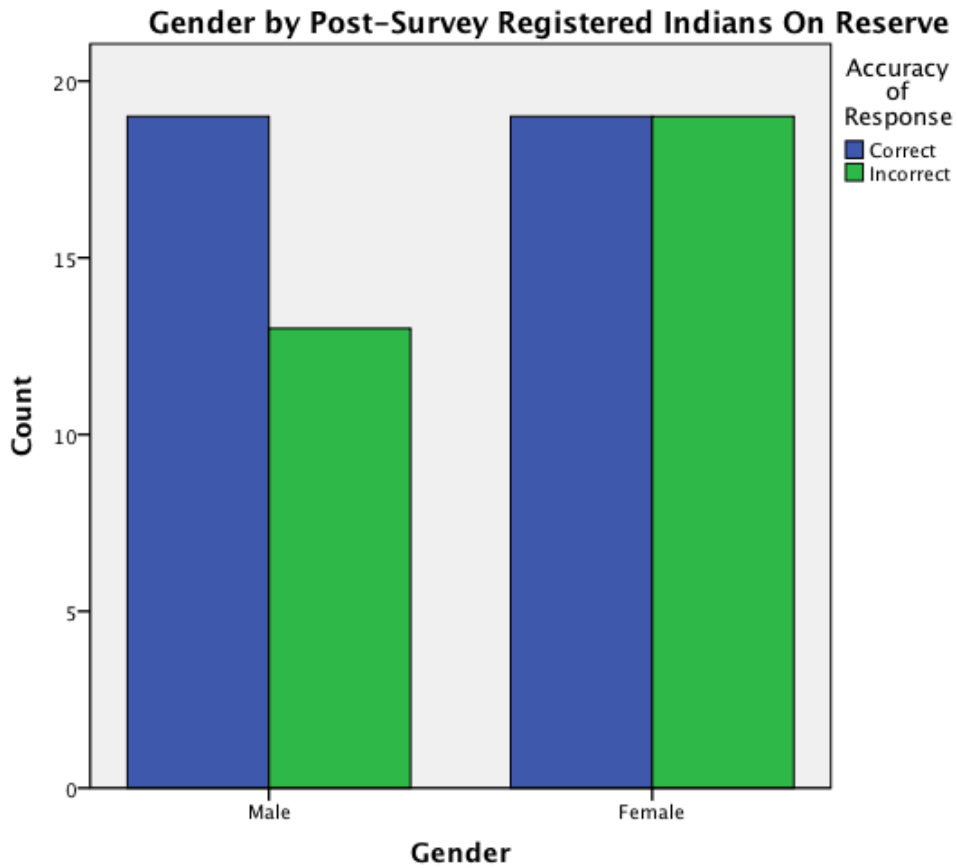
Gender by Post-Survey Womens' Right to Vote					
			PostWomen		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Gender	Male	Count	25	7	32
		% within Gender	78.1%	21.9%	100.0%
	Female	Count	30	8	38
		% within Gender	78.9%	21.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	55	15	70
		% within Gender	78.6%	21.4%	100.0%



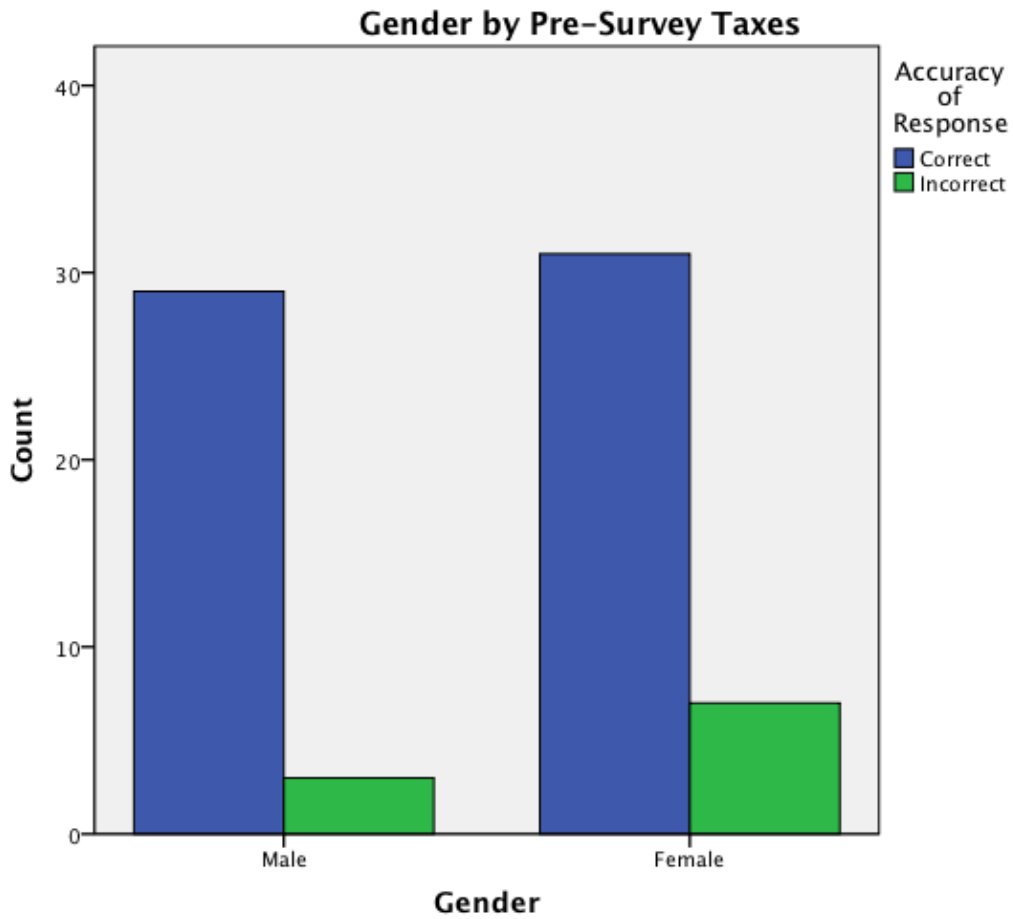
Gender by Pre-Survey Registered Indians On Reserve					
			PreReserve		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Gender	Male	Count	16	16	32
		% within Gender	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	Female	Count	20	18	38
		% within Gender	52.6%	47.4%	100.0%
Total		Count	36	34	70
		% within Gender	51.4%	48.6%	100.0%



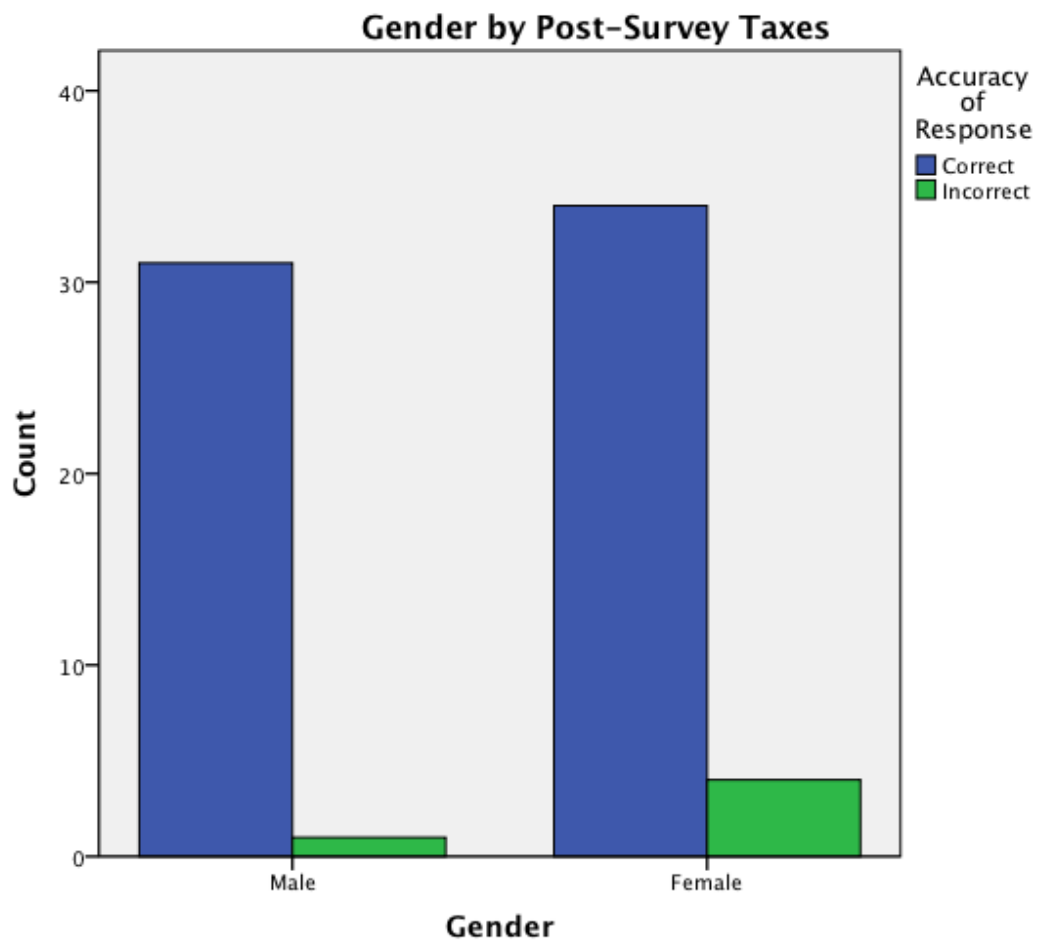
Gender by Post-Survey Registered Indians On Reserve					
			PostReserve		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Gender	Male	Count	19	13	32
		% within Gender	59.4%	40.6%	100.0%
	Female	Count	19	19	38
		% within Gender	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	38	32	70
		% within Gender	54.3%	45.7%	100.0%



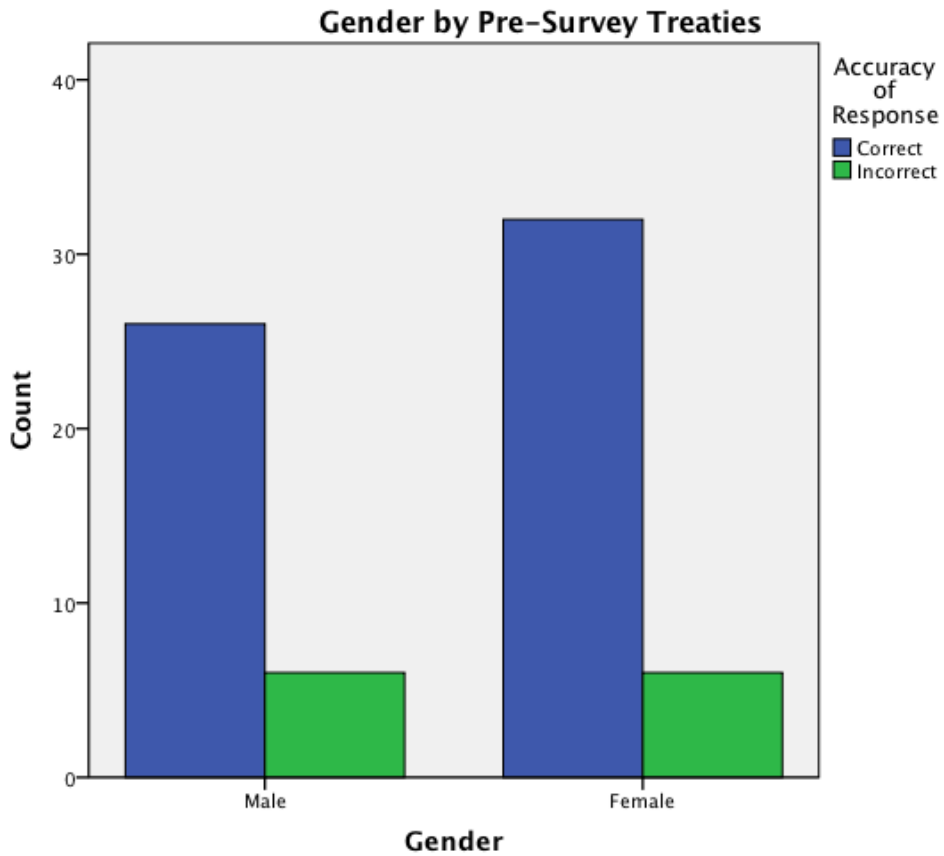
Gender by Pre-Survey Taxes					
			PreTaxes		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Gender	Male	Count	29	3	32
		% within Gender	90.6%	9.4%	100.0%
	Female	Count	31	7	38
		% within Gender	81.6%	18.4%	100.0%
Total		Count	60	10	70
		% within Gender	85.7%	14.3%	100.0%



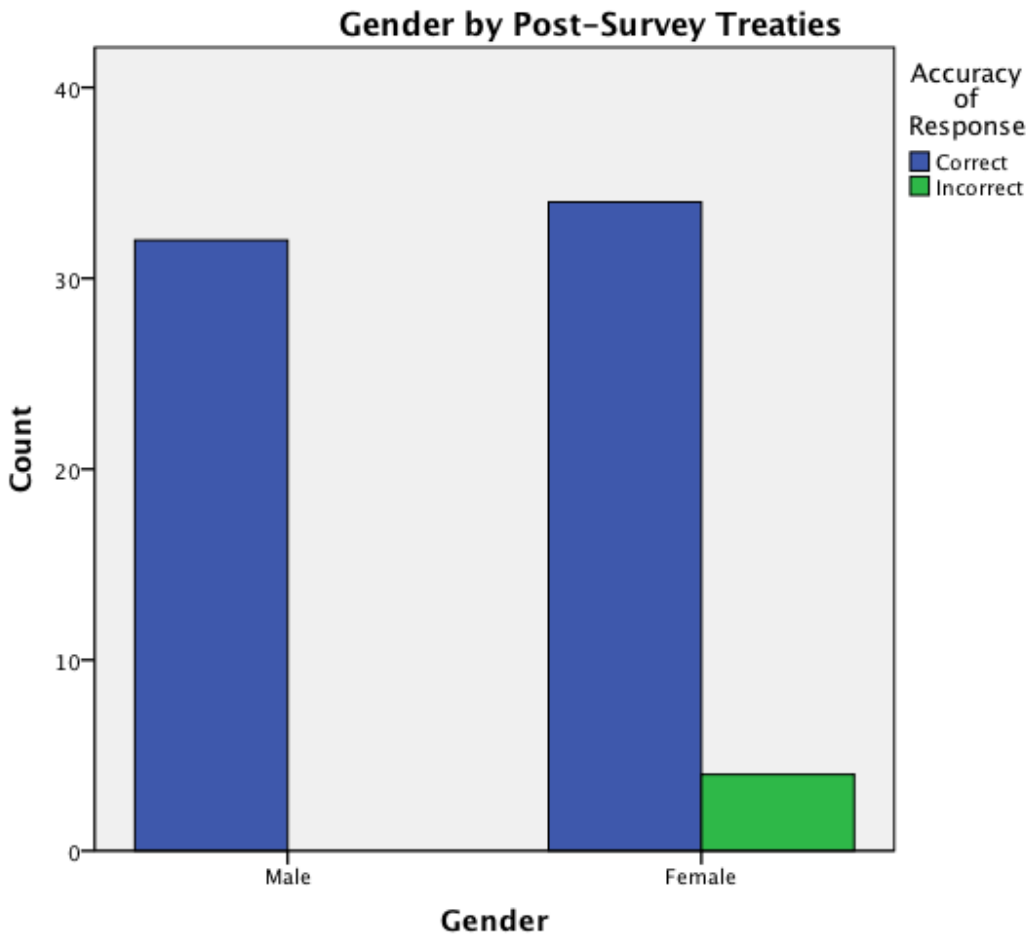
Gender by Post-Survey Taxes					
			PostTaxes		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Gender	Male	Count	31	1	32
		% within Gender	96.9%	3.1%	100.0%
	Female	Count	34	4	38
		% within Gender	89.5%	10.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	65	5	70
		% within Gender	92.9%	7.1%	100.0%



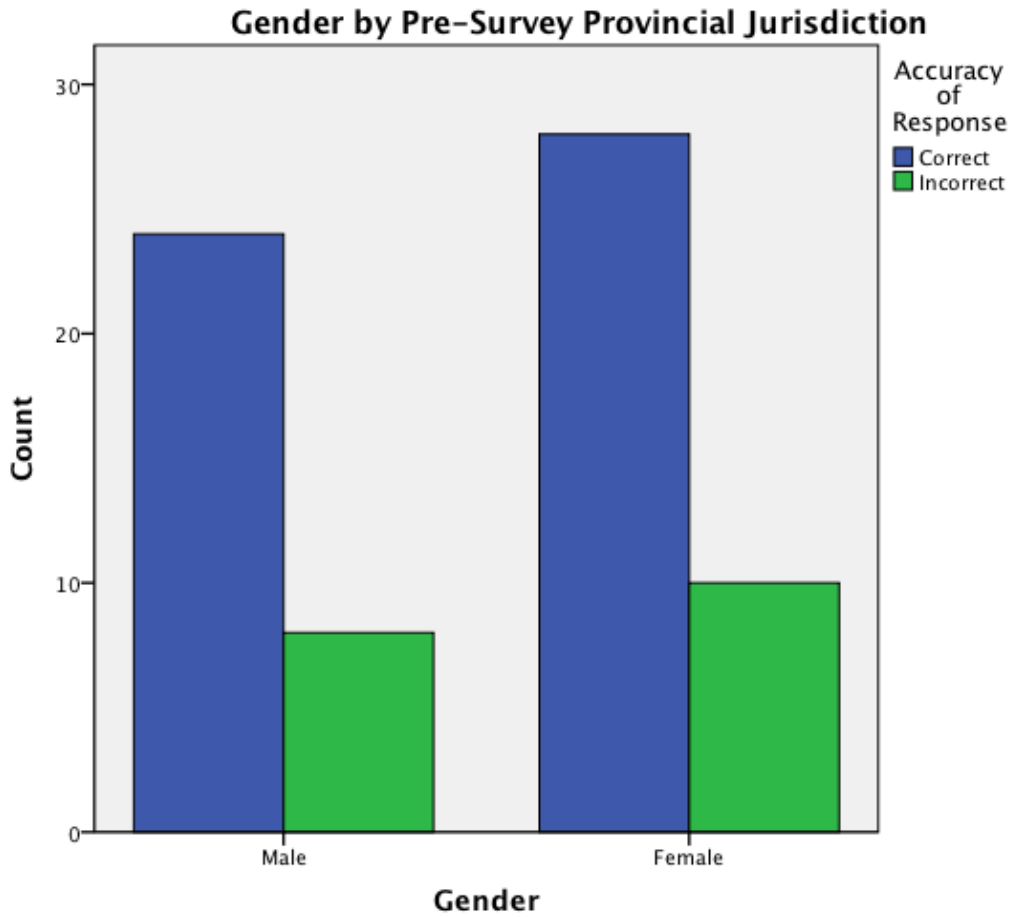
Gender by Pre-Survey TREATIES					
			PreTreaties		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Gender	Male	Count	26	6	32
		% within Gender	81.3%	18.8%	100.0%
	Female	Count	32	6	38
		% within Gender	84.2%	15.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	58	12	70
		% within Gender	82.9%	17.1%	100.0%



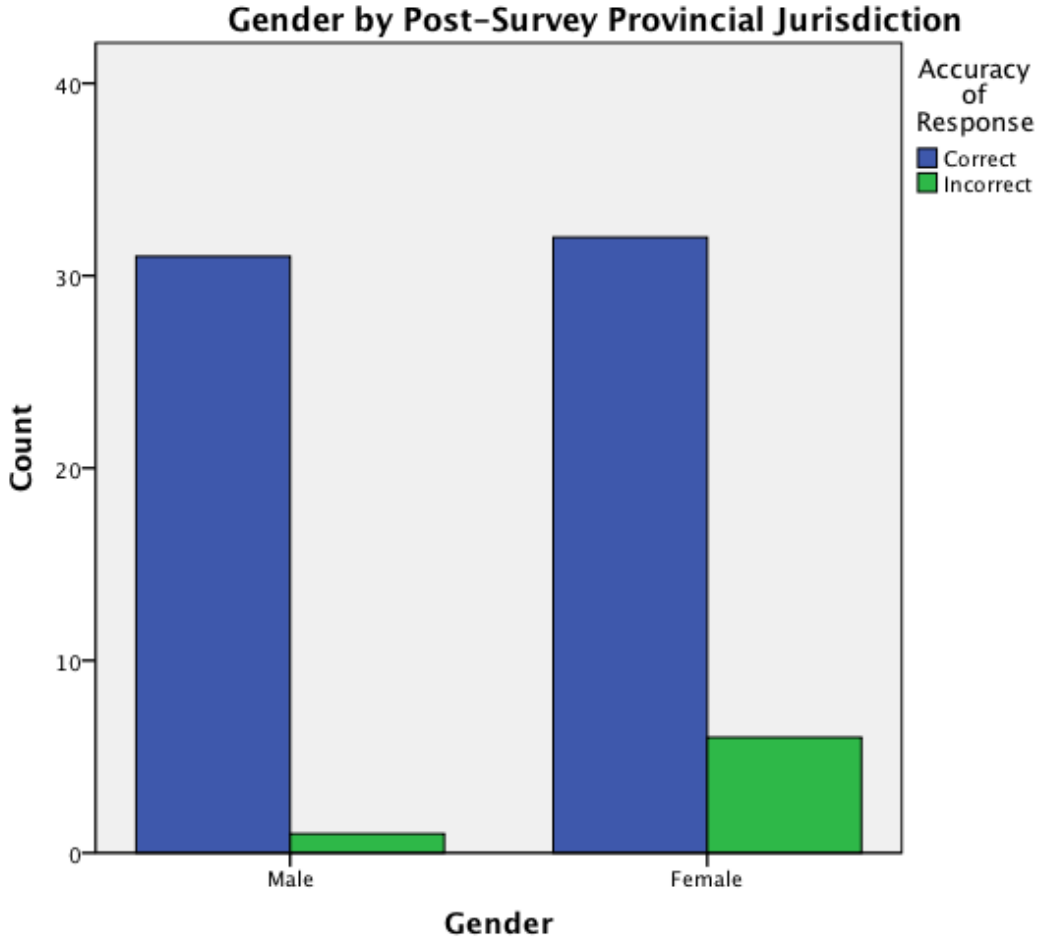
Gender by Post-Survey Treaties					
			PostTreaties		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Gender	Male	Count	32	0	32
		% within Gender	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Female	Count	34	4	38
		% within Gender	89.5%	10.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	66	4	70
		% within Gender	94.3%	5.7%	100.0%



