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Department of EDUCATION
The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada
Date Jan 10/97
ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research was to investigate the hypothesis that in order to provide equal educational access and outcomes for all students, an emphasis on teacher sensitivity and clarity of instruction is required in a multicultural classroom.

This study offers an in-depth look at varying levels of narrowly defined dominant cultural capital between two different cultural groups within a grade 12 Economics classroom, during May and June of 1996. And if differences in the quantity of narrowly defined cultural capital do, in fact exist, can 'bridging' these knowledge gaps be achieved through clarity of instruction, so that all groups, after receiving the requisite cultural capital, can construct new knowledge effectively.

Since the research was exploratory, a qualitative case study design drawing on ethnographic approaches was employed. Interviews were the primary tool chosen for data collection; the secondary tools were documents and the researcher's field notes.

This study has revealed that the levels of narrowly defined cultural capital were different between cultures, and that the 'playing field' in a multicultural classroom may be levelled to a significant extent with minimal explanations of the necessary cultural capital.

This research highlights the importance of teachers' ongoing assessment of their students knowledge in areas that are non-traditional, and where the knowledge is assumed by the teacher to already be in place.

The study concludes with some suggestions for teacher practice and for future research in the field.
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I would also like to thank my family for their support, and of course, my Economics 12 class of 1996.
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

THE TOWN

The site of this research is a small town of 7,000, which is predominantly a primary resource town, located in the south western portion of British Columbia. The first White settlers to the area were ranchers in the 1860s; at the turn of the century, the main industry was coal mining. Then in the 1960s the town turned to copper mining, and an expansion in the lumbering industry. Today, the town itself has five large lumber mills located in the downtown core and "21 percent of the workforce in Merritt is employed directly by the forest industry and its suppliers" (Price Waterhouse, 1996, p. 2).

In 1967 the last vestiges of discrimination were removed from the 1962 Immigration regulations. Until that time, the regulations contained the provision that allowed:

European immigrants and immigrants from the Americas to sponsor a wider range of relatives. Inserted at the last moment [in 1962] because of a fear that there would be an influx of relatives from India, this clause [was] removed five years later in the immigration regulations of 1967. (Knowles, 1992, p. 143).

When these doors to immigration were opened in 1967, there was a large Indo-Canadian influx to the town, many of whom wanted to work in the local lumber mills. The number of Asians in Merritt tripled between 1961 and 1971, from 149 to 470. (Census of Canada, 1961, p. 101; Census of Canada, 1971, Table 2, p. 2-129). During the period 1967 to 1977, 40 percent of the immigrants born outside of Canada arrived in Merritt. Of these immigrants to Merritt born in other countries, 50 percent were from Asia, and over half were 20 years and
older on arrival in Canada. (BC STATS/British Columbia Business Information Centre, 1991, p. 5 of 10)

The town has been more or less isolated from the rest of the province until ten years ago. Although it was served by rail until the mid 1970s, it was only a spur of the main line; eventually, the town was bypassed by the railway and remained isolated until the Coquihalla Highway was constructed in 1986. Merritt is located at the confluence of the three arms of the Coquihalla Highway, in the Nicola Valley. Since completion of the Coquihalla Highway system tourist visits to the Merritt and Nicola Valley Tourist Information Centre “have been steadily climbing from 54,107 people in 1989 to 271,778 visitors in 1994, and the numbers for 1995 indicate a further increase with visits up 20 percent for the year” (Price Waterhouse, 1996, p. 3). With the construction of the freeway, the town has grown, and has experienced a recent explosion in the service sector. This has been propelled by a small group of local entrepreneurs, mostly Sikh Indo-Canadians, who have constructed motels, gas stations, and fast food restaurants, in order to take advantage of the traffic on the nearby freeway.

As a result of the town’s previous isolation, until recently its hegemony has not been moderated by outside influences. Hegemony refers to the domination of one social class over others, maintained primarily by “the ‘spontaneous’ consent given by the great masses of the of the population ... to the dominant group” (Gramsci, 1947, cited in Christie, 1990, p. 139). The town, until recently, was largely controlled by fundamentalist churches. The previous school district superintendent, in the position for 15 years, was an active
member of one of the fundamentalist churches. The isolation imposed on this
town was probably a decisive factor in the fundamentalist churches obtaining
civic power, both on city council and on the school board. Less than half the
adults of this town have graduated from high school. (BC STATS/British
Columbia Business Information Centre, 1991, p. 5 of 10) While education is
important to the parents of the town, it is not an arena in which they feel
comfortable to criticize, due to the lack of educational success which many of
them experienced in this town or elsewhere.

This isolation also has contributed to the difficulty of ideological and
social change in the town. For example, when a newly elected mayor, from
outside the established hegemony, attempted to introduce professionalism and
accountability to the fire department, the result was arson: the local
Pharmasave, the lumber inventory of a downtown mill yard, and the home of a
'new-guard' fire fighter were all set ablaze. To date, no charges have been laid.

The town's racial mix is approximately 25 percent Indo-Canadians, 25
percent First Nations, one percent Chinese, and the rest, Whites (Kines, 1996,
p. B6; BC STATS/British Columbia Business Information Centre, 1991, p. 4 of
10).