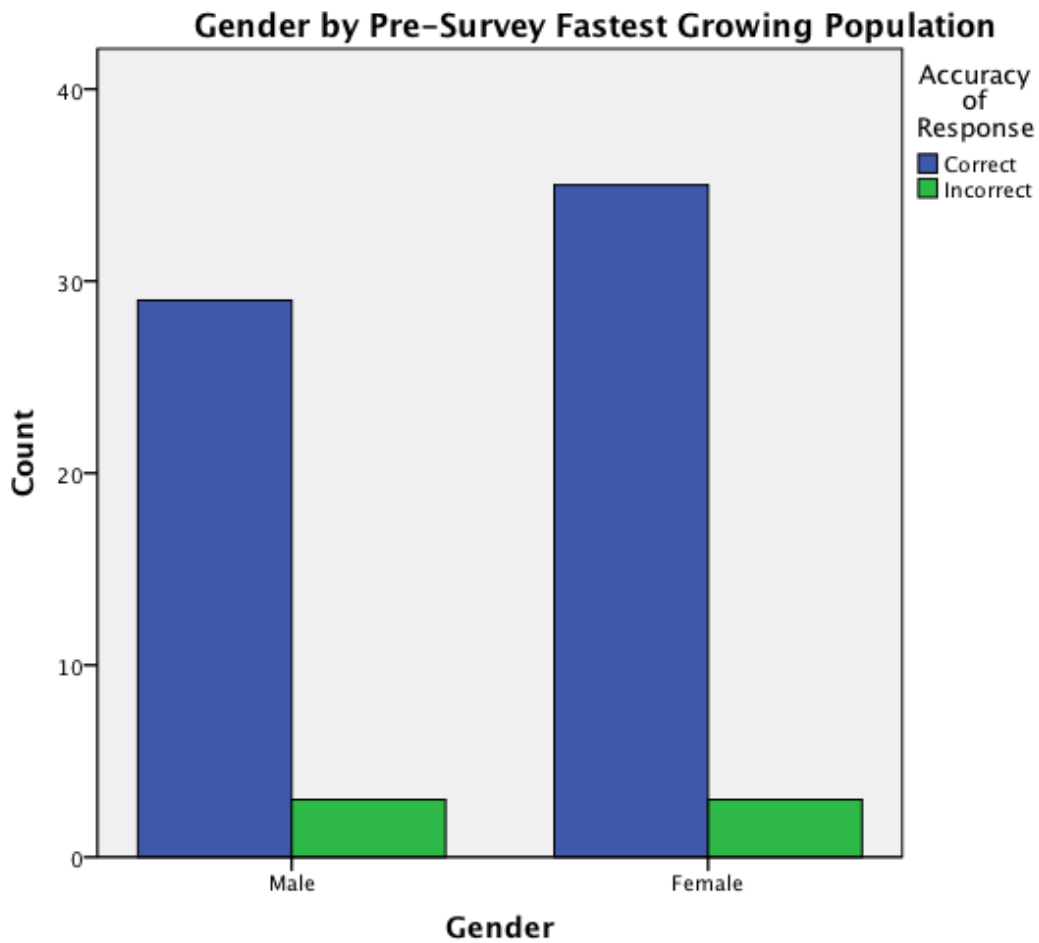
Gender by Pre-Survey Provincial Jurisdiction					
			PreProvJur		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Gender	Male	Count	24	8	32
		% within Gender	75.0%	25.0%	100.0%
	Female	Count	28	10	38
		% within Gender	73.7%	26.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	52	18	70
		% within Gender	74.3%	25.7%	100.0%



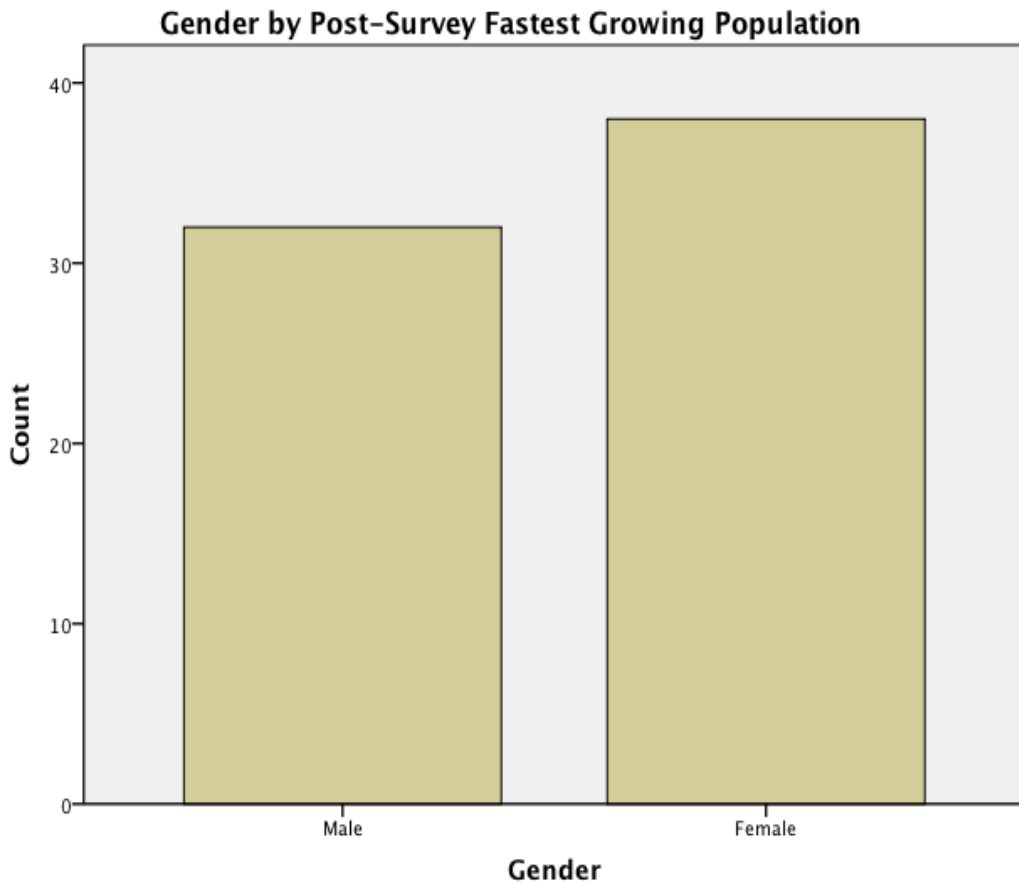
Gender by Post-Survey Provincial Jurisdiction					
			PostProvJur		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Gender	Male	Count	31	1	32
		% within Gender	96.9%	3.1%	100.0%
	Female	Count	32	6	38
		% within Gender	84.2%	15.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	63	7	70
		% within Gender	90.0%	10.0%	100.0%



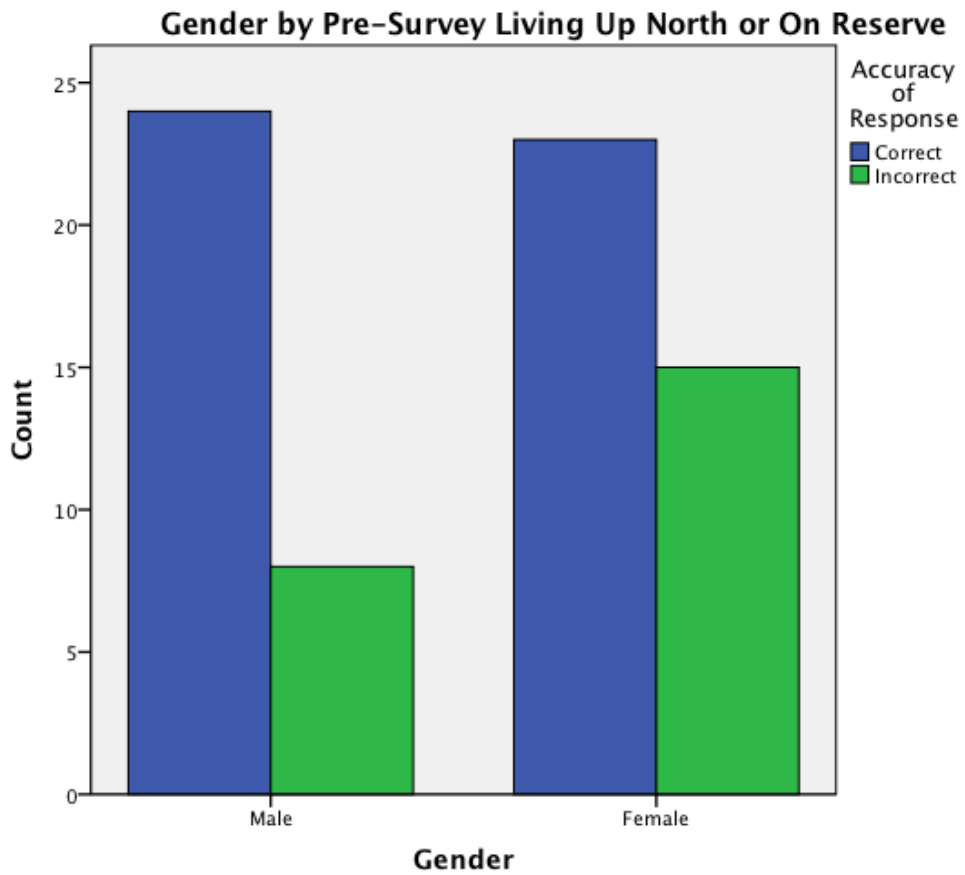
Gender by Pre-Survey Fastest Growing Population					
			PrePop		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Gender	Male	Count	29	3	32
		% within Gender	90.6%	9.4%	100.0%
	Female	Count	35	3	38
		% within Gender	92.1%	7.9%	100.0%
Total		Count	64	6	70
		% within Gender	91.4%	8.6%	100.0%



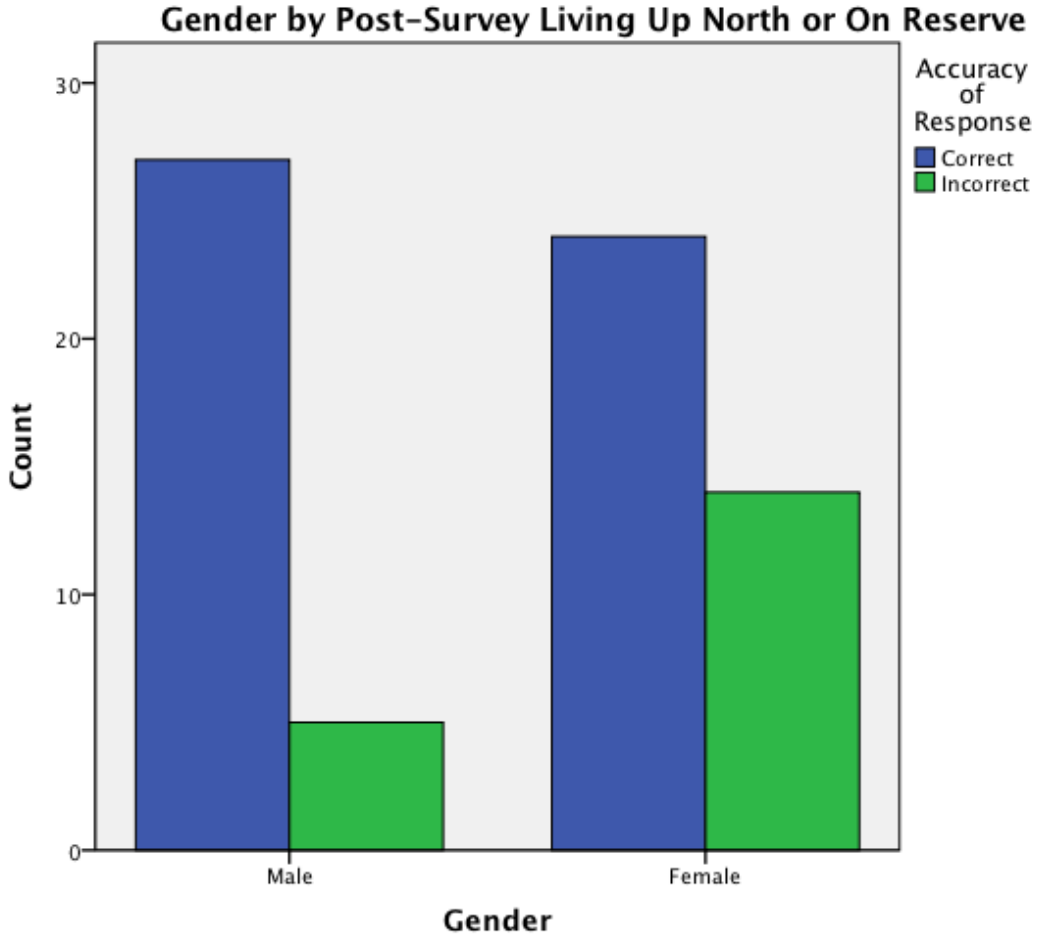
Gender by Post-Survey Fastest Growing Population				
			PostPop	Total
			Correct	
Gender	Male	Count	32	32
		% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%
	Female	Count	38	38
		% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	70	70
		% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%



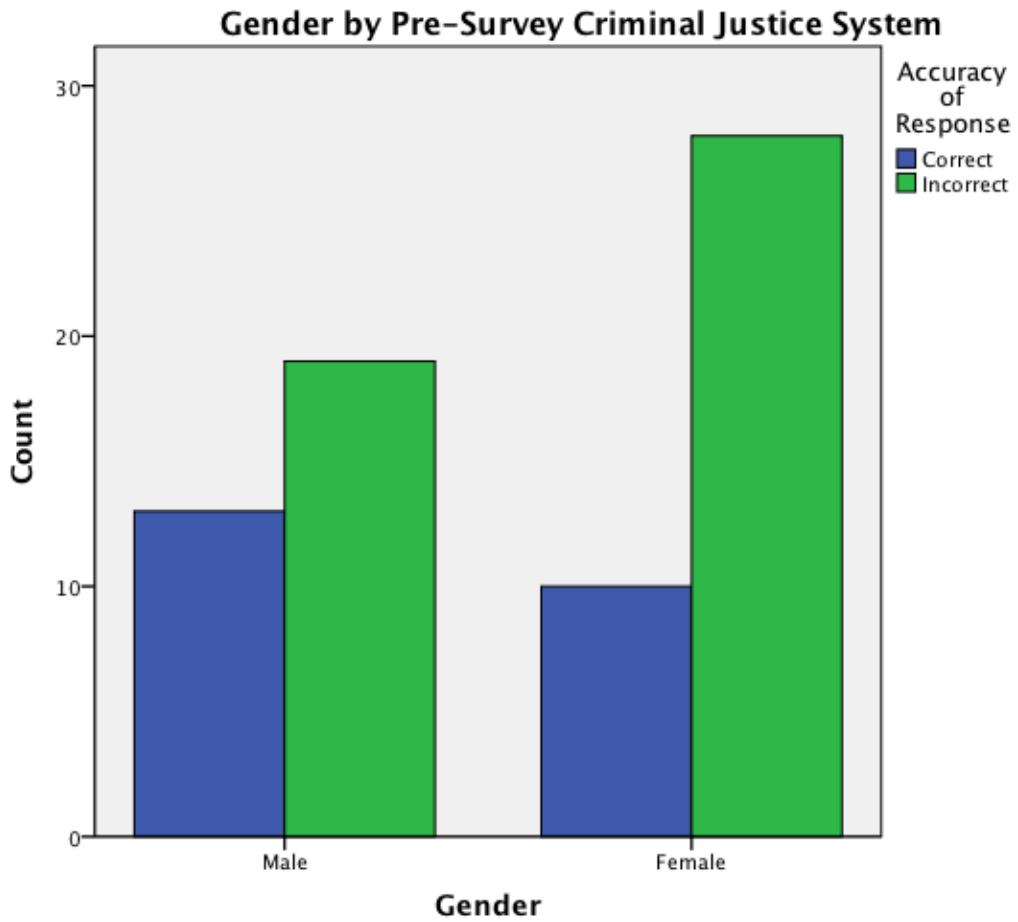
Gender by Pre-Survey Living Up North or On Reserve					
			PreLive		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Gender	Male	Count	24	8	32
		% within Gender	75.0%	25.0%	100.0%
	Female	Count	23	15	38
		% within Gender	60.5%	39.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	47	23	70
		% within Gender	67.1%	32.9%	100.0%



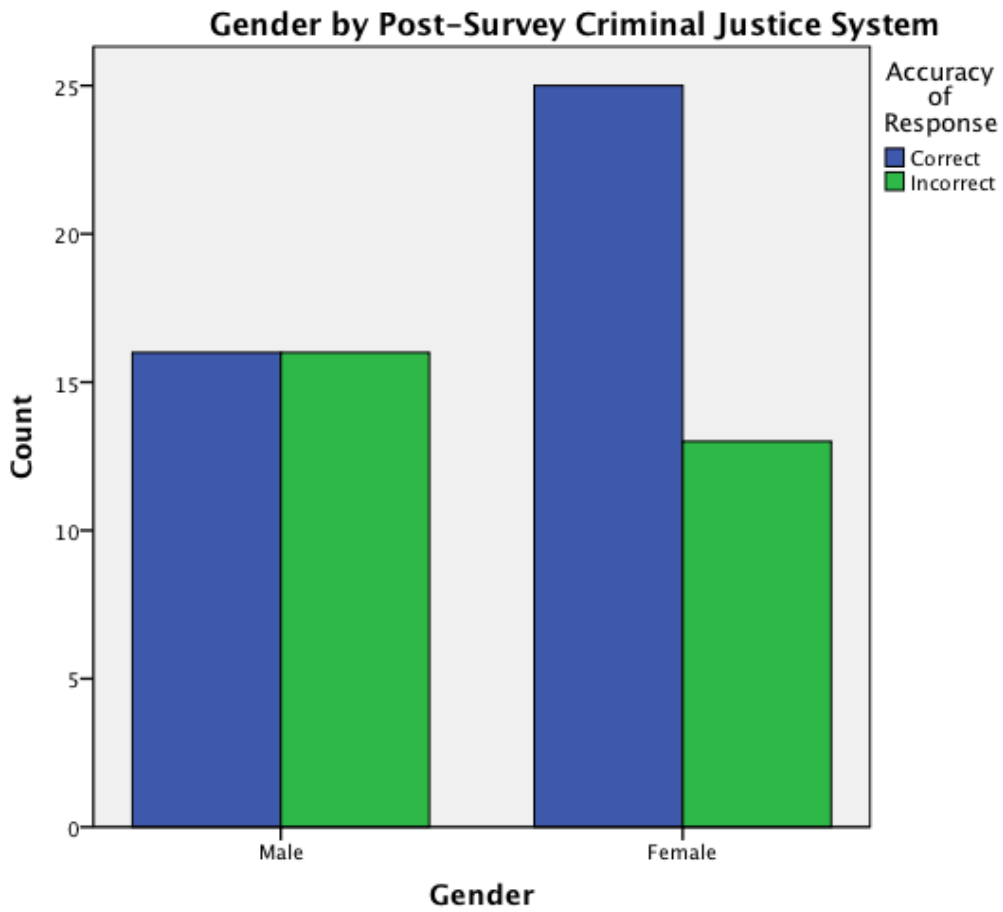
Gender by Post-Survey Living Up North or On Reserve					
			PostLive		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Gender	Male	Count	27	5	32
		% within Gender	84.4%	15.6%	100.0%
	Female	Count	24	14	38
		% within Gender	63.2%	36.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	51	19	70
		% within Gender	72.9%	27.1%	100.0%



Gender by Pre-Survey Criminal Justice System					
			PreCrimJusSys		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Gender	Male	Count	13	19	32
		% within Gender	40.6%	59.4%	100.0%
	Female	Count	10	28	38
		% within Gender	26.3%	73.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	23	47	70
		% within Gender	32.9%	67.1%	100.0%



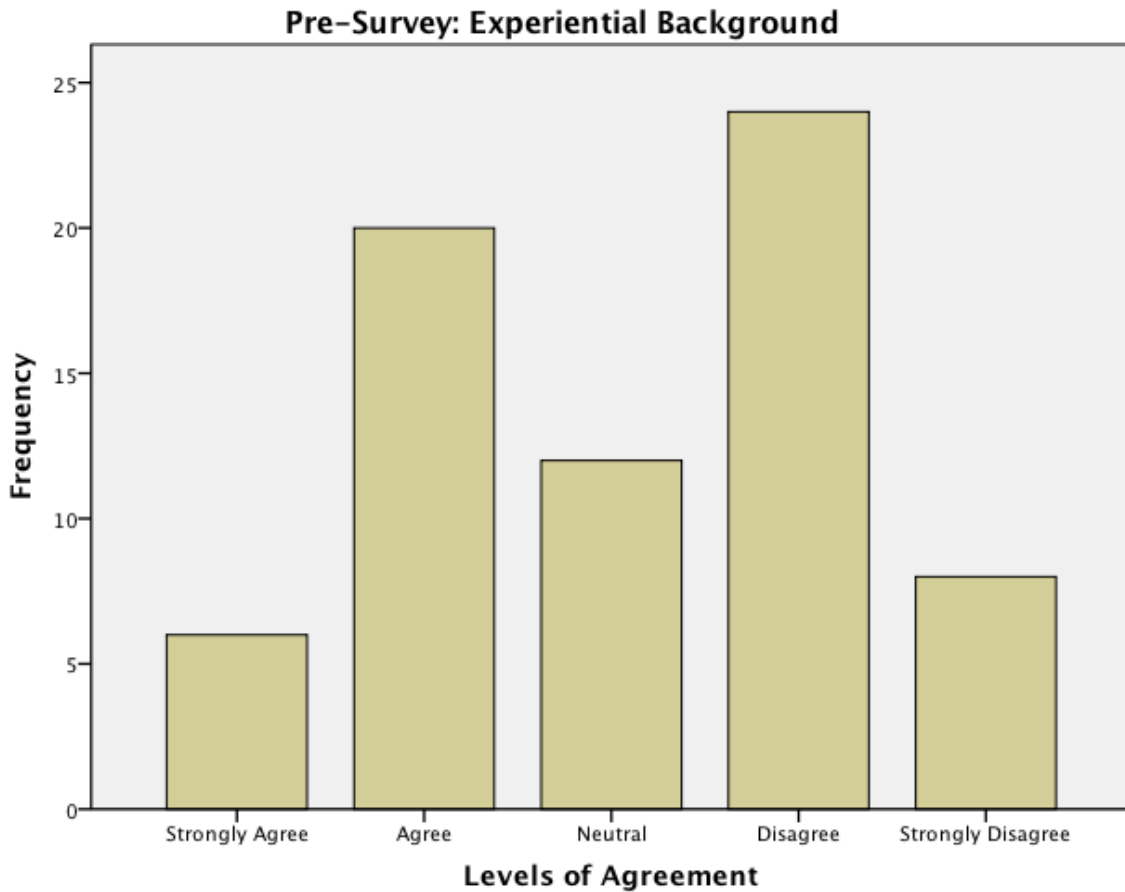
Gender by Post-Survey Criminal Justice System					
			Post Criminal Justice		Total
			Correct	Incorrect	
Gender	Male	Count	16	16	32
		% within Gender	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	Female	Count	25	13	38
		% within Gender	65.8%	34.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	41	29	70
		% within Gender	58.6%	41.4%	100.0%



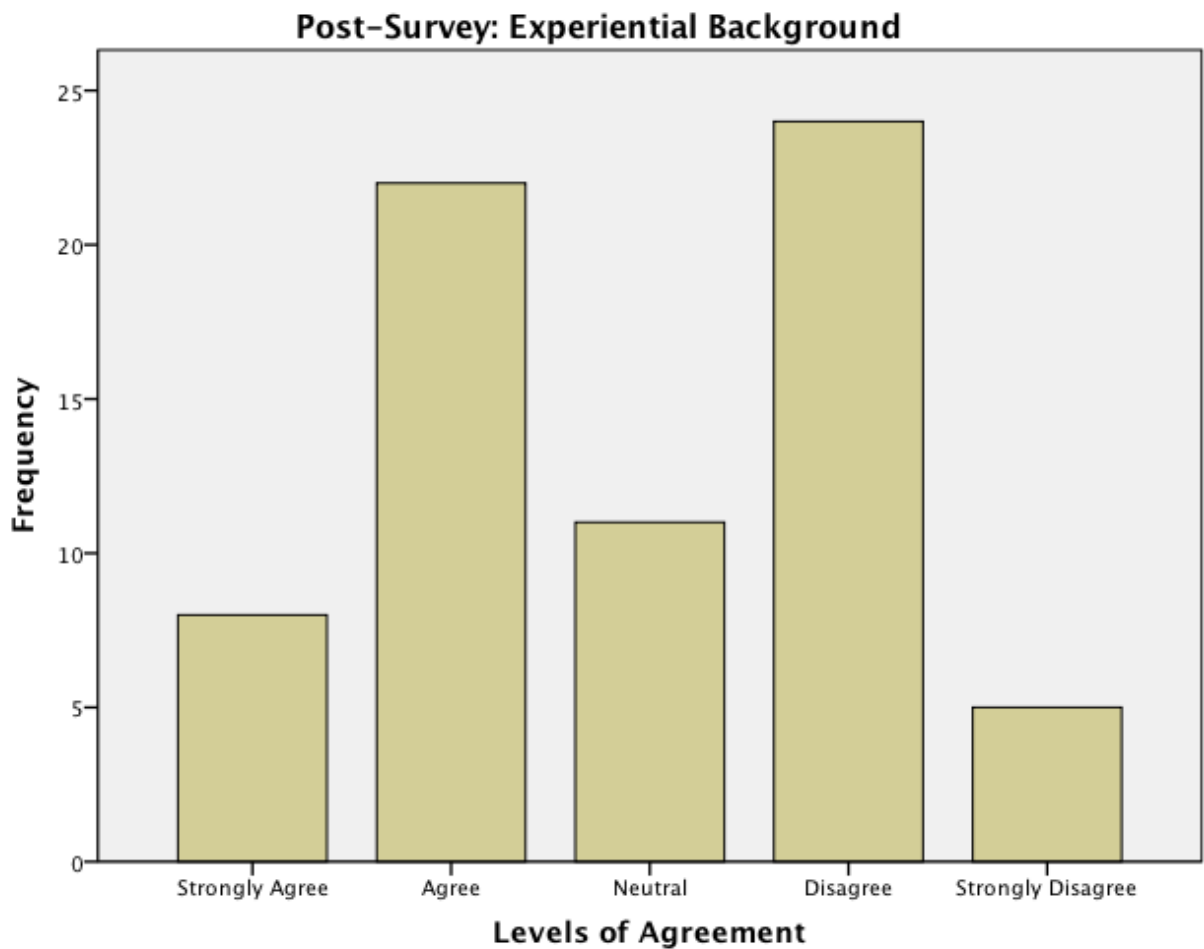
Appendix N

2010 Descriptive Statistics on Pre and Post-Survey Attitude Items (Total Sample)

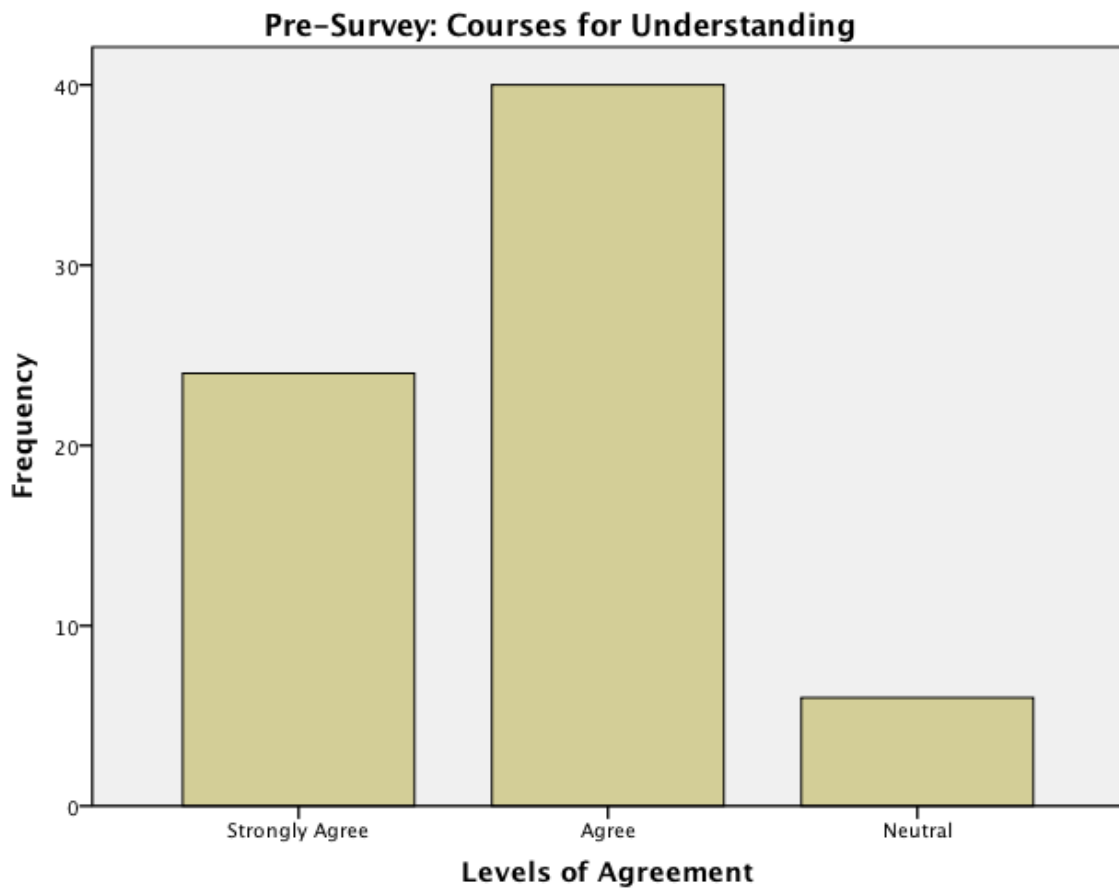
Pre-Survey Experiential Background					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	6	8.6	8.6	8.6
	Agree	20	28.6	28.6	37.1
	Neutral	12	17.1	17.1	54.3
	Disagree	24	34.3	34.3	88.6
	Strongly Disagree	8	11.4	11.4	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	



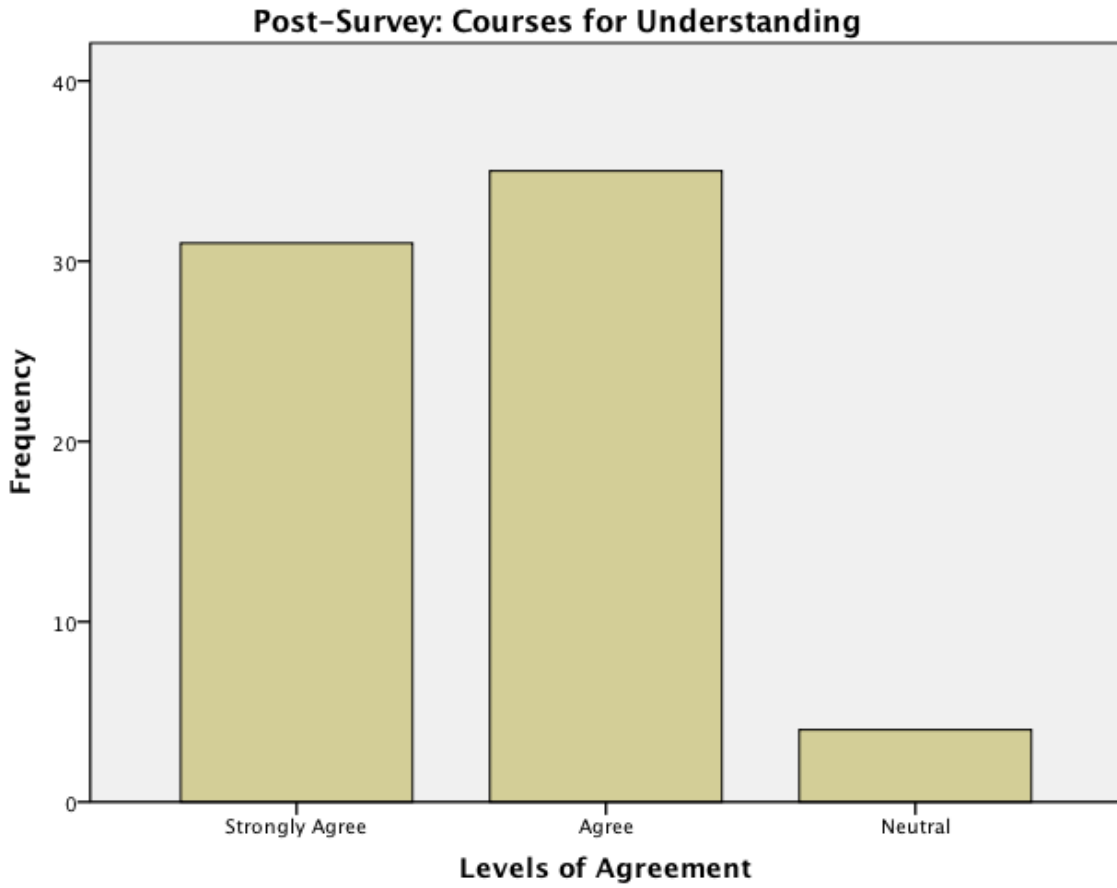
Post-Survey: Experiential Background					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	8	11.4	11.4	11.4
	Agree	22	31.4	31.4	42.9
	Neutral	11	15.7	15.7	58.6
	Disagree	24	34.3	34.3	92.9
	Strongly Disagree	5	7.1	7.1	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	



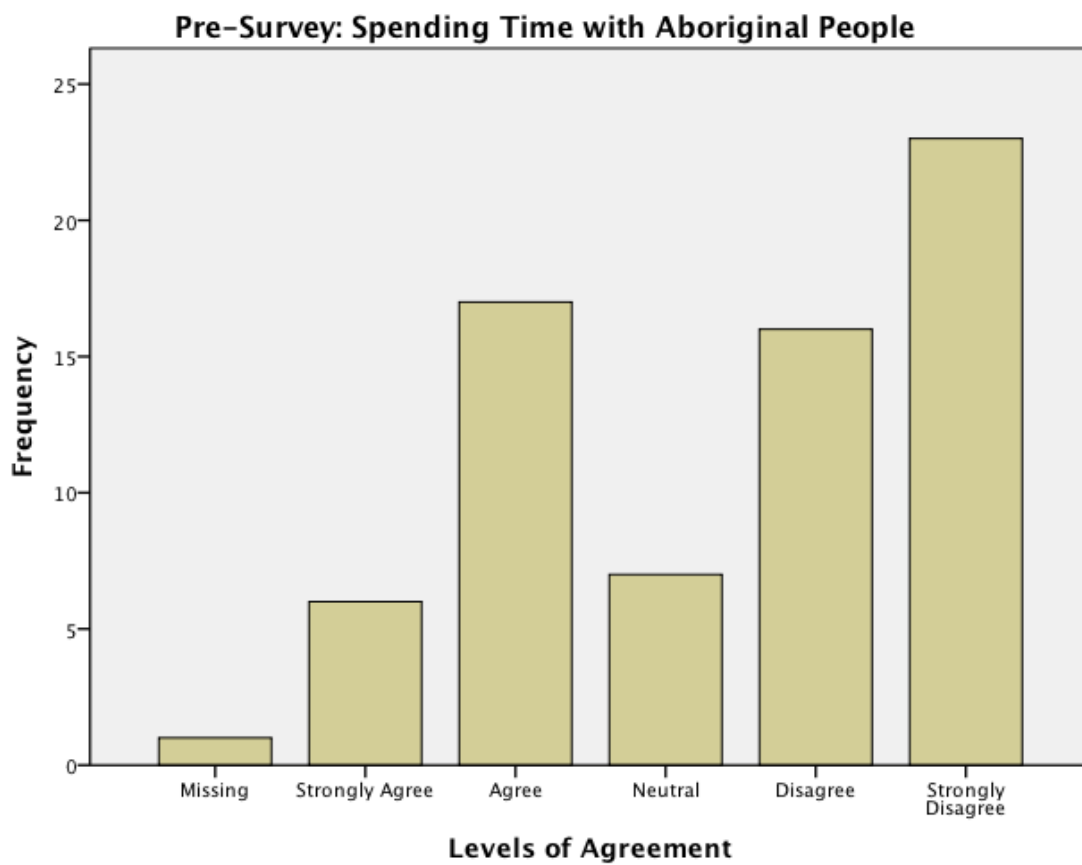
Pre-Survey Courses for Understanding					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	24	34.3	34.3	34.3
	Agree	40	57.1	57.1	91.4
	Neutral	6	8.6	8.6	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	



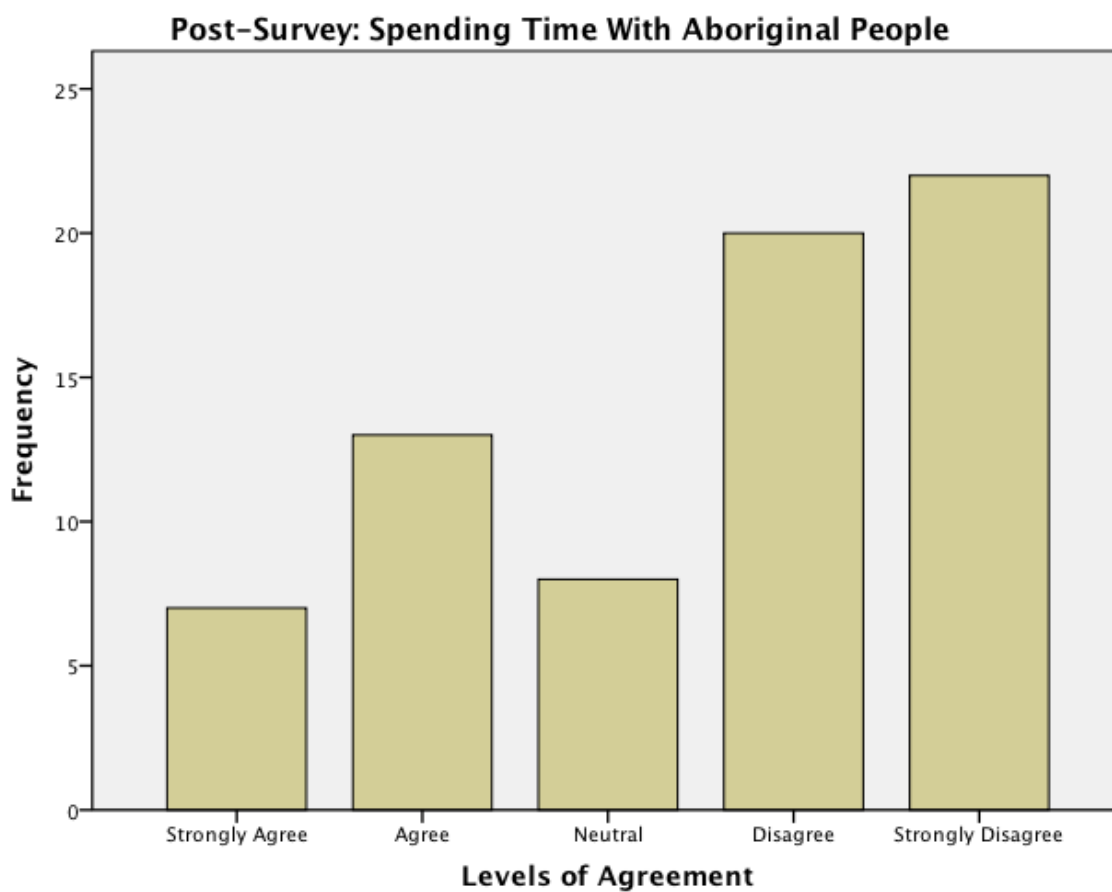
Post-Survey: Courses for Understanding					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	31	44.3	44.3	44.3
	Agree	35	50.0	50.0	94.3
	Neutral	4	5.7	5.7	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	



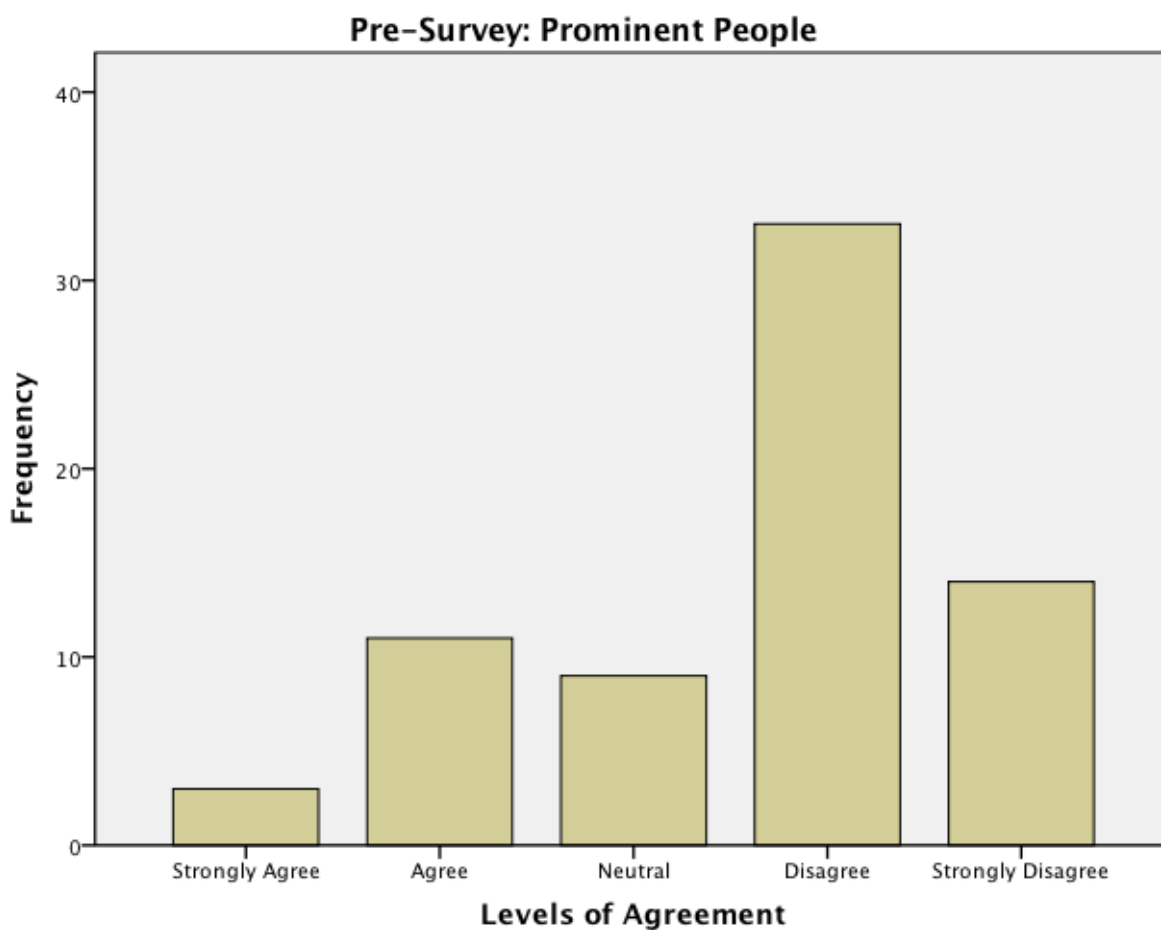
Pre-Survey: Spent Time with Aboriginal People					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Missing	1	1.4	1.4	1.4
	Strongly Agree	6	8.6	8.6	10.0
	Agree	17	24.3	24.3	34.3
	Neutral	7	10.0	10.0	44.3
	Disagree	16	22.9	22.9	67.1
	Strongly Disagree	23	32.9	32.9	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	



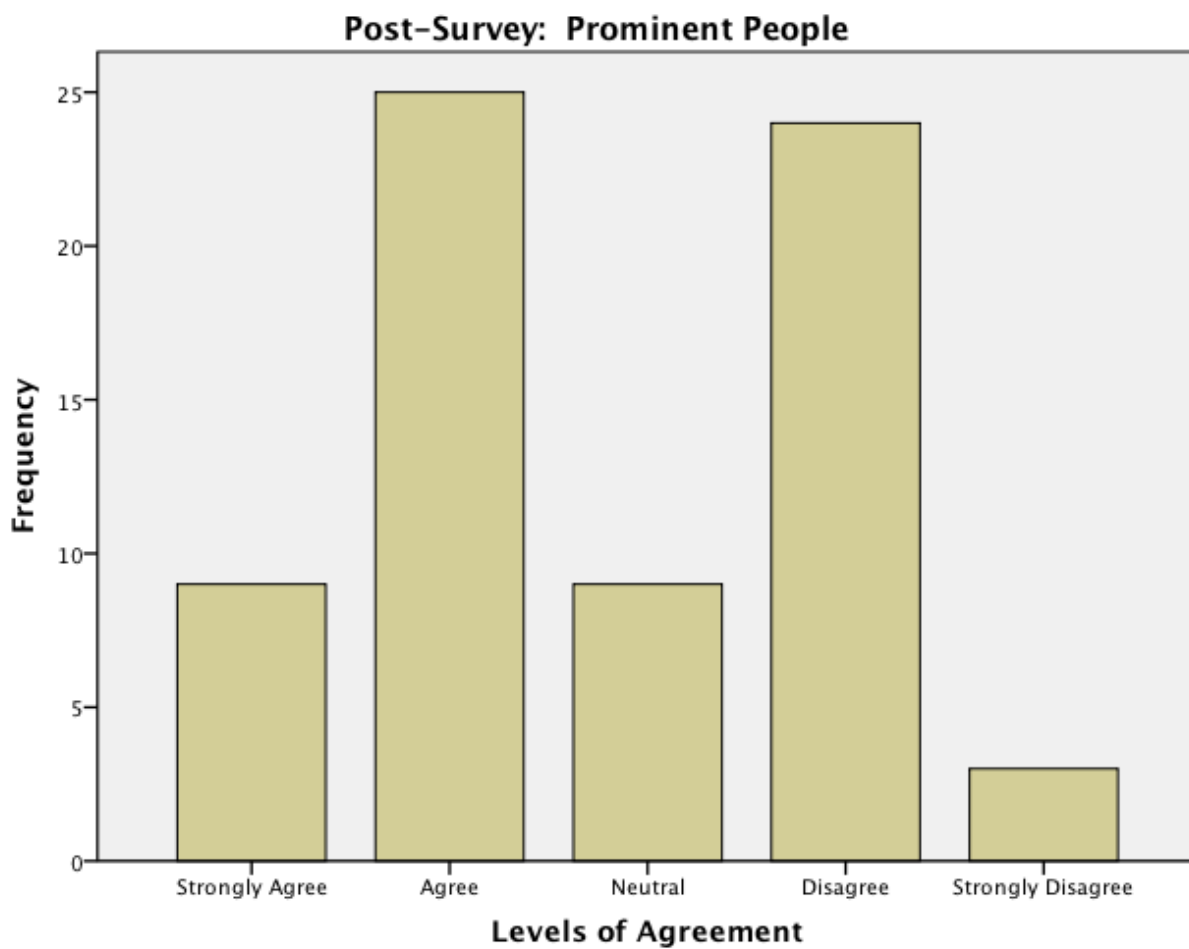
Post-Survey: Spending Time With Aboriginal People					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	7	10.0	10.0	10.0
	Agree	13	18.6	18.6	28.6
	Neutral	8	11.4	11.4	40.0
	Disagree	20	28.6	28.6	68.6
	Strongly Disagree	22	31.4	31.4	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	



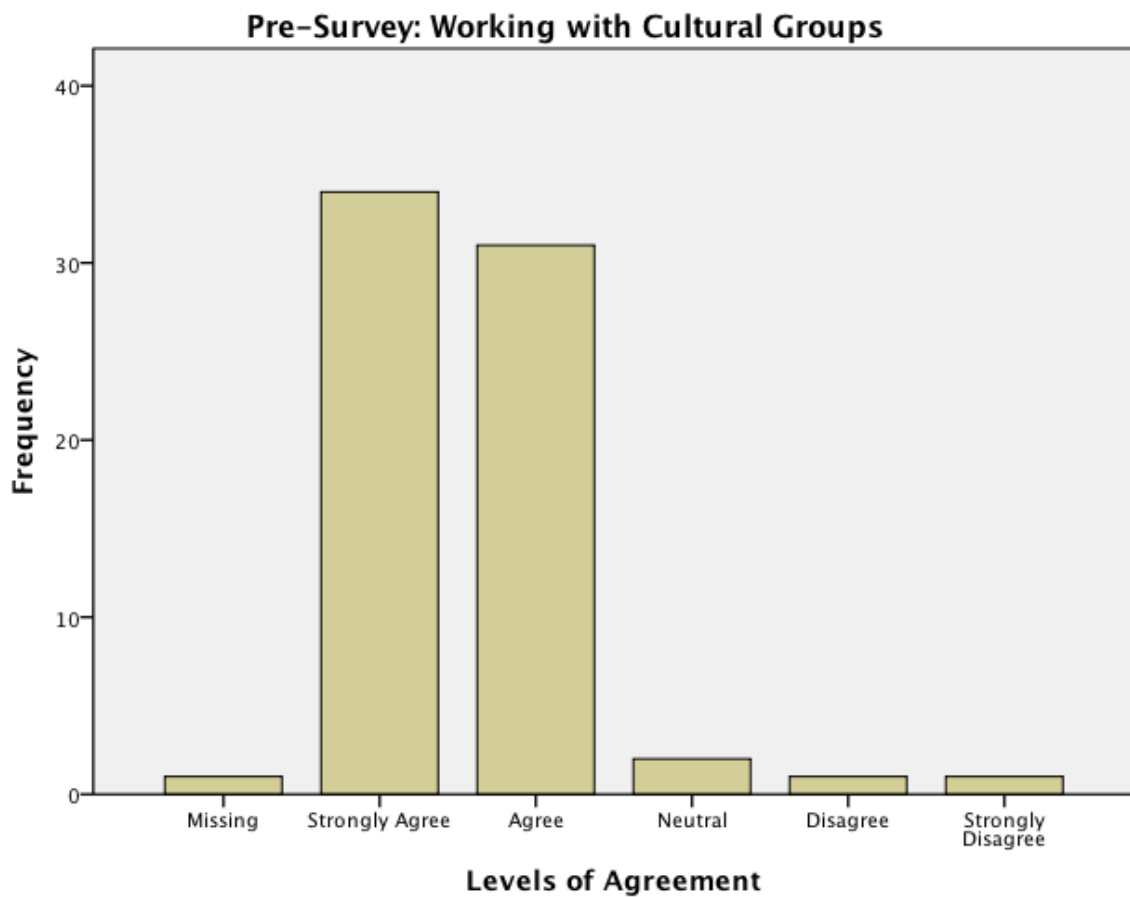
Pre-Survey: Prominent People					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	3	4.3	4.3	4.3
	Agree	11	15.7	15.7	20.0
	Neutral	9	12.9	12.9	32.9
	Disagree	33	47.1	47.1	80.0
	Strongly Disagree	14	20.0	20.0	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	



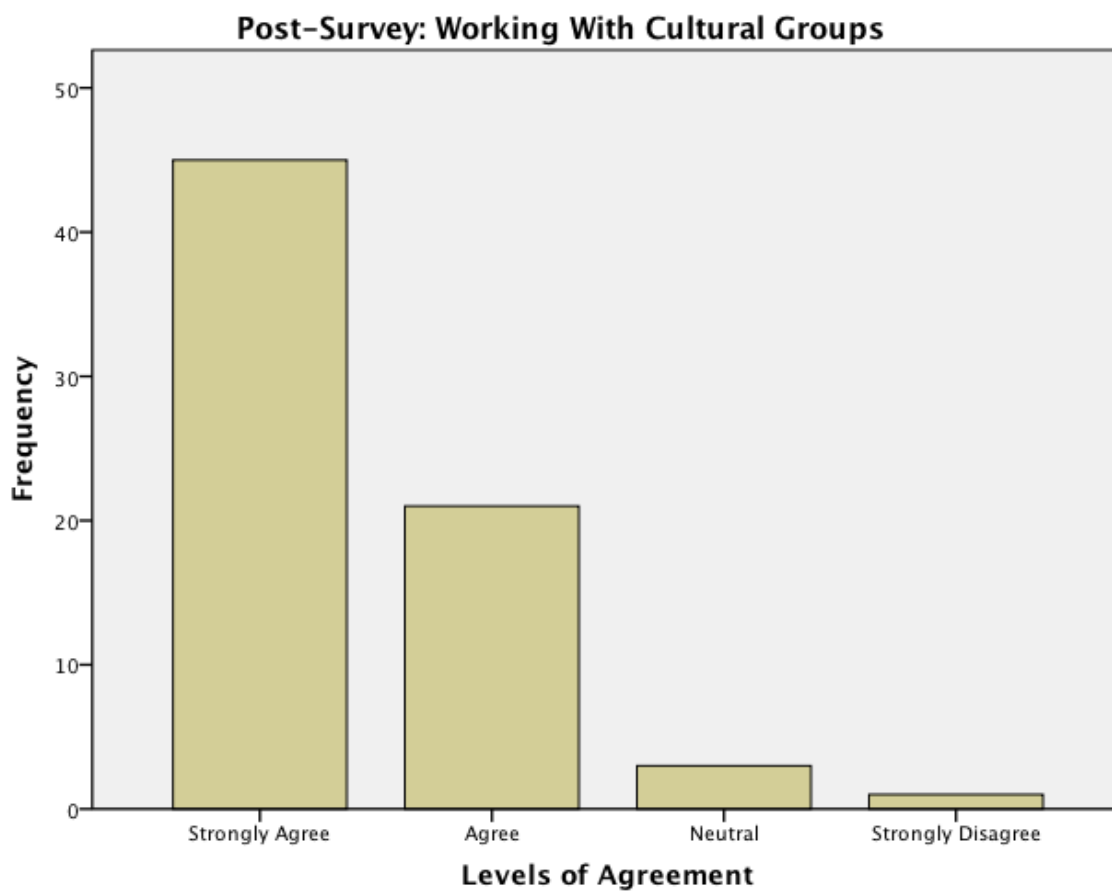
Post-Survey: Prominent People					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	9	12.9	12.9	12.9
	Agree	25	35.7	35.7	48.6
	Neutral	9	12.9	12.9	61.4
	Disagree	24	34.3	34.3	95.7
	Strongly Disagree	3	4.3	4.3	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	



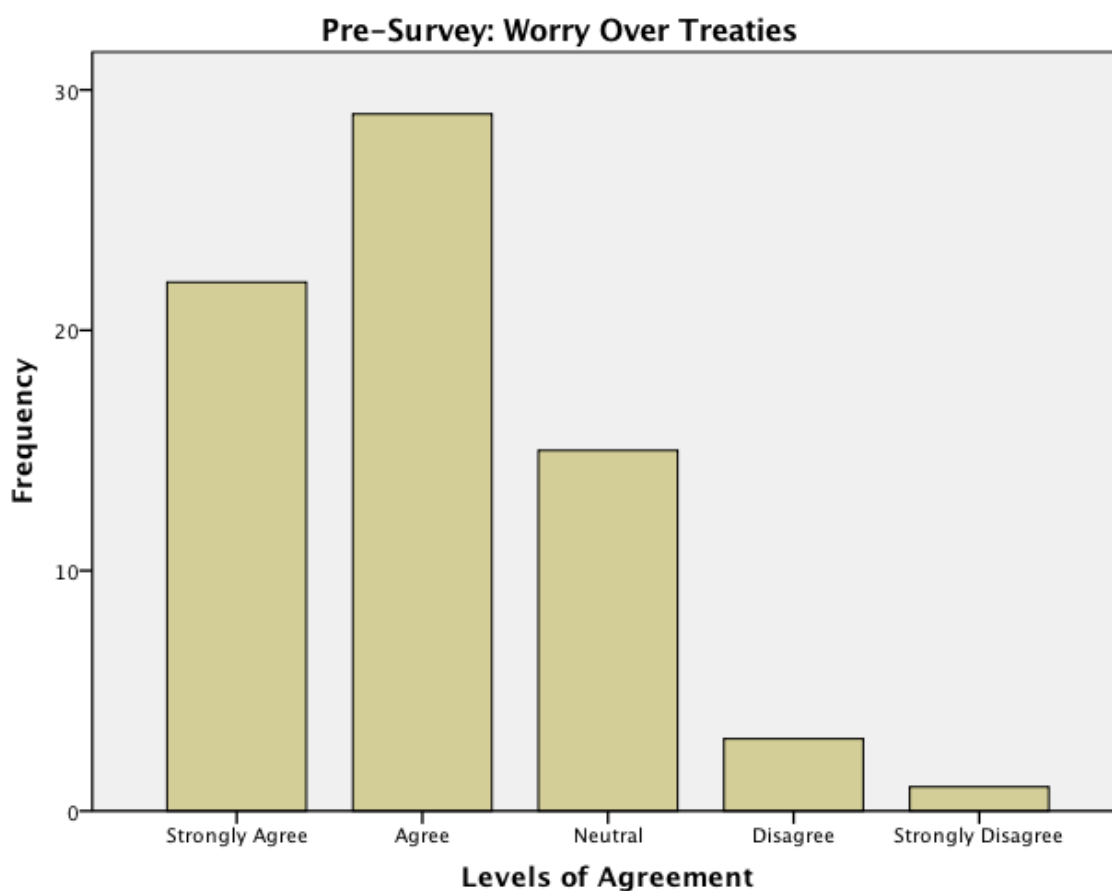
Pre-Survey: Working with Cultural Groups					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Missing	1	1.4	1.4	1.4
	Strongly Agree	34	48.6	48.6	50.0
	Agree	31	44.3	44.3	94.3
	Neutral	2	2.9	2.9	97.1
	Disagree	1	1.4	1.4	98.6
	Strongly Disagree	1	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	



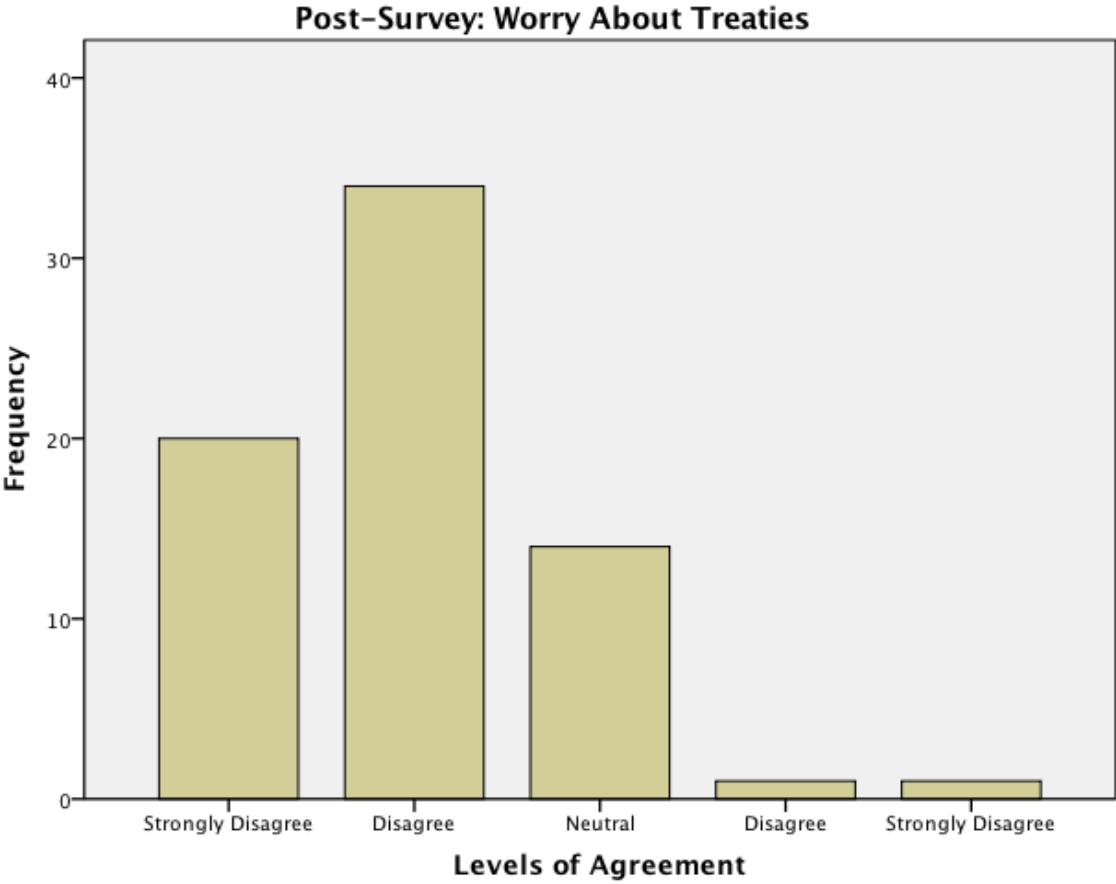
Post-Survey: Working With Cultural Groups					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	45	64.3	64.3	64.3
	Agree	21	30.0	30.0	94.3
	Neutral	3	4.3	4.3	98.6
	Strongly Disagree	1	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	



Pre-Survey: Worry About Treaties					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	22	31.4	31.4	31.4
	Agree	29	41.4	41.4	72.9
	Neutral	15	21.4	21.4	94.3
	Disagree	3	4.3	4.3	98.6
	Strongly Disagree	1	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	

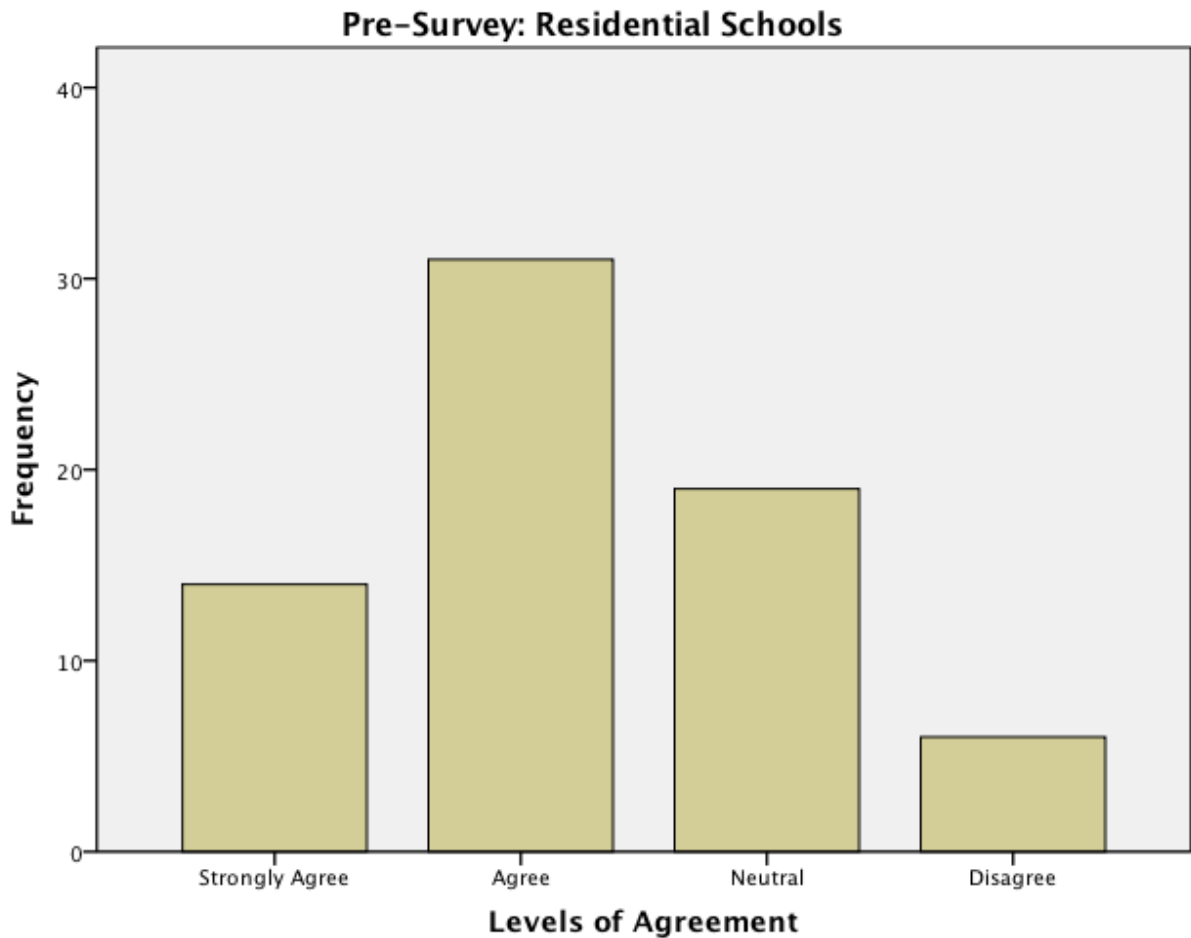


Post-Survey: Worry About Treaties					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	20	28.6	28.6	28.6
	Disagree	34	48.6	48.6	77.1
	Neutral	14	20.0	20.0	97.1
	Disagree	1	1.4	1.4	98.6
	Strongly Disagree	1	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	

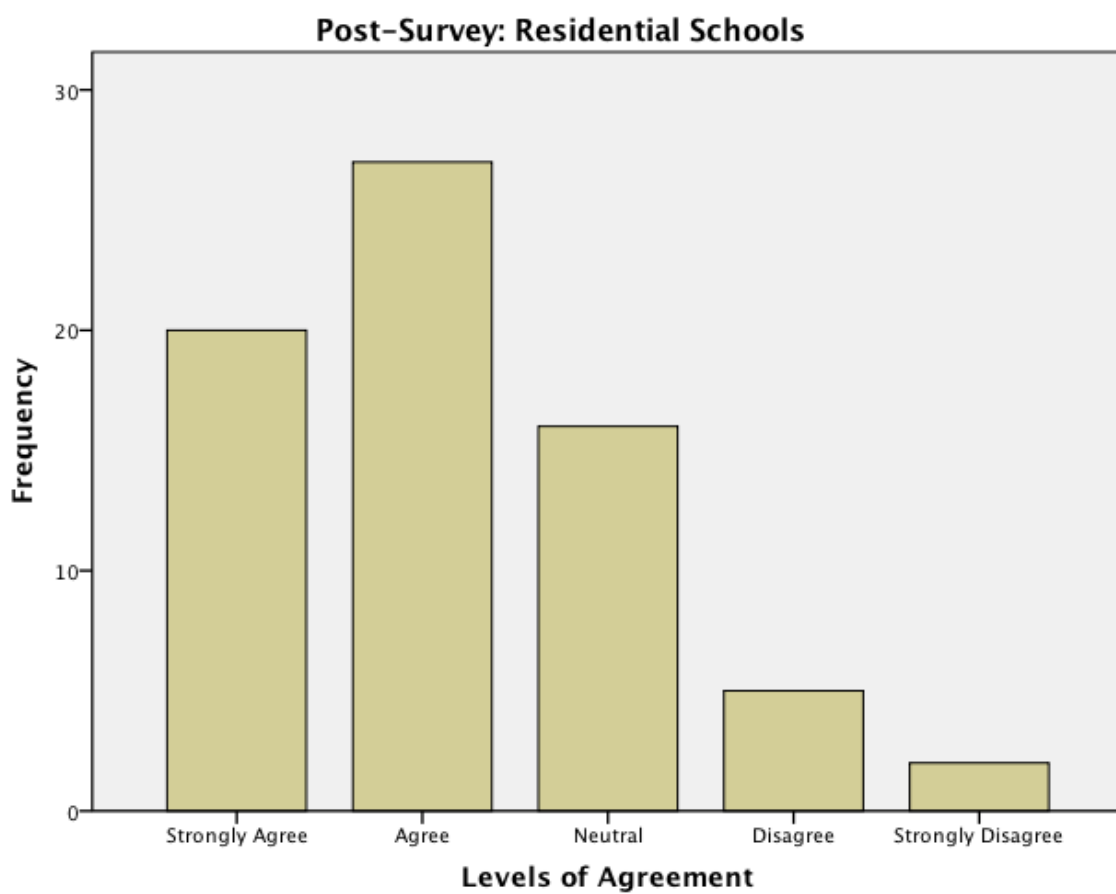


Pre-Survey: Residential Schools

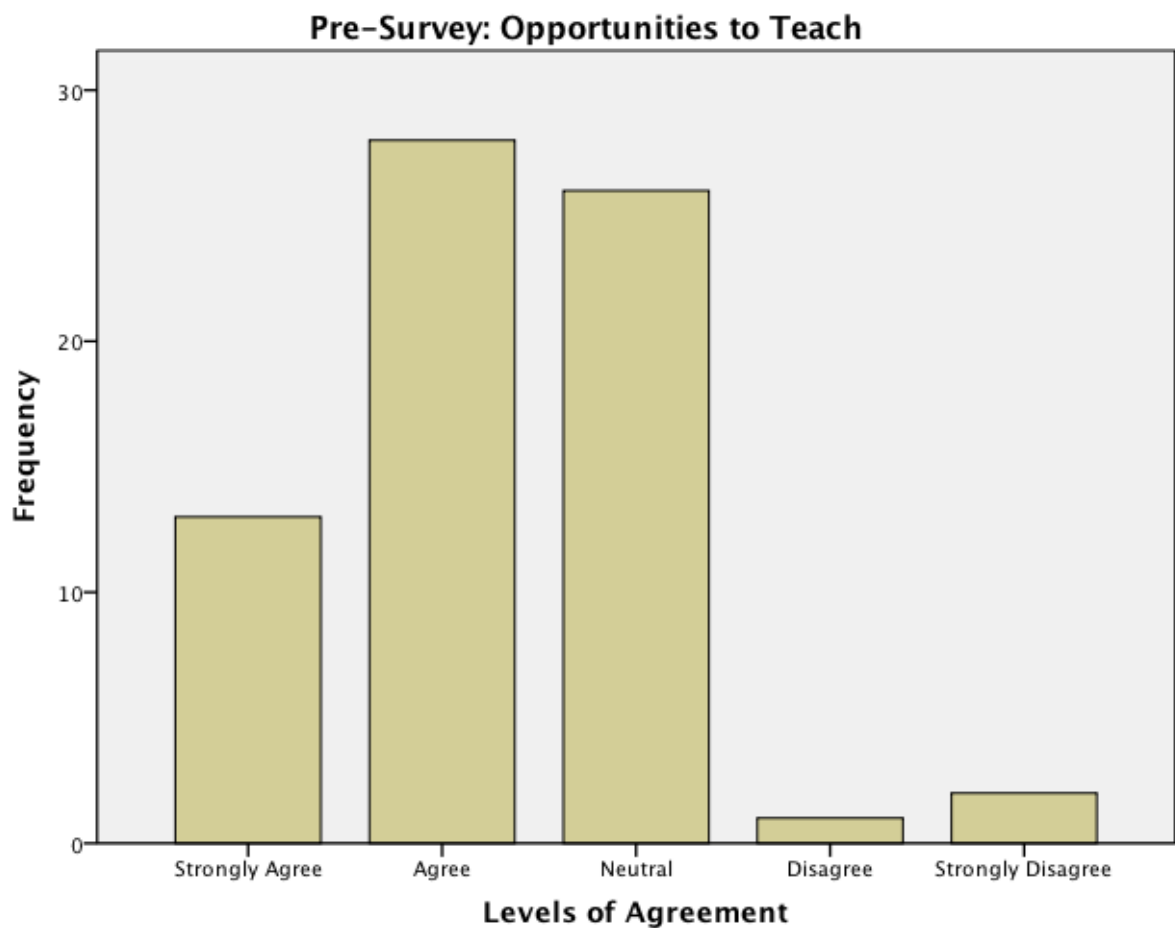
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	14	20.0	20.0	20.0
	Agree	31	44.3	44.3	64.3
	Neutral	19	27.1	27.1	91.4
	Disagree	6	8.6	8.6	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	



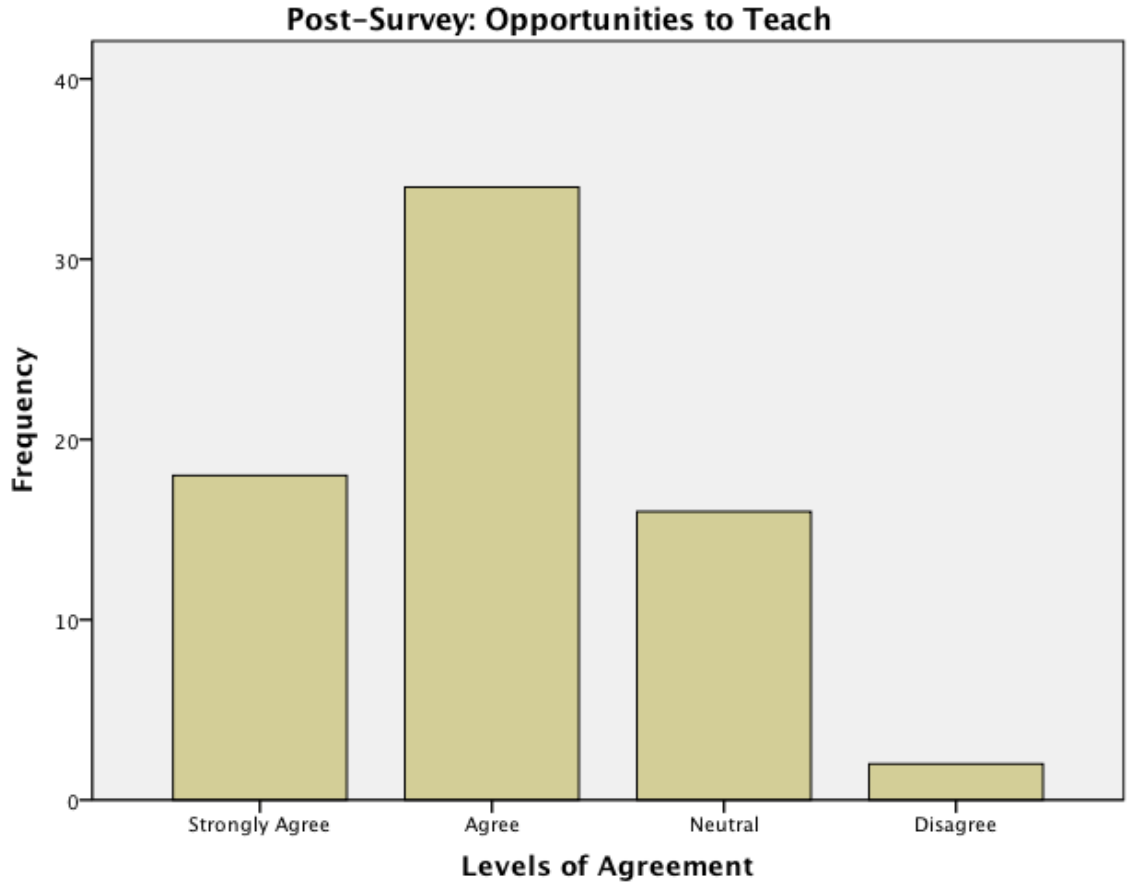
Post-Survey: Residential Schools					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	20	28.6	28.6	28.6
	Agree	27	38.6	38.6	67.1
	Neutral	16	22.9	22.9	90.0
	Disagree	5	7.1	7.1	97.1
	Strongly Disagree	2	2.9	2.9	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	



Pre-Survey: Welcoming Teaching Opportunities					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	13	18.6	18.6	18.6
	Agree	28	40.0	40.0	58.6
	Neutral	26	37.1	37.1	95.7
	Disagree	1	1.4	1.4	97.1
	Strongly Disagree	2	2.9	2.9	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	

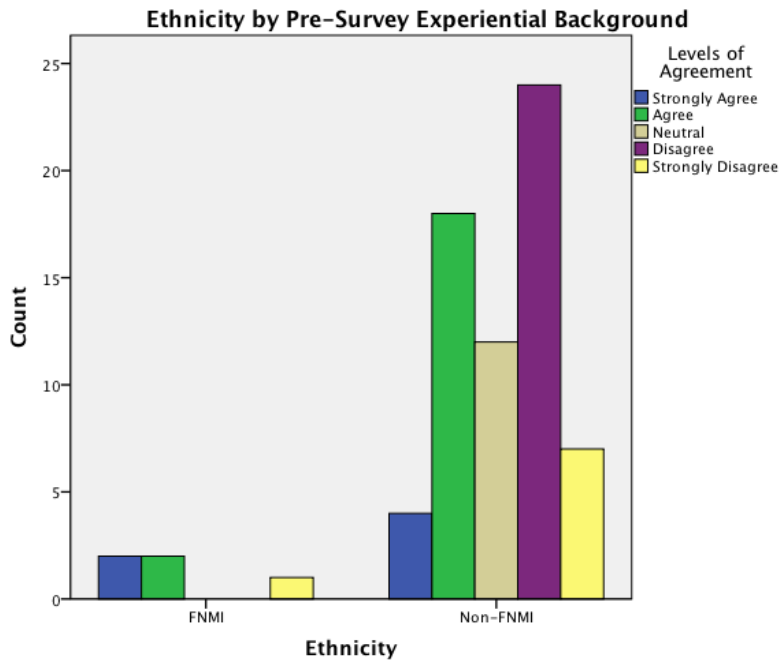


Post-Survey: Opportunity to Teach					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Agree	18	25.7	25.7	25.7
	Agree	34	48.6	48.6	74.3
	Neutral	16	22.9	22.9	97.1
	Disagree	2	2.9	2.9	100.0
	Total	70	100.0	100.0	

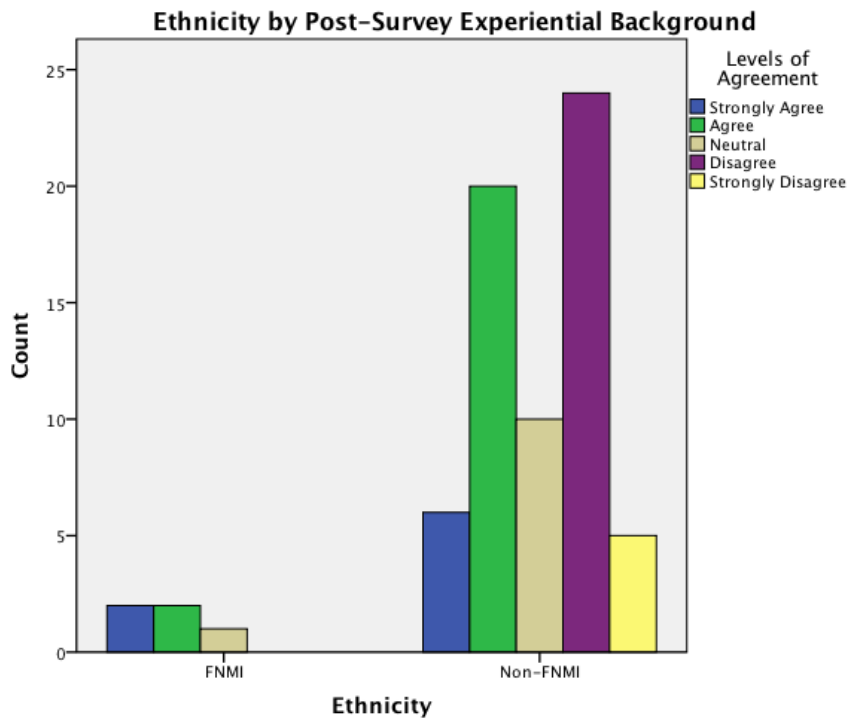


Descriptive Statistics on Pre-Survey and Post-Survey Attitude Items by Ethnicity

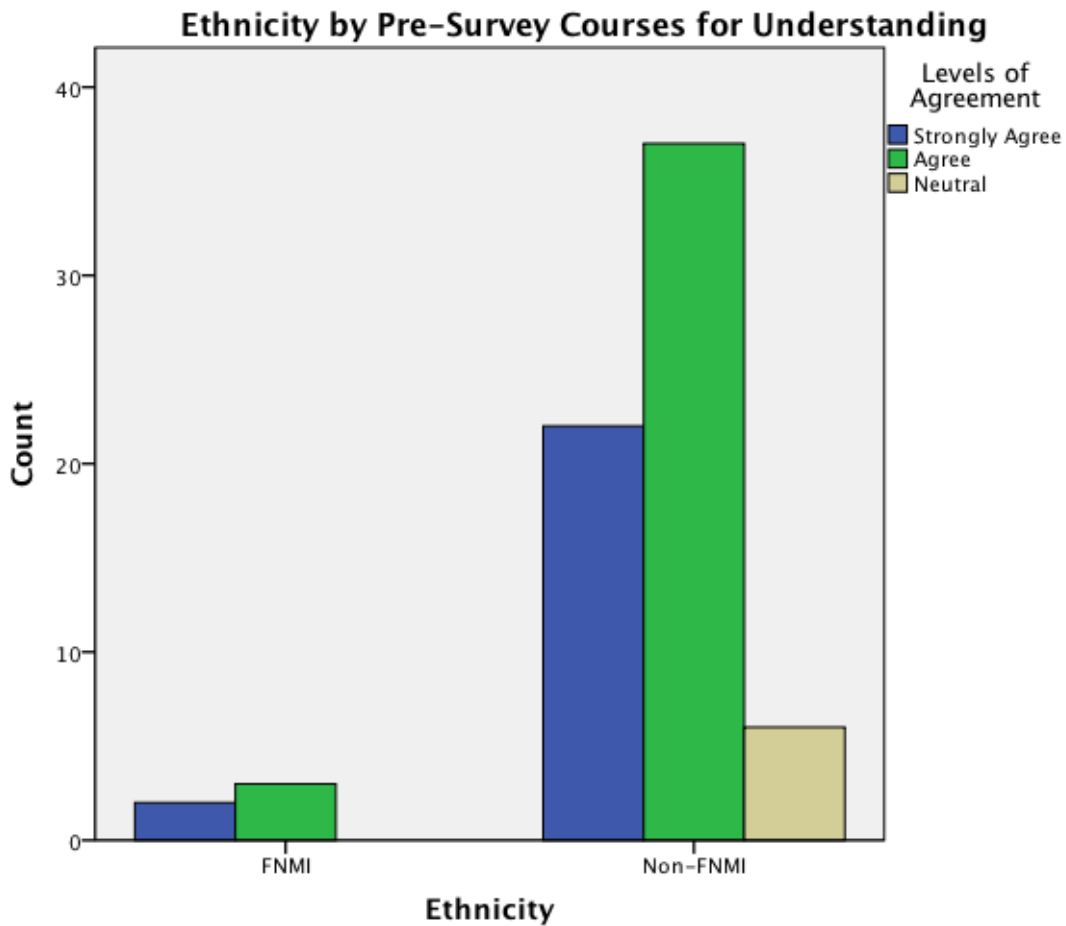
Ethnicity * Pre-Survey Experiential Background								
			PreExper					Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	2	2	0	0	1	5
		% within Ethnicity	40.0%	40.0%	.0%	.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	Non- FNMI	Count	4	18	12	24	7	65
		% within Ethnicity	6.2%	27.7%	18.5%	36.9%	10.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	6	20	12	24	8	70
		% within Ethnicity	8.6%	28.6%	17.1%	34.3%	11.4%	100.0%



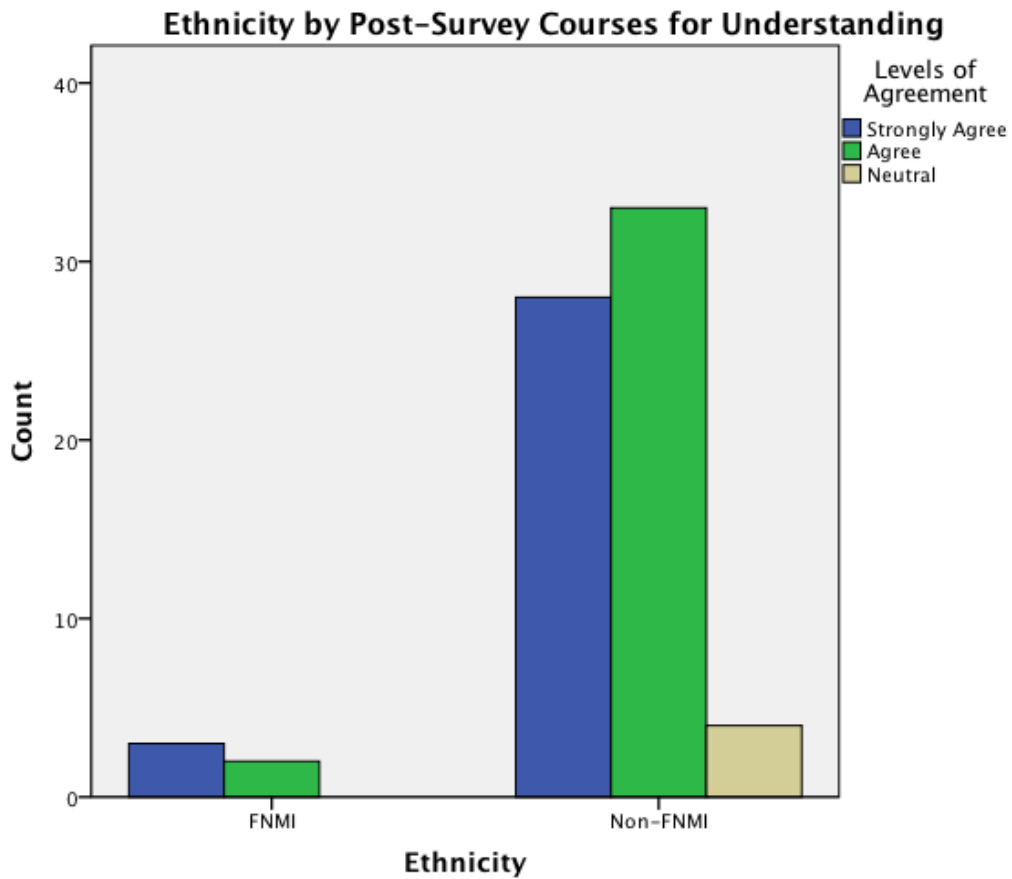
Ethnicity * Post-Survey Experiential Background								
			PostExper					Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	2	2	1	0	0	5
		% within Ethnicity	40.0%	40.0%	20.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	6	20	10	24	5	65
		% within Ethnicity	9.2%	30.8%	15.4%	36.9%	7.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	8	22	11	24	5	70
		% within Ethnicity	11.4%	31.4%	15.7%	34.3%	7.1%	100.0%



Ethnicity * Pre-Survey Courses for Understanding						
			PreCourses			Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	2	3	0	5
		% within Ethnicity	40.0%	60.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	22	37	6	65
		% within Ethnicity	33.8%	56.9%	9.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	24	40	6	70
		% within Ethnicity	34.3%	57.1%	8.6%	100.0%



Ethnicity * Post-Survey Courses for Understanding						
			PostCourses			Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	3	2	0	5
		% within Ethnicity	60.0%	40.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	28	33	4	65
		% within Ethnicity	43.1%	50.8%	6.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	31	35	4	70
		% within Ethnicity	44.3%	50.0%	5.7%	100.0%

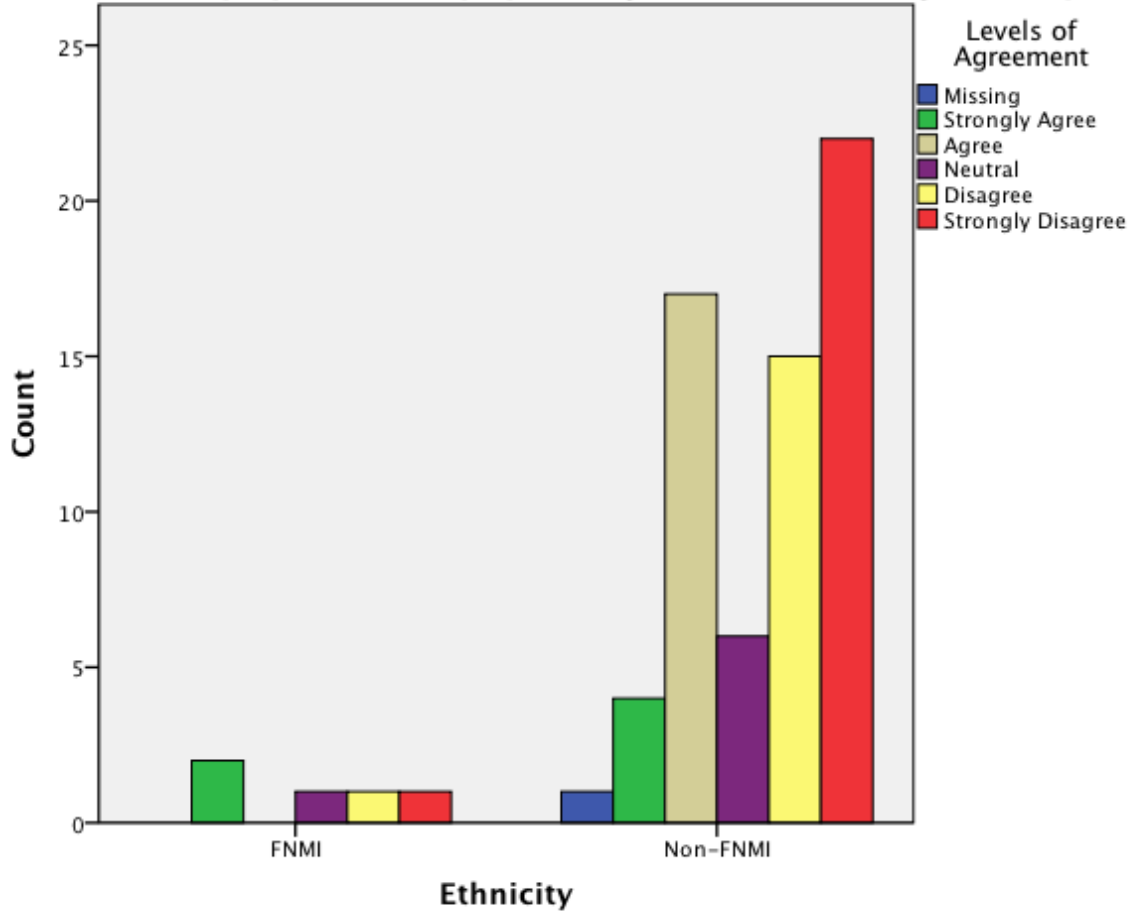


Ethnicity * Pre-Survey Spending Time with Aboriginal People

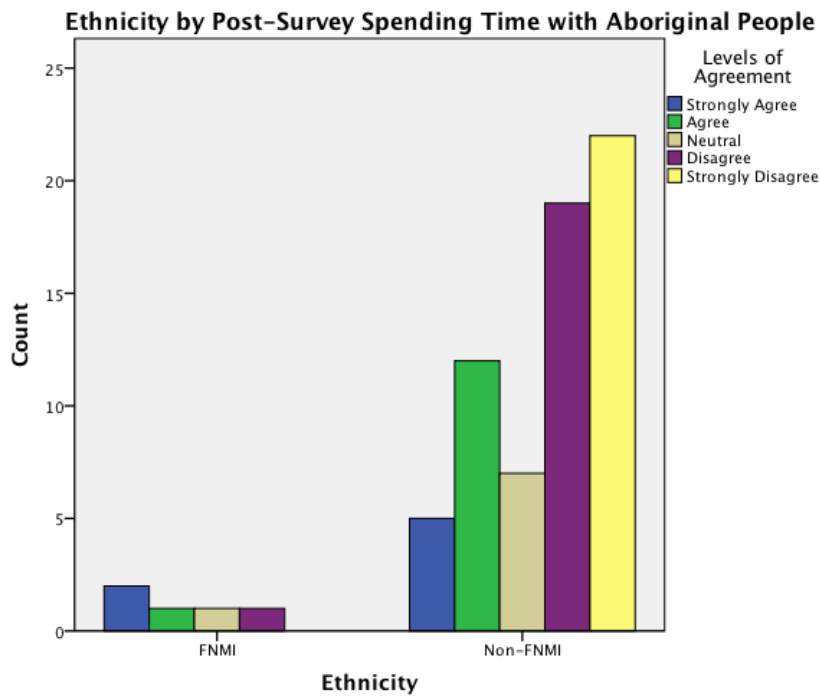
		PreTime					
		Missing	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	0	2	0	1	1
		% within Ethnicity	.0%	40.0%	.0%	20.0%	20.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	1	4	17	6	15
		% within Ethnicity	1.5%	6.2%	26.2%	9.2%	23.1%
Total		Count	1	6	17	7	16
		% within Ethnicity	1.4%	8.6%	24.3%	10.0%	22.9%

Ethnicity * PreTime Crosstabulation				
		Pre Time		Total
		Strongly Disagree		
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	1	5
		% within Ethnicity	20.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	22	65
		% within Ethnicity	33.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	23	70
		% within Ethnicity	32.9%	100.0%

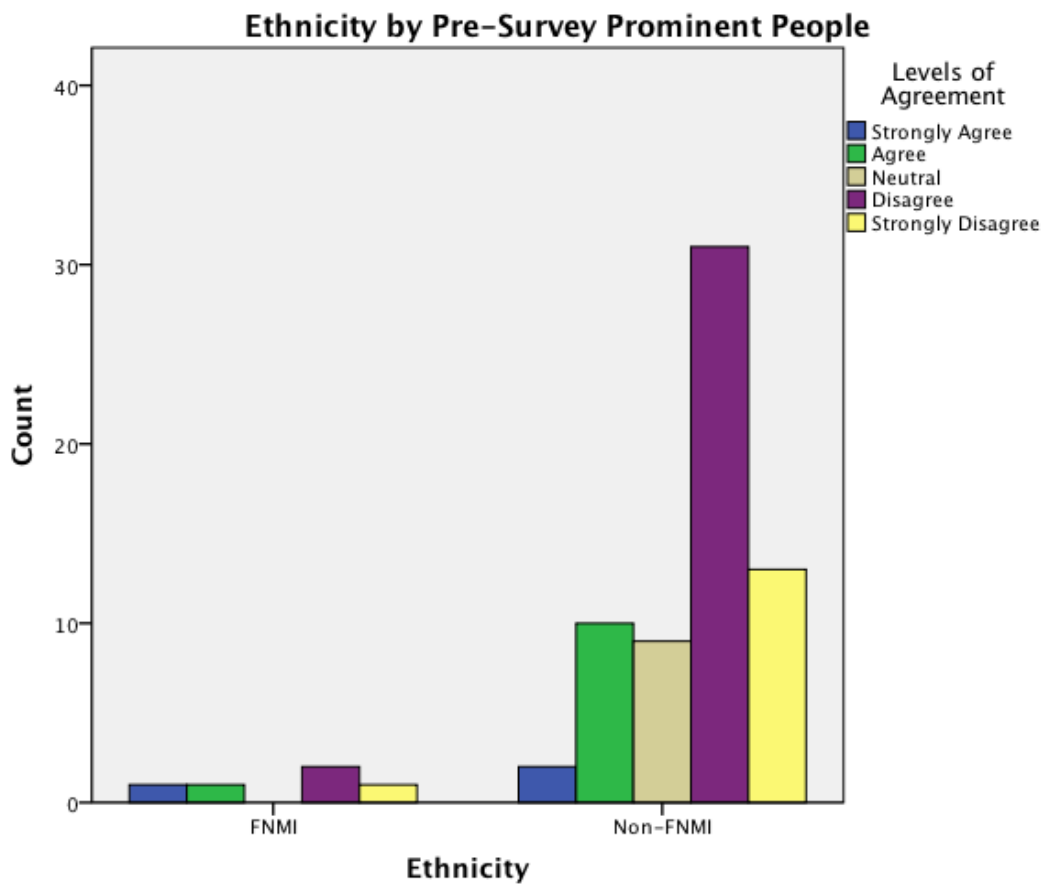
Ethnicity by Pre-Survey Spending Time with Aboriginal People



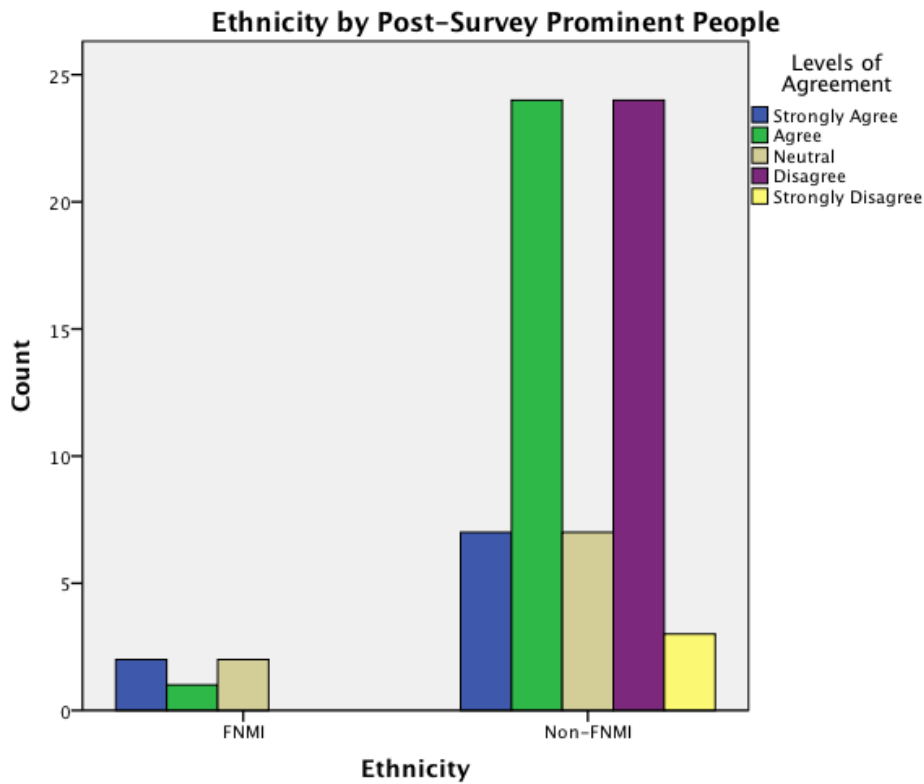
Ethnicity * Post-Survey Spending Time with Aboriginal People								
			PostTime				Total	
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree		Strongly Disagree
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	2	1	1	1	0	5
		% within Ethnicity	40.0%	20.0%	20.0%	20.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	5	12	7	19	22	65
		% within Ethnicity	7.7%	18.5%	10.8%	29.2%	33.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	7	13	8	20	22	70
		% within Ethnicity	10.0%	18.6%	11.4%	28.6%	31.4%	100.0%



Ethnicity * Pre-Survey Prominent People								
			PrePromPeople					Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	1	1	0	2	1	5
		% within Ethnicity	20.0%	20.0%	.0%	40.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	2	10	9	31	13	65
		% within Ethnicity	3.1%	15.4%	13.8%	47.7%	20.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	3	11	9	33	14	70
		% within Ethnicity	4.3%	15.7%	12.9%	47.1%	20.0%	100.0%



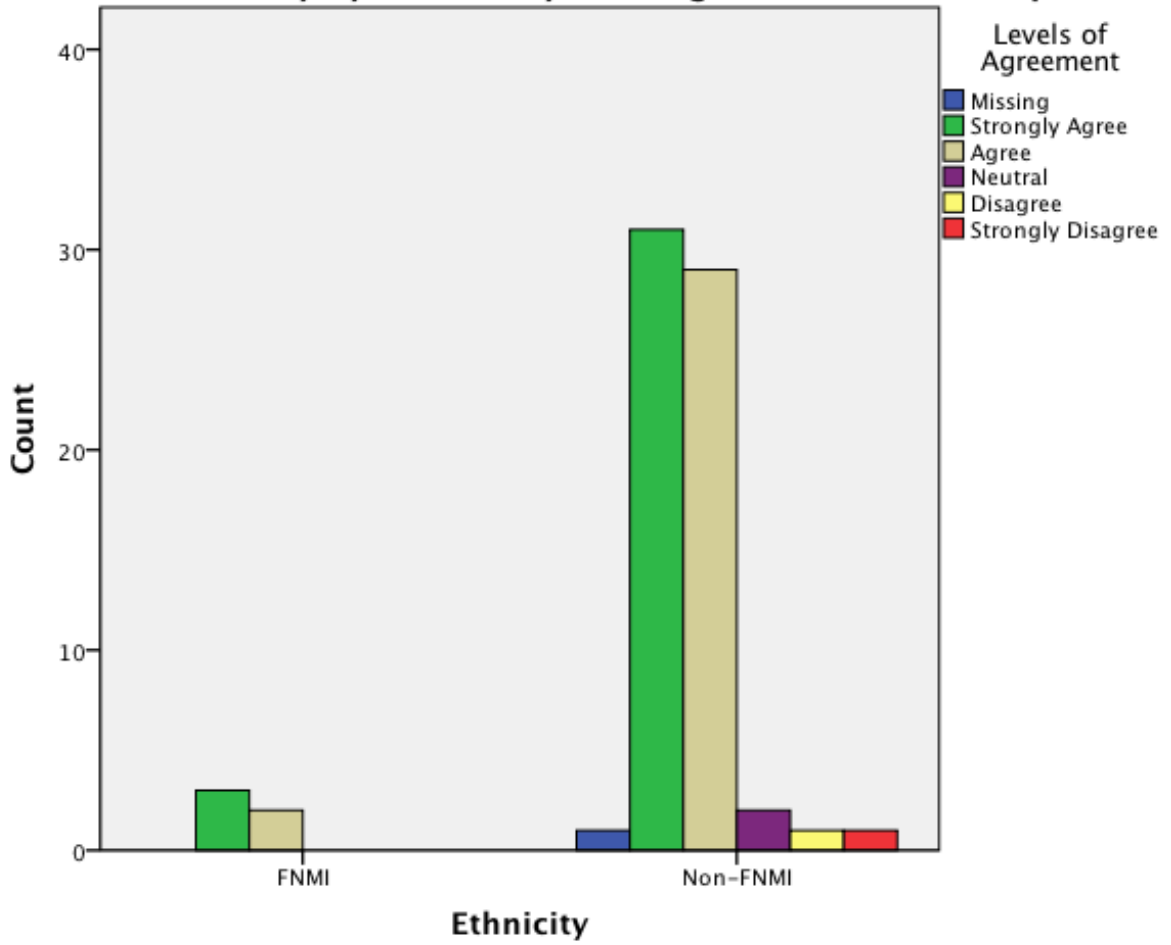
Ethnicity * Post-Survey Prominent People								
			PostPromPeople					Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	2	1	2	0	0	5
		% within Ethnicity	40.0%	20.0%	40.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	7	24	7	24	3	65
		% within Ethnicity	10.8%	36.9%	10.8%	36.9%	4.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	9	25	9	24	3	70
		% within Ethnicity	12.9%	35.7%	12.9%	34.3%	4.3%	100.0%



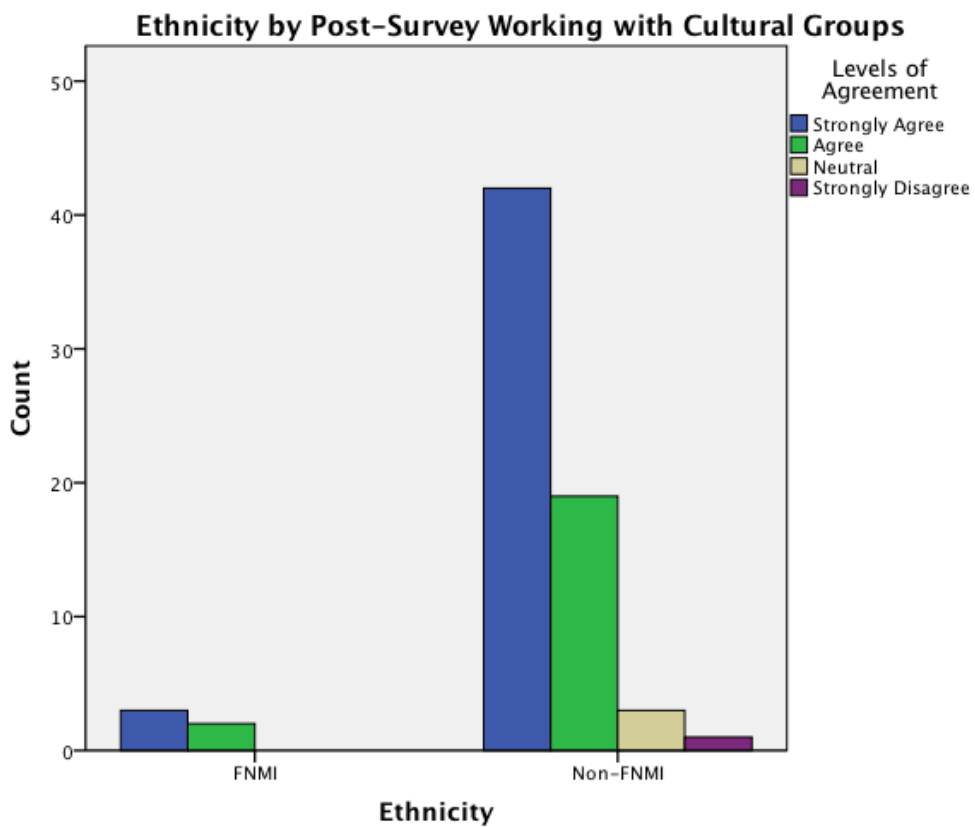
Ethnicity * Pre-Survey Working with Cultural Groups							
			PreCulGroups				
			Missing	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	0	3	2	0	0
		% within Ethnicity	.0%	60.0%	40.0%	.0%	.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	1	31	29	2	1
		% within Ethnicity	1.5%	47.7%	44.6%	3.1%	1.5%
Total		Count	1	34	31	2	1
		% within Ethnicity	1.4%	48.6%	44.3%	2.9%	1.4%

Ethnicity * PreCulGroups Crosstabulation				
			PreCulGroups	
			Strongly Disagree	Total
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	0	5
		% within Ethnicity	.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	1	65
		% within Ethnicity	1.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	1	70
		% within Ethnicity	1.4%	100.0%

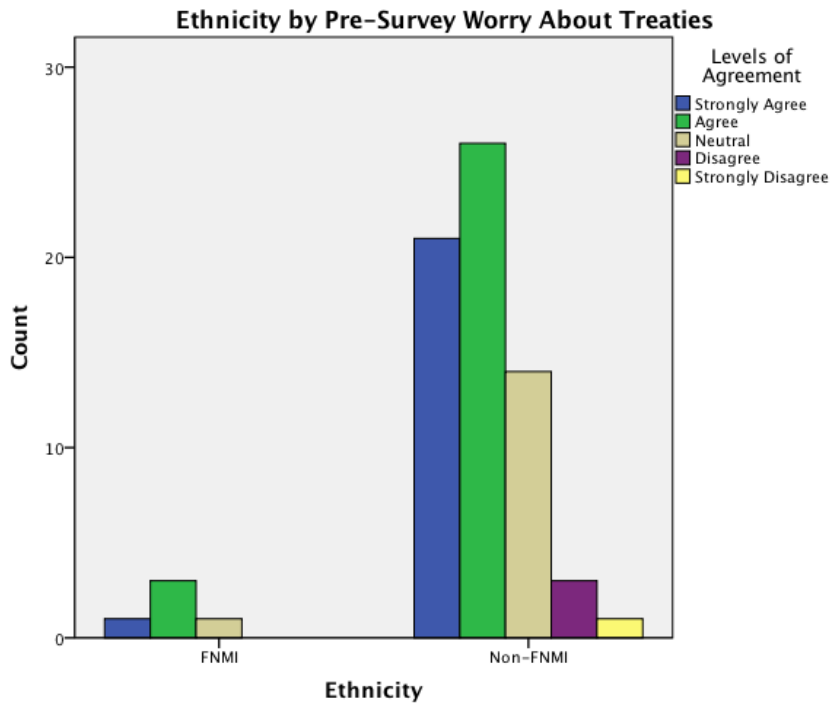
Ethnicity by Pre-Survey Working with Cultural Groups



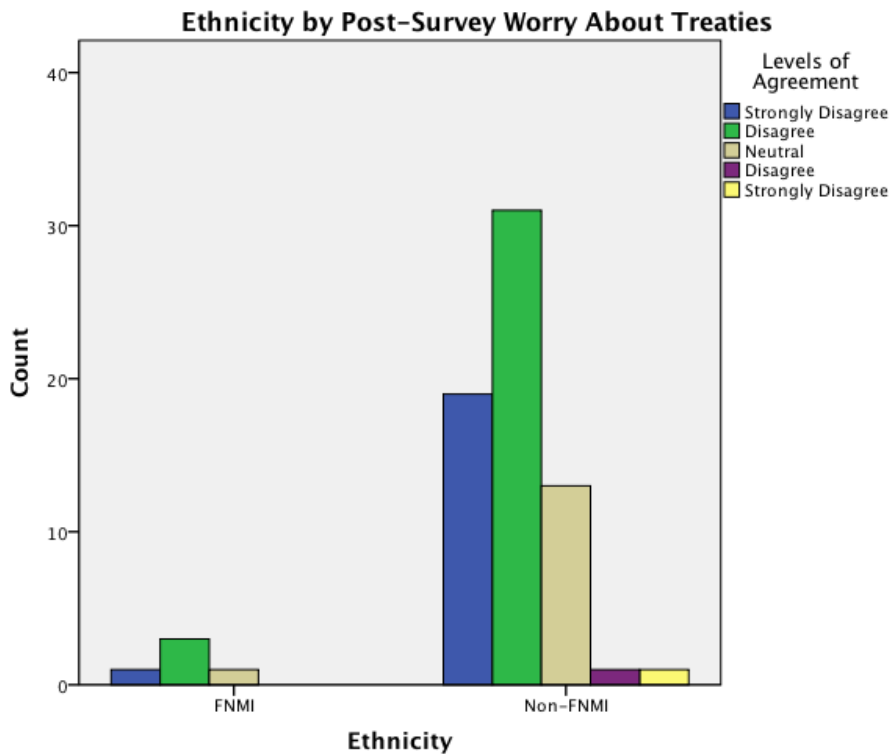
Ethnicity * Post-Survey Working with Cultural Groups							
			PostCulGroups				Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Strongly Disagree	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	3	2	0	0	5
		% within Ethnicity	60.0%	40.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	42	19	3	1	65
		% within Ethnicity	64.6%	29.2%	4.6%	1.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	45	21	3	1	70
		% within Ethnicity	64.3%	30.0%	4.3%	1.4%	100.0%



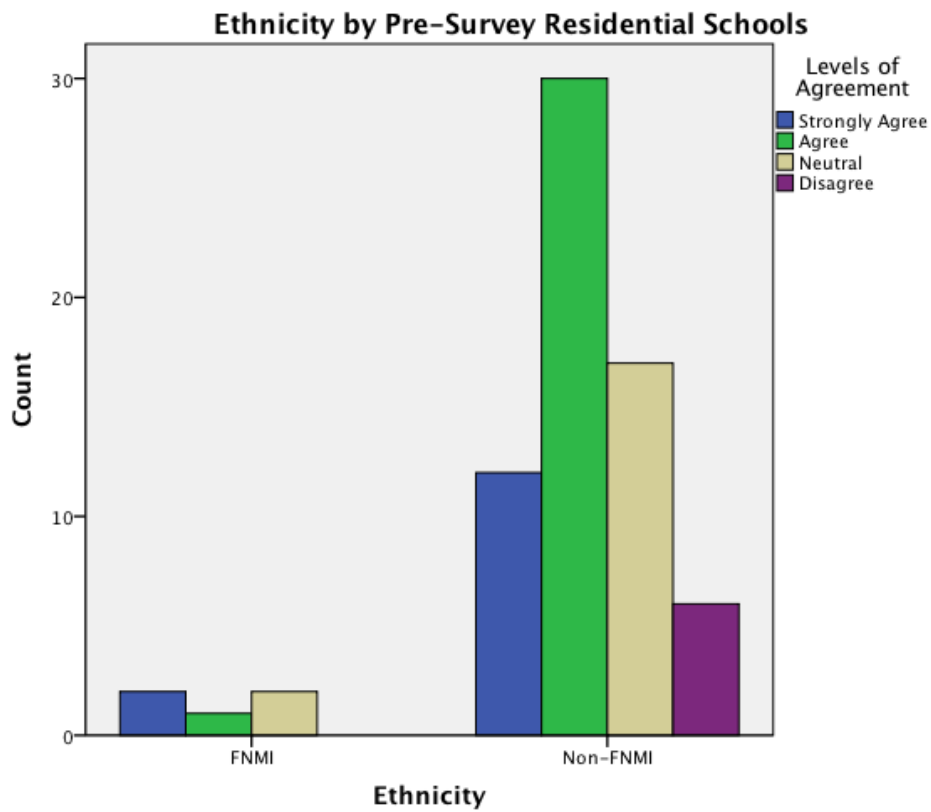
Ethnicity * Pre-Survey Worry About Treaties								
			PreWorry					Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	1	3	1	0	0	5
		% within Ethnicity	20.0%	60.0%	20.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	21	26	14	3	1	65
		% within Ethnicity	32.3%	40.0%	21.5%	4.6%	1.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	22	29	15	3	1	70
		% within Ethnicity	31.4%	41.4%	21.4%	4.3%	1.4%	100.0%



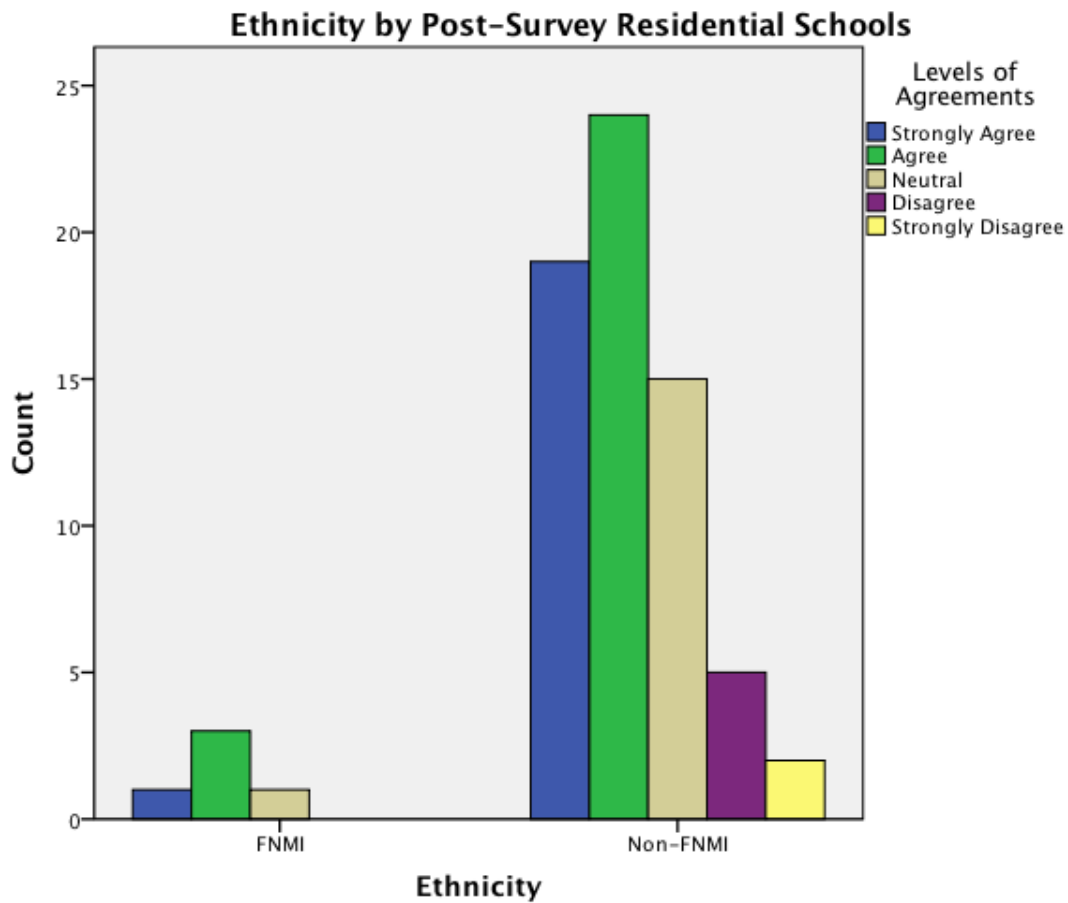
Ethnicity * Post-Survey Worry About Treaties								
			PostWorry					Total
			Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	1	3	1	0	0	5
		% within Ethnicity	20.0%	60.0%	20.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	19	31	13	1	1	65
		% within Ethnicity	29.2%	47.7%	20.0%	1.5%	1.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	20	34	14	1	1	70
		% within Ethnicity	28.6%	48.6%	20.0%	1.4%	1.4%	100.0%



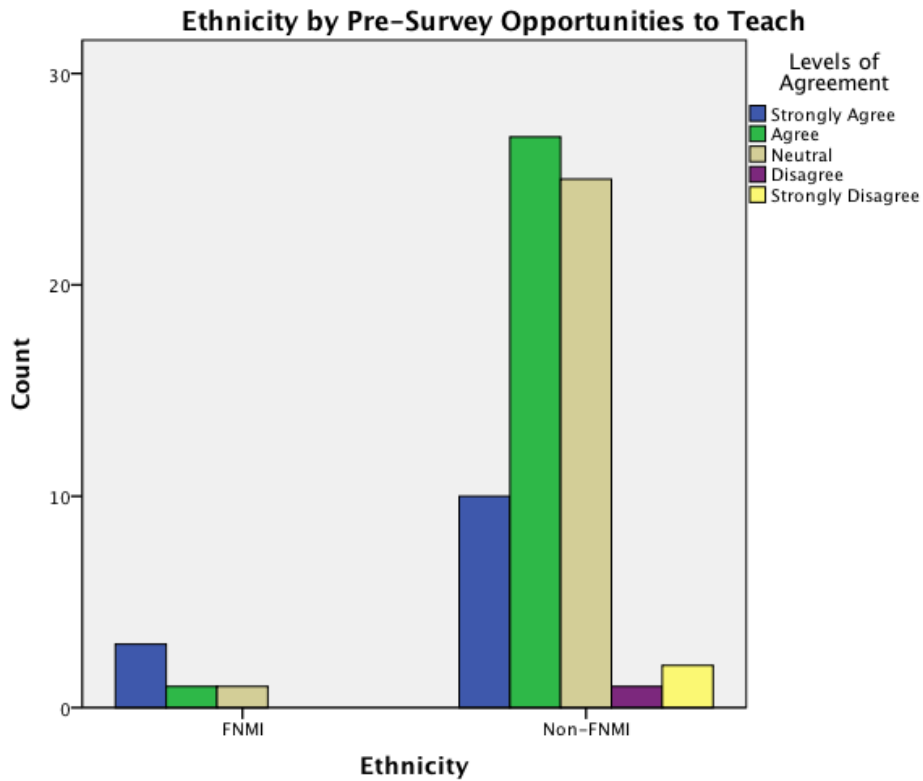
Ethnicity * Pre-Survey Residential Schools							
			PreResSchools				Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	2	1	2	0	5
		% within Ethnicity	40.0%	20.0%	40.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	12	30	17	6	65
		% within Ethnicity	18.5%	46.2%	26.2%	9.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	14	31	19	6	70
		% within Ethnicity	20.0%	44.3%	27.1%	8.6%	100.0%



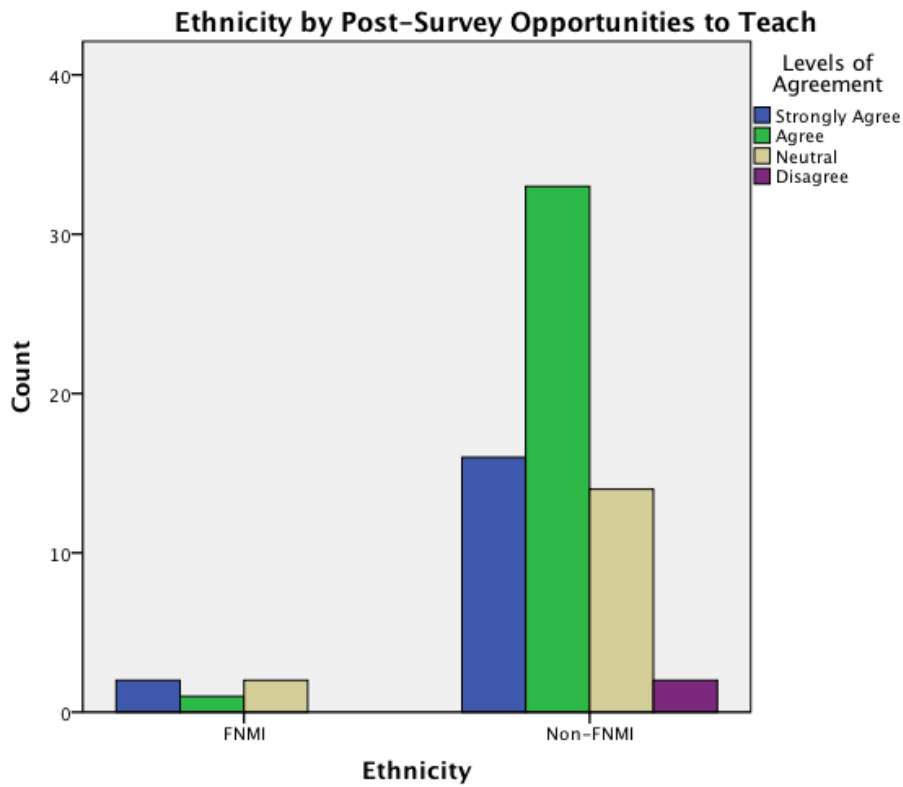
Ethnicity * Post-Survey Residential Schools								
			PostResSchools					Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	1	3	1	0	0	5
		% within Ethnicity	20.0%	60.0%	20.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	19	24	15	5	2	65
		% within Ethnicity	29.2%	36.9%	23.1%	7.7%	3.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	20	27	16	5	2	70
		% within Ethnicity	28.6%	38.6%	22.9%	7.1%	2.9%	100.0%



Ethnicity * Pre-Survey Opportunities to Teach								
			PreTeach					Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	3	1	1	0	0	5
		% within Ethnicity	60.0%	20.0%	20.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	10	27	25	1	2	65
		% within Ethnicity	15.4%	41.5%	38.5%	1.5%	3.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	13	28	26	1	2	70
		% within Ethnicity	18.6%	40.0%	37.1%	1.4%	2.9%	100.0%

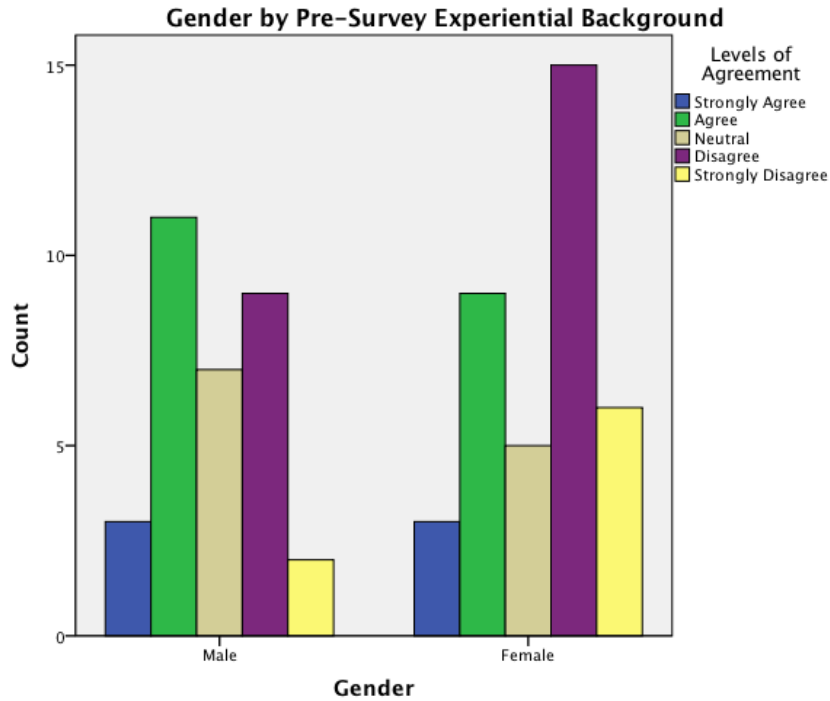


Ethnicity * Post-Survey Opportunities to Teach							
			PostTeach				Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	
Ethnicity	FNMI	Count	2	1	2	0	5
		% within Ethnicity	40.0%	20.0%	40.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Non-FNMI	Count	16	33	14	2	65
		% within Ethnicity	24.6%	50.8%	21.5%	3.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	18	34	16	2	70
		% within Ethnicity	25.7%	48.6%	22.9%	2.9%	100.0%

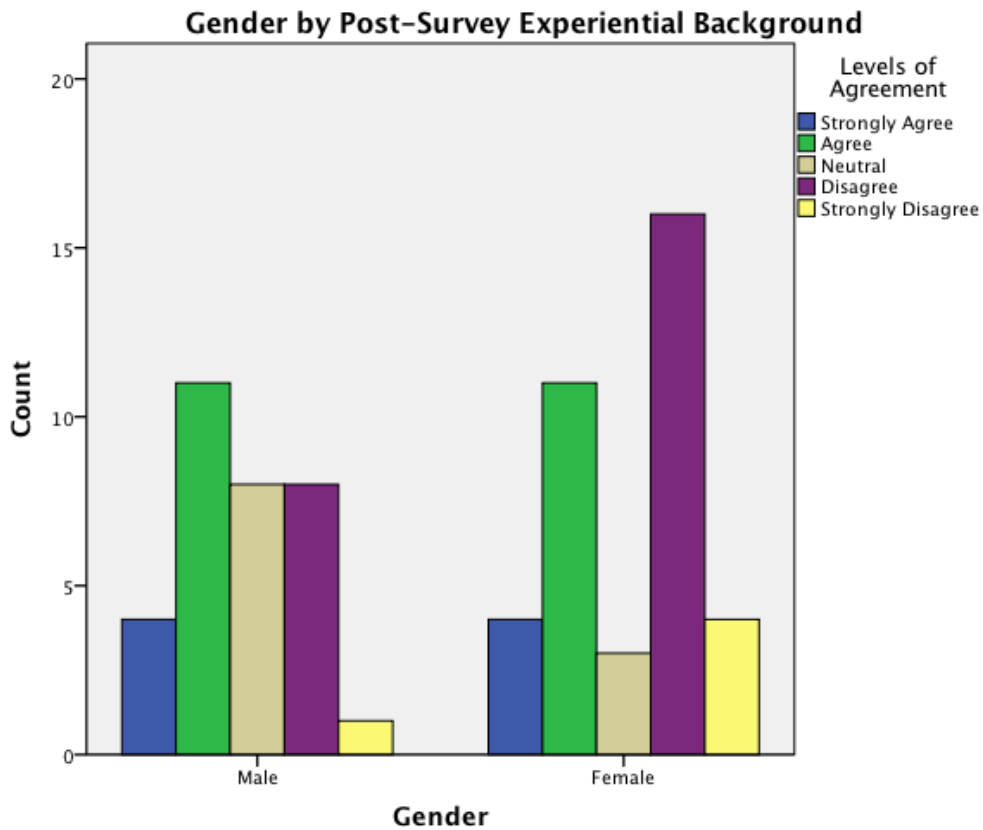


Descriptive Statistics for Pre-Survey and Post-Survey Attitude Items by Gender

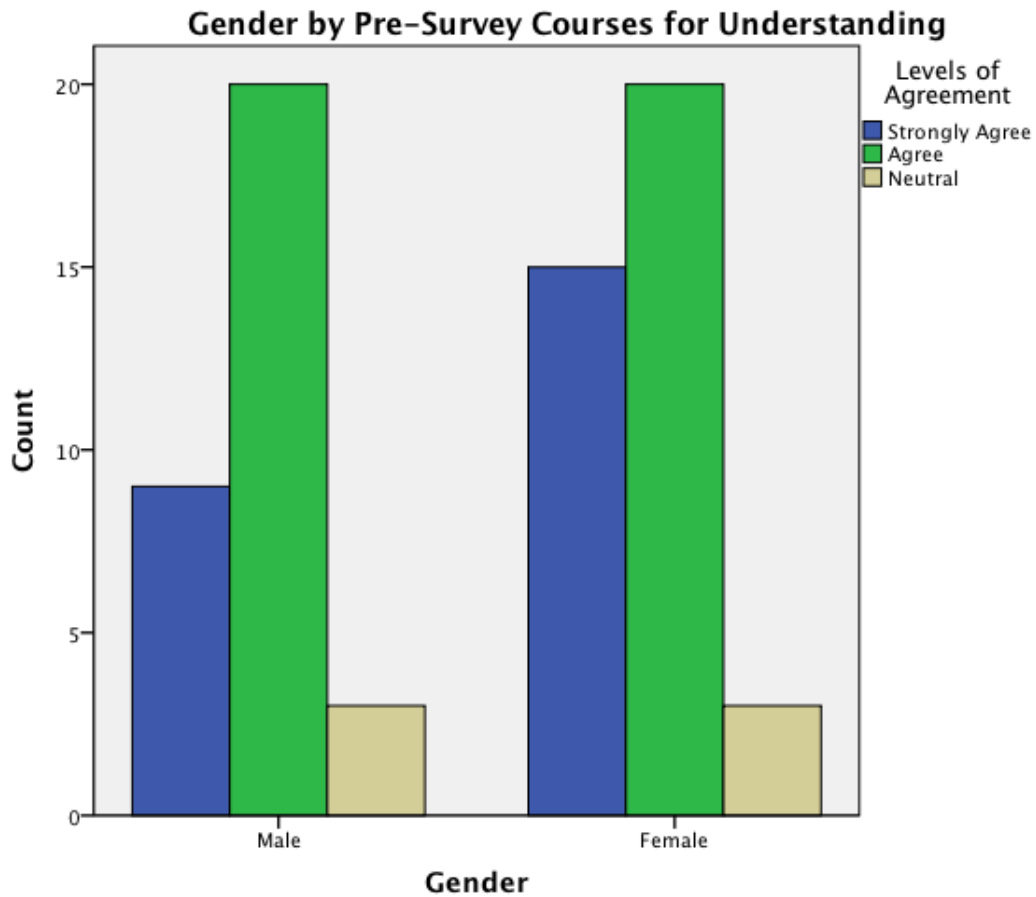
Gender * Pre-Survey Experiential Background								
			PreExper					Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Gender	Male	Count	3	11	7	9	2	32
		% within Gender	9.4%	34.4%	21.9%	28.1%	6.3%	100.0%
	Female	Count	3	9	5	15	6	38
		% within Gender	7.9%	23.7%	13.2%	39.5%	15.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	6	20	12	24	8	70
		% within Gender	8.6%	28.6%	17.1%	34.3%	11.4%	100.0%



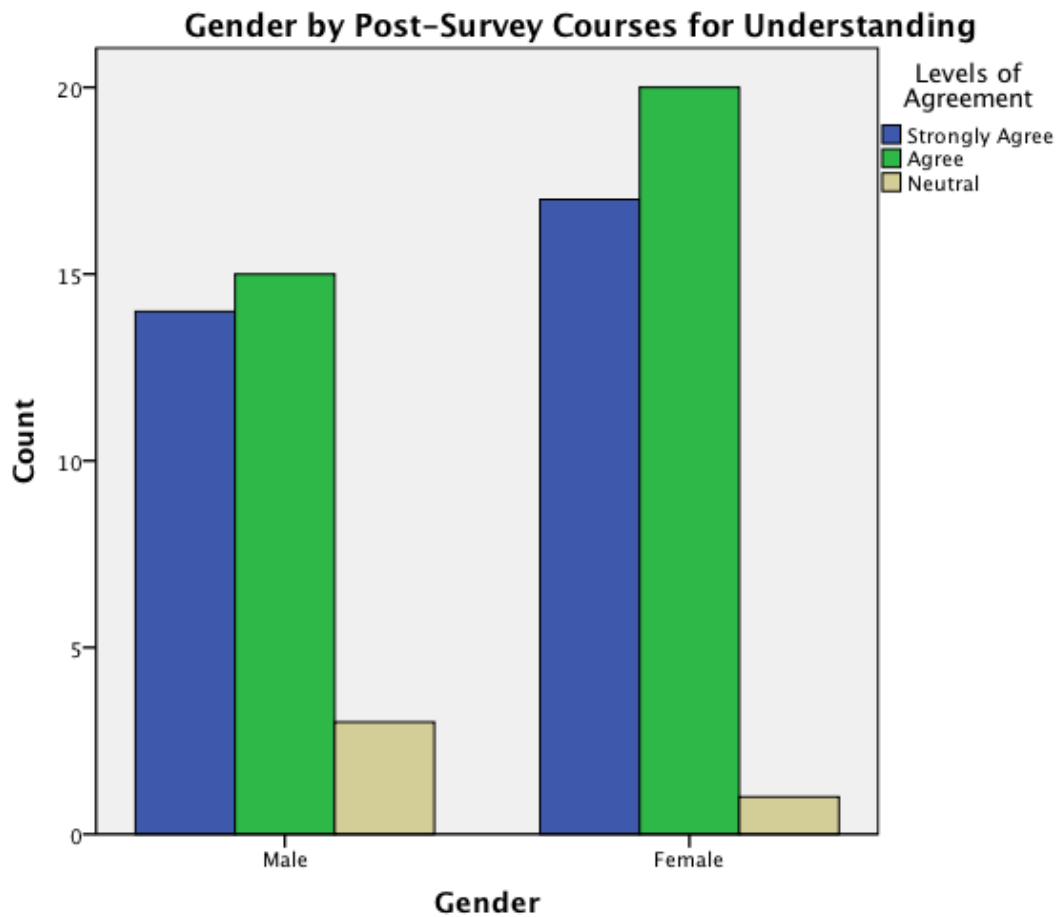
Gender * Post-Survey Experiential Background								
			PostExper					Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Gender	Male	Count	4	11	8	8	1	32
		% within Gender	12.5%	34.4%	25.0%	25.0%	3.1%	100.0%
	Female	Count	4	11	3	16	4	38
		% within Gender	10.5%	28.9%	7.9%	42.1%	10.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	8	22	11	24	5	70
		% within Gender	11.4%	31.4%	15.7%	34.3%	7.1%	100.0%



Gender * Pre-Survey Courses for Understanding						
			PreCourses			Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	
Gender	Male	Count	9	20	3	32
		% within Gender	28.1%	62.5%	9.4%	100.0%
	Female	Count	15	20	3	38
		% within Gender	39.5%	52.6%	7.9%	100.0%
Total		Count	24	40	6	70
		% within Gender	34.3%	57.1%	8.6%	100.0%

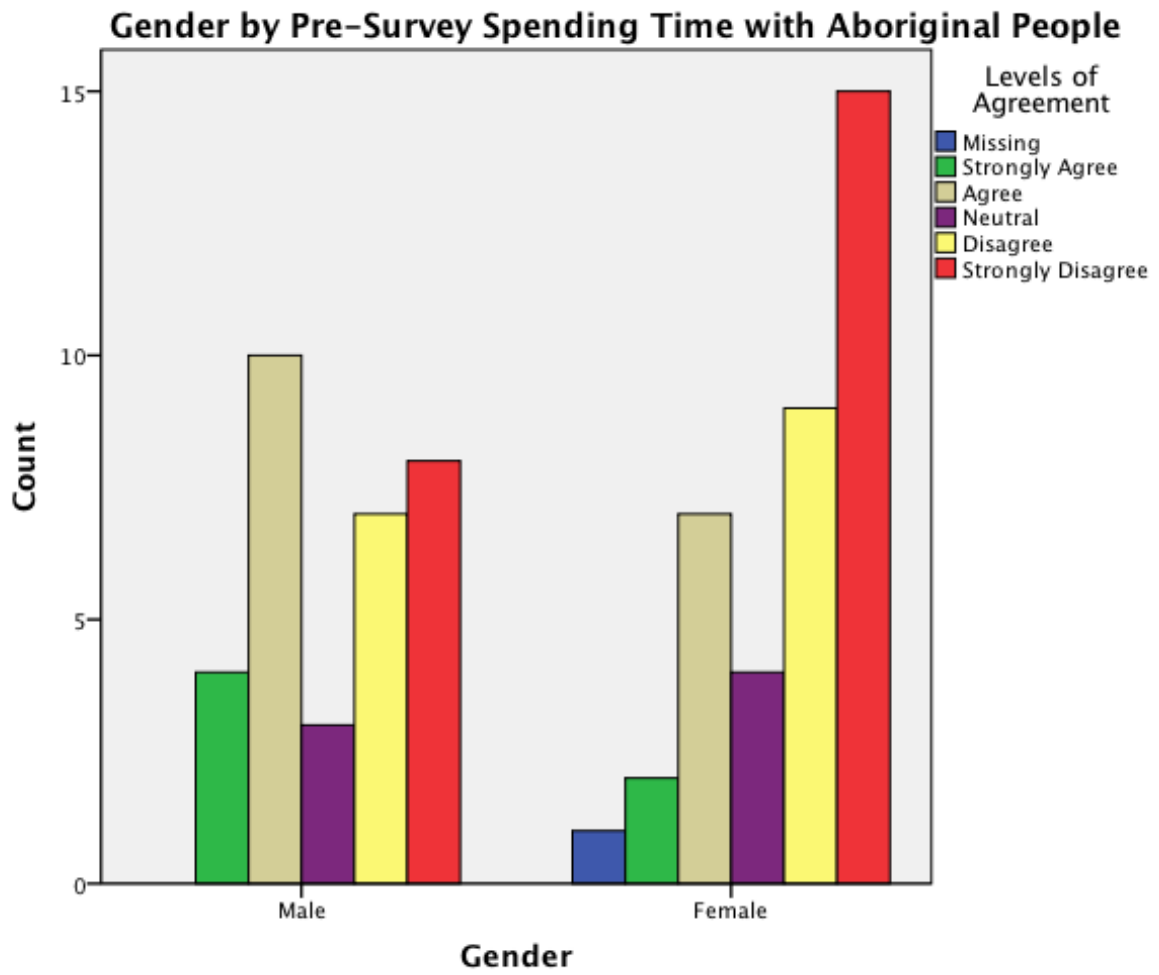


Gender * Post-Survey Courses for Understanding						
			PostCourses			Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	
Gender	Male	Count	14	15	3	32
		% within Gender	43.8%	46.9%	9.4%	100.0%
	Female	Count	17	20	1	38
		% within Gender	44.7%	52.6%	2.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	31	35	4	70
		% within Gender	44.3%	50.0%	5.7%	100.0%

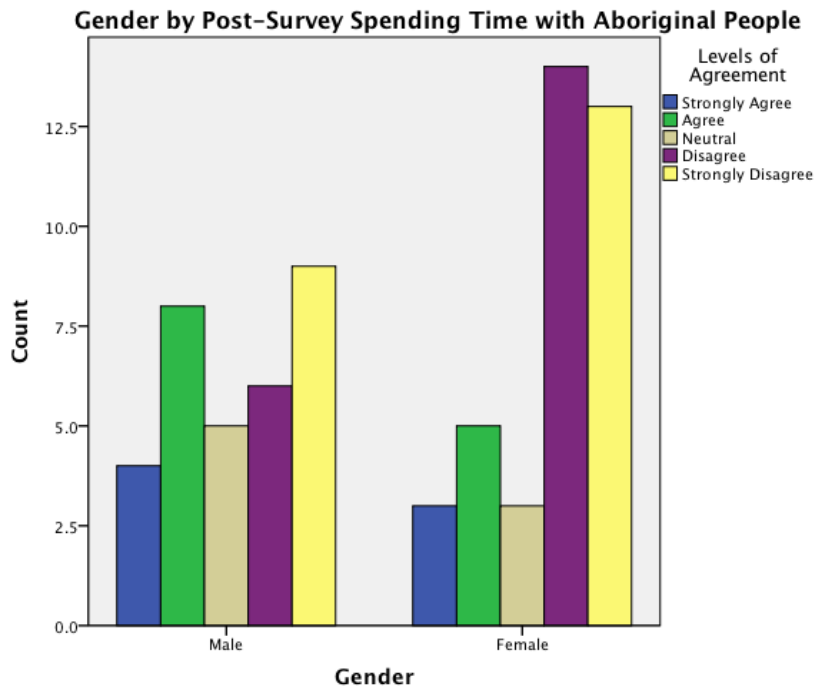


Gender * Pre-Survey Spending Time with Aboriginal People							
			PreTime				
			Missing	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Gender	Male	Count	0	4	10	3	7
		% within Gender	.0%	12.5%	31.3%	9.4%	21.9%
	Female	Count	1	2	7	4	9
		% within Gender	2.6%	5.3%	18.4%	10.5%	23.7%
Total		Count	1	6	17	7	16
		% within Gender	1.4%	8.6%	24.3%	10.0%	22.9%

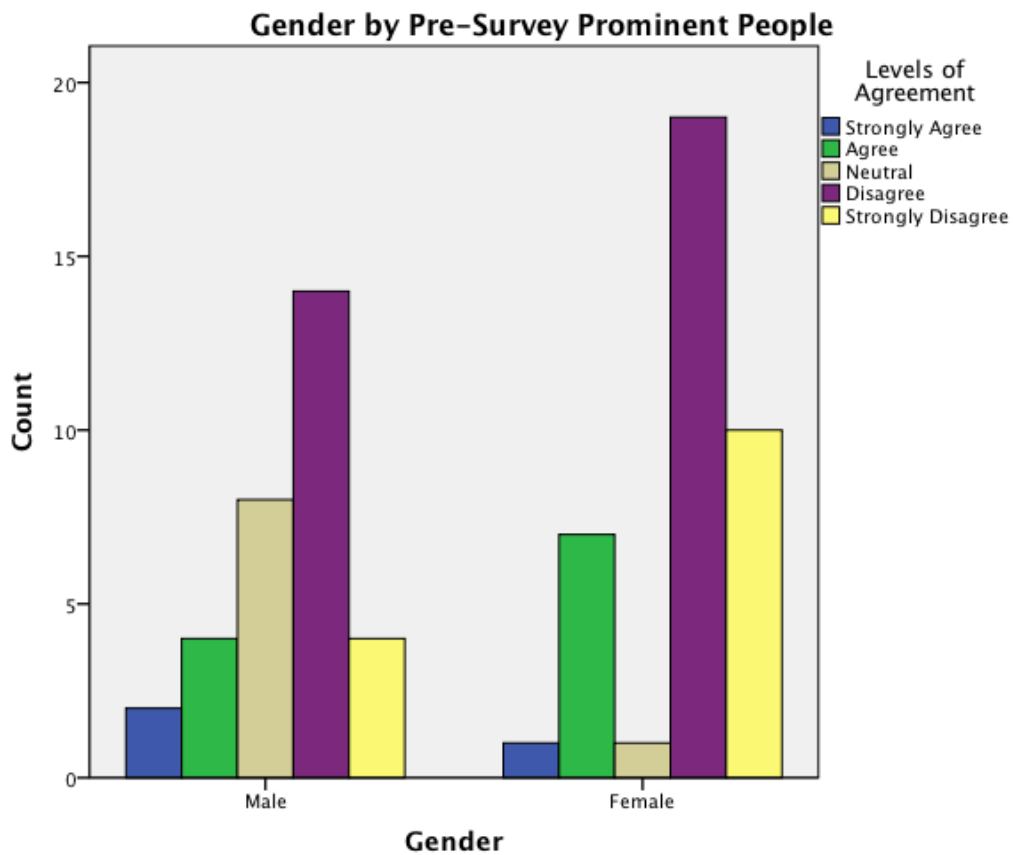
Gender * PreTime Crosstabulation				
			PreTime	Total
			Strongly Disagree	
Gender	Male	Count	8	32
		% within Gender	25.0%	100.0%
	Female	Count	15	38
		% within Gender	39.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	23	70
		% within Gender	32.9%	100.0%



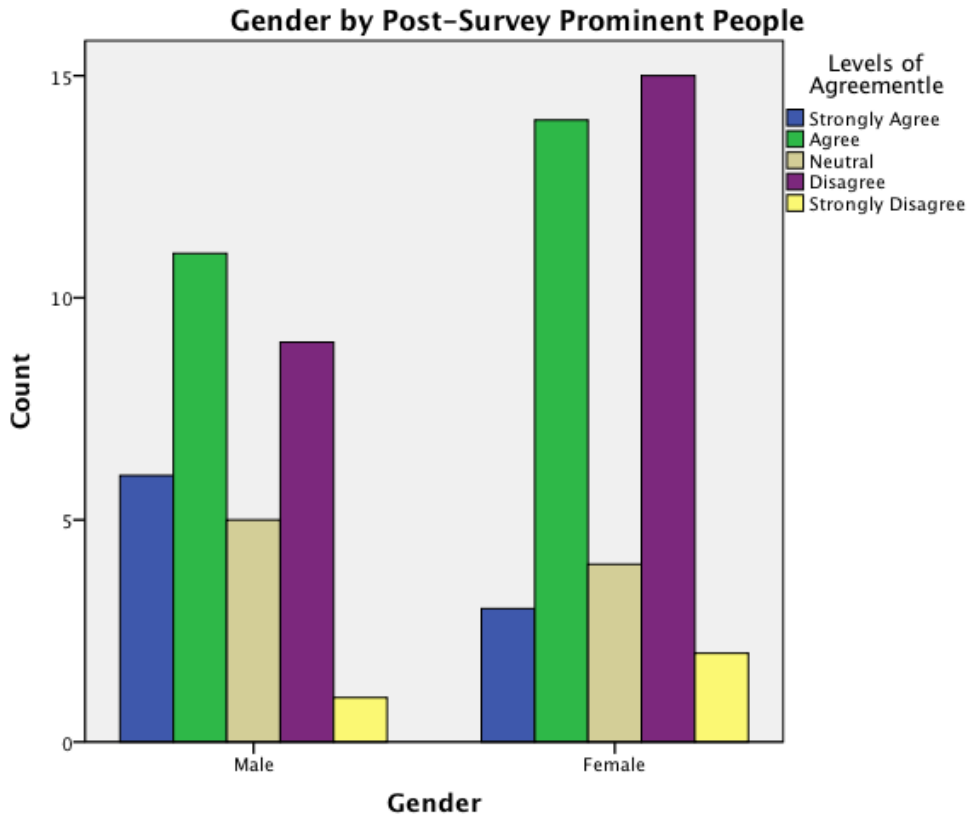
Gender * Post-Survey Spending Time with Aboriginal People								
			PostTime					Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Gender	Male	Count	4	8	5	6	9	32
		% within Gender	12.5%	25.0%	15.6%	18.8%	28.1%	100.0%
	Female	Count	3	5	3	14	13	38
		% within Gender	7.9%	13.2%	7.9%	36.8%	34.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	7	13	8	20	22	70
		% within Gender	10.0%	18.6%	11.4%	28.6%	31.4%	100.0%



Gender * Pre-Survey Prominent People								
			PrePromPeople					Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Gender	Male	Count	2	4	8	14	4	32
		% within Gender	6.3%	12.5%	25.0%	43.8%	12.5%	100.0%
	Female	Count	1	7	1	19	10	38
		% within Gender	2.6%	18.4%	2.6%	50.0%	26.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	3	11	9	33	14	70
		% within Gender	4.3%	15.7%	12.9%	47.1%	20.0%	100.0%

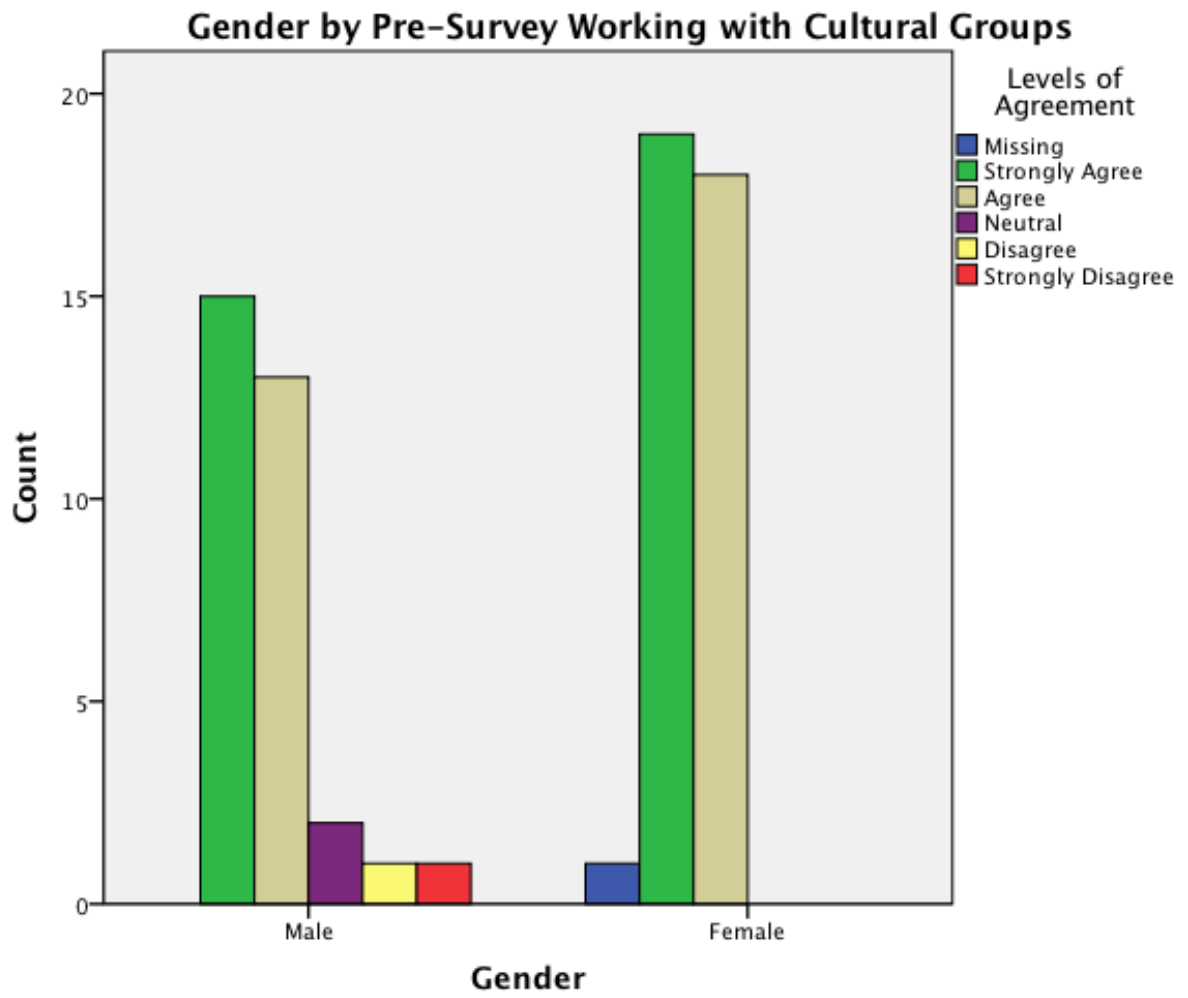


Gender * Post-Survey Prominent People								
			PostPromPeople					Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Gender	Male	Count	6	11	5	9	1	32
		% within Gender	18.8%	34.4%	15.6%	28.1%	3.1%	100.0%
	Female	Count	3	14	4	15	2	38
		% within Gender	7.9%	36.8%	10.5%	39.5%	5.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	9	25	9	24	3	70
		% within Gender	12.9%	35.7%	12.9%	34.3%	4.3%	100.0%

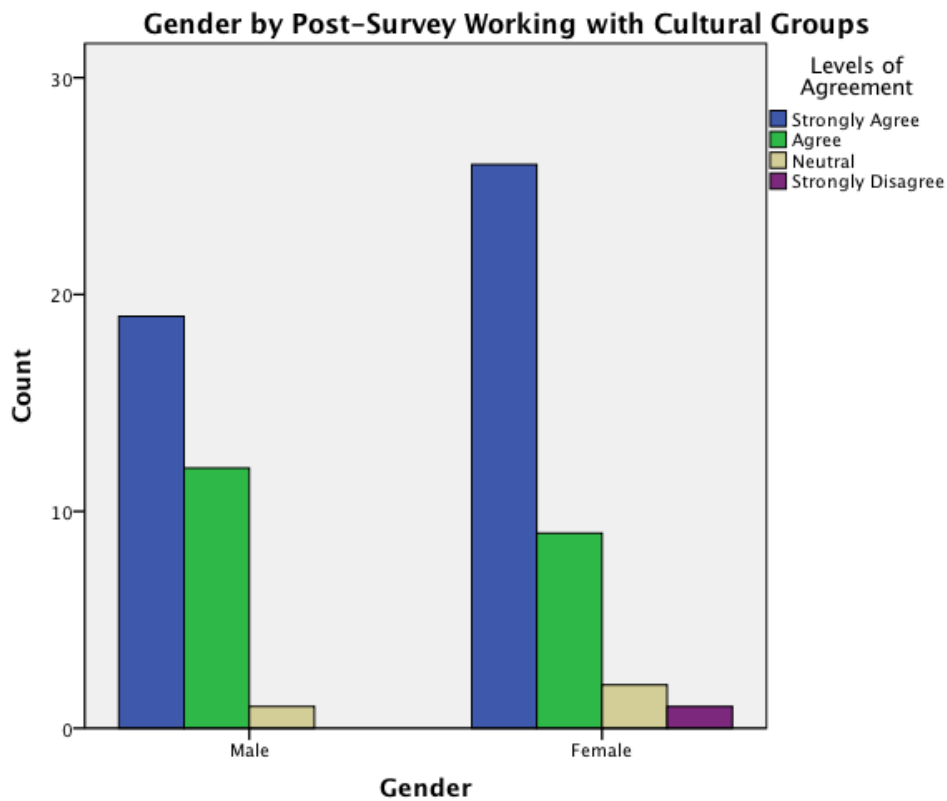


Gender * Pre-Survey Working with Cultural Groups							
		PreCulGroups					
		Strongly					
		Missing	Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	
Gender	Male	Count	0	15	13	2	1
		% within Gender	.0%	46.9%	40.6%	6.3%	3.1%
	Female	Count	1	19	18	0	0
		% within Gender	2.6%	50.0%	47.4%	.0%	.0%
Total		Count	1	34	31	2	1
		% within Gender	1.4%	48.6%	44.3%	2.9%	1.4%

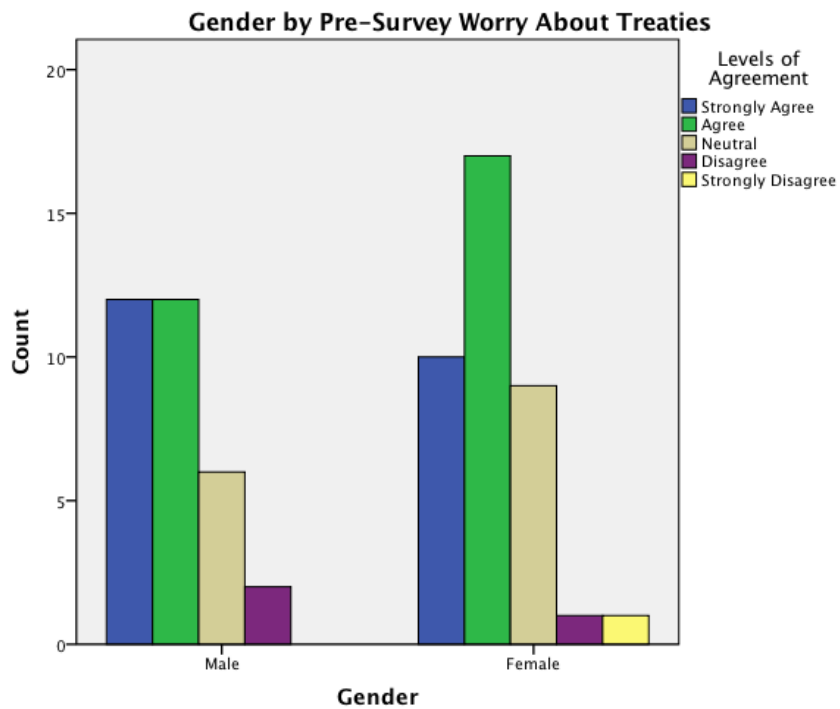
Gender * PreCulGroups Crosstabulation				
		PreCulGroups		Total
		Strongly	Disagree	
Gender	Male	Count	1	32
		% within Gender	3.1%	100.0%
	Female	Count	0	38
		% within Gender	.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	1	70
		% within Gender	1.4%	100.0%



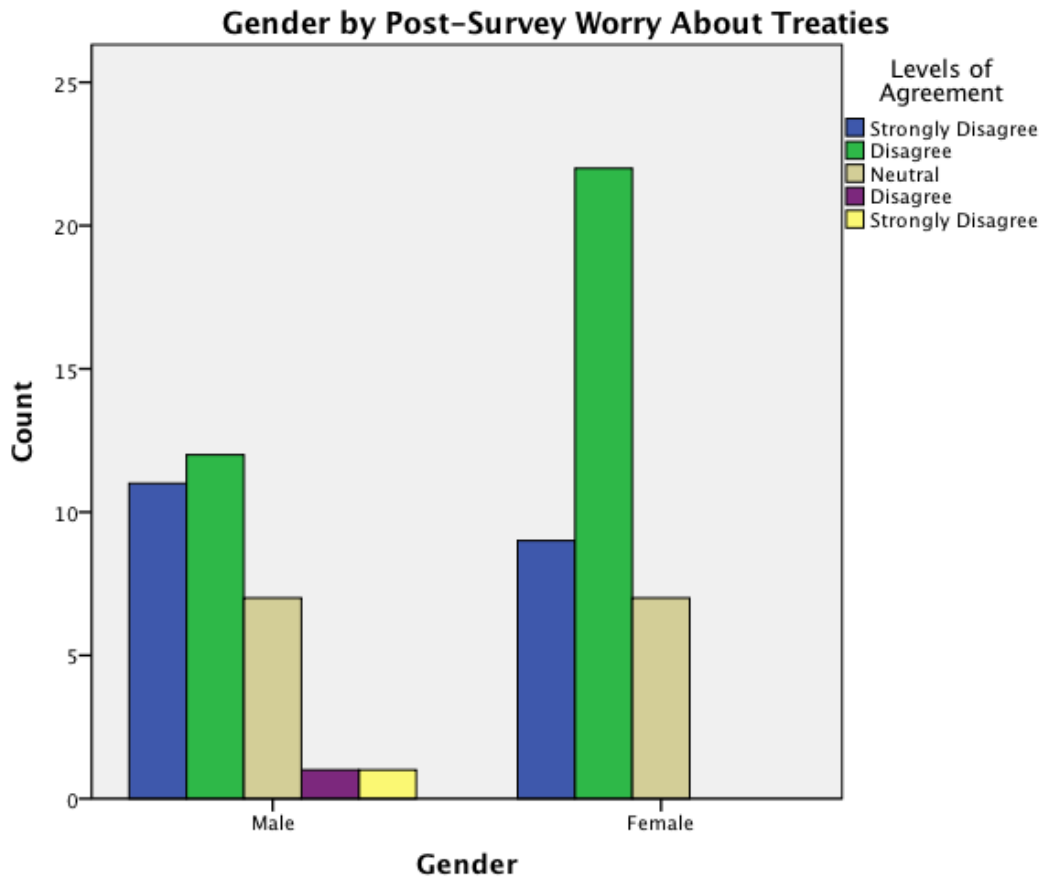
Gender * Post-Survey Working with Cultural Groups							
			PostCulGroups				Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Strongly Disagree	
Gender	Male	Count	19	12	1	0	32
		% within Gender	59.4%	37.5%	3.1%	.0%	100.0%
	Female	Count	26	9	2	1	38
		% within Gender	68.4%	23.7%	5.3%	2.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	45	21	3	1	70
		% within Gender	64.3%	30.0%	4.3%	1.4%	100.0%



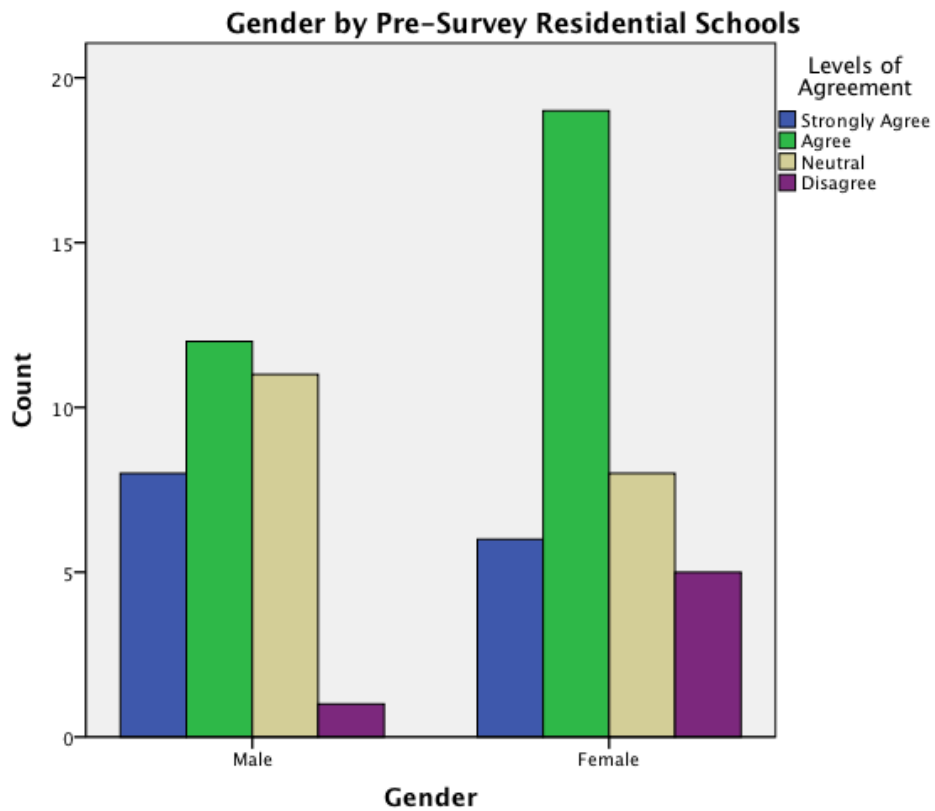
Gender * Pre-Survey Worry About Treaties								
			PreWorry					Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Gender	Male	Count	12	12	6	2	0	32
		% within Gender	37.5%	37.5%	18.8%	6.3%	.0%	100.0%
	Female	Count	10	17	9	1	1	38
		% within Gender	26.3%	44.7%	23.7%	2.6%	2.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	22	29	15	3	1	70
		% within Gender	31.4%	41.4%	21.4%	4.3%	1.4%	100.0%



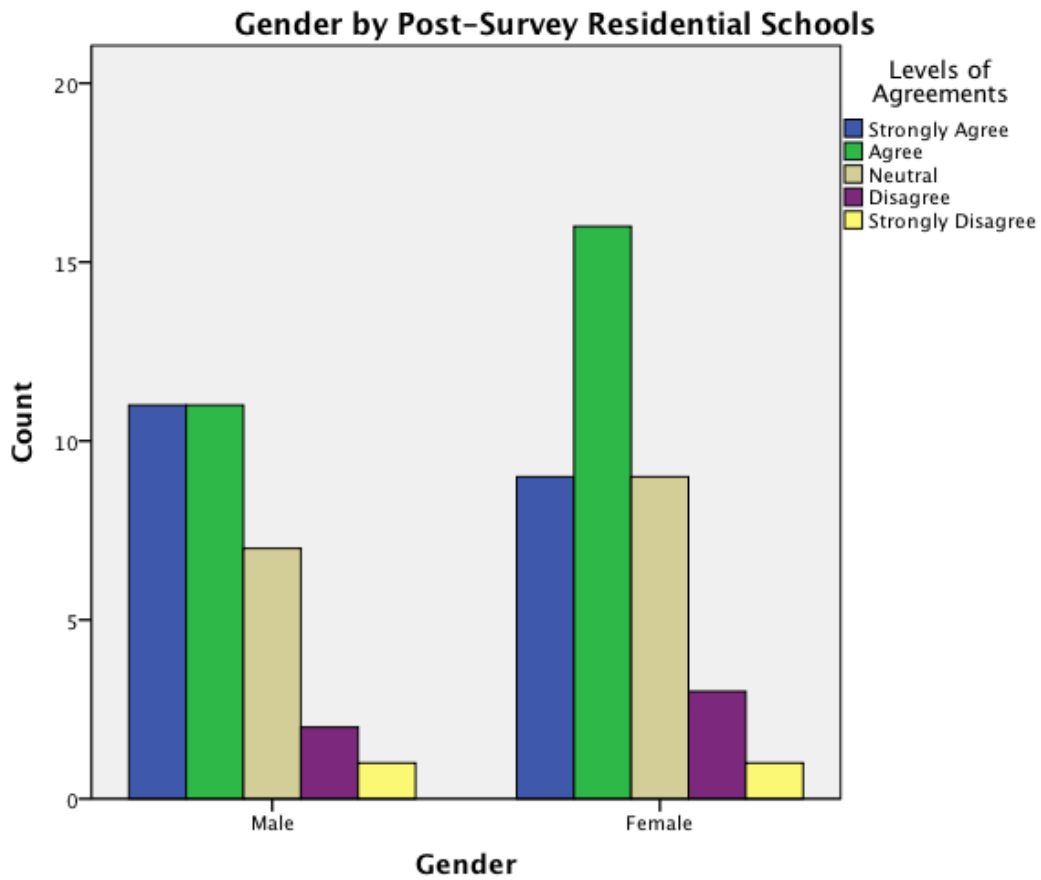
Gender * Post-Survey Worry About Treaties								
			PostWorry					Total
			Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Gender	Male	Count	11	12	7	1	1	32
		% within Gender	34.4%	37.5%	21.9%	3.1%	3.1%	100.0%
	Female	Count	9	22	7	0	0	38
		% within Gender	23.7%	57.9%	18.4%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	20	34	14	1	1	70
		% within Gender	28.6%	48.6%	20.0%	1.4%	1.4%	100.0%



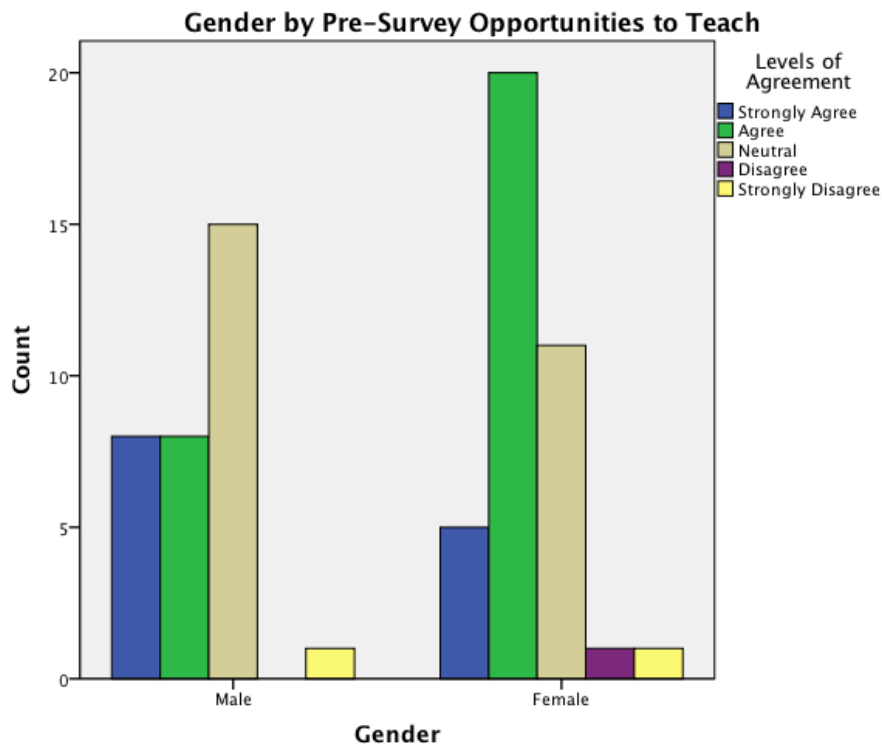
Gender * Pre-Survey Residential Schools							
			PreResSchools				Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	
Gender	Male	Count	8	12	11	1	32
		% within Gender	25.0%	37.5%	34.4%	3.1%	100.0%
	Female	Count	6	19	8	5	38
		% within Gender	15.8%	50.0%	21.1%	13.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	14	31	19	6	70
		% within Gender	20.0%	44.3%	27.1%	8.6%	100.0%



Gender * Post-Survey Residential Schools								
			PostResSchools					Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Gender	Male	Count	11	11	7	2	1	32
		% within Gender	34.4%	34.4%	21.9%	6.3%	3.1%	100.0%
	Female	Count	9	16	9	3	1	38
		% within Gender	23.7%	42.1%	23.7%	7.9%	2.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	20	27	16	5	2	70
		% within Gender	28.6%	38.6%	22.9%	7.1%	2.9%	100.0%



Gender * Pre-Survey Opportunities to Teach								
			PreTeach					Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Gender	Male	Count	8	8	15	0	1	32
		% within Gender	25.0%	25.0%	46.9%	.0%	3.1%	100.0%
	Female	Count	5	20	11	1	1	38
		% within Gender	13.2%	52.6%	28.9%	2.6%	2.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	13	28	26	1	2	70
		% within Gender	18.6%	40.0%	37.1%	1.4%	2.9%	100.0%



Gender * Post-Survey Opportunities to Teach							
			PostTeach				Total
			Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	
Gender	Male	Count	7	17	7	1	32
		% within Gender	21.9%	53.1%	21.9%	3.1%	100.0%
	Female	Count	11	17	9	1	38
		% within Gender	28.9%	44.7%	23.7%	2.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	18	34	16	2	70
		% within Gender	25.7%	48.6%	22.9%	2.9%	100.0%