THE SCHOOLS

The town is physically stratified, where the majority of the White, middle
class people live on a hill above the town called the Bench. There are very few
Indo-Canadians, First Nations, or South East Asians living in this area. The
White middle class students all attend the same elementary school, Bench
Elementary, and many middle class White students from outside the catchment area are transported to this 'elite' school. The Indo-Canadians, for the most part, attend the downtown school, near the mills, called Diamondvale Elementary; a small number attend a larger downtown elementary school, Central Elementary.

The students from the socially stratified Bench go directly to the high school in grade 8, whereas the Indo-Canadians generally attend the junior high school in their area through grade 10, before going across town to the high school in grade 11.

In this town, there is one high school, with a population of 550 students in grades 8 through 12. The high school's racial composition of 50 percent Whites, 30 percent First Nations, and 15 percent Indo-Canadians does not reflect the racial composition of the town, because the feeder junior secondary school, grades 7 to 10, with a population of approximately 200 students, delivers a student body which is roughly 80 percent Indo-Canadian, 10 percent First Nations, and 10 percent Whites to the high school in grade 11.

This high concentration of Indo-Canadians within the junior high school suggests that the Indo-Canadians have congregated in a particular area. The junior high school was built to service the neighbourhood. Almost all the Indo-Canadians in this research attended the junior high school in grades 7 through 10.

The school district, in the fall of 1996, struck a restructuring committee, to address the segregation issue. There is a large group who now believe that
it would be best for all the students of Merritt to be split among the two high schools, based on age, rather than location of home. It was decided on November 12, 1996 to educate all the Merritt grade sevens and eights in the old junior high school, and reserve the high school for all students of Merritt, grades nine through twelve. This change will occur in September of 1997, and will do much to remove the segregation and stratification which presently occur in the town containing 2200 students.

THE RESEARCHER

I was born in a town which, at the time, had a similar population to Merritt town today. Like my mother before me, I attended an exclusive, all girls, private school in Vancouver, which operated in the traditional British public school system steeped in Anglo cultural capital, the "knowledge that is associated with the dominant group and thus has the most status in a society" (Nieto, 1992, p. 390).

I received a Bachelor of Arts in social sciences, obtained a secondary school teaching professional certificate, then began to teach Economics, Math, and History in an almost all White, upper middle class urban school in Vancouver, where the student body had virtually the same cultural capital upbringing as myself.

Several years later, I moved to Merritt, where the cultural capital of the students was often very different from my own. In grading students' Economics work, I noticed that their marks were not evenly distributed across the cultures in this liberal arts course. I recognized that I was not getting through to certain
groups, verified by results on assignments and tests. I had a hunch that the central explanation was a lack of clarity of instruction. When I began teaching Economics in this small town which is the site of my research, I performed cross checks on my instructional clarity. This aroused my curiosity to pursue the study of this approach more systematically.

The elementary schools in this town may reflect pedagogical styles similar to those reported by Anyon (1981) in her study "Social Class and School Knowledge". At this town's affluent, almost all White, elementary school, Bench Elementary, "the emphasis [is] on individual development as a primary goal...and on active use of concepts and ideas by students" (p. 35), whereas in the other six largely working class schools, there may be more of a "stress on mechanics or rote behaviours" (p.35). Nieto (1996) concurs:

The curriculum also differs: More sophisticated and challenging knowledge is generally taught in wealthy schools, whereas the "basics" and rote memorization are relegated to poor schools. Therefore, the "sorting" function of the schools, to use a term coined by Spring, results in almost perfect replication of the stratification of society. This is true of all societies. (234)

This potential educational stratification may continue in this town into the higher grades. Most of the Indo-Canadians progress from their elementary schools to the junior high school, situated within or close to their neighbourhoods. When they reach the high school in grade 11, on the other side of the town, the middle class Euro-Canadians have already been in the high school for three years, and the school tone has been set as Euro-Canadian and, to a much lesser extent, a First Nations school. The knowledge that is most valued and has most status with the students and teachers of the high school is Euro-
Canadian, as are the holidays, ceremonies, method of dress and speech, and music. At the high school, in grades 8 through 10, the Indo-Canadians represent approximately 2 percent of the student body in each grade. Then, when these students arrive from the junior high school for grade 11, generally twenty-five to thirty of them, they now represent approximately 25 percent of the senior grades, 11 and 12.

Anyon (1981) suggests that while there were "similarities in curriculum topics and materials, there were also subtle as well as dramatic differences in the curriculum and the curriculum-in-use among the [elementary] schools" (p. 3). This caused reflection on my part; if a non-European cultural group is kept intact until grade 11, within a few schools, then suddenly exposed to a school dominated by the Euro-Canadian students, would this group encounter different methods of teaching in the high school than those to which it had previously been exposed? For while Anyon focussed on the different classes and their varied elementary schools, there is a very real possibility that cultural differences could exacerbate these differences for the students when they reach the high school, if their cultures are different from those of the dominant group.

During the next three years, many small groups of students, mostly Indo-Canadians, approached me, asking me to teach new or more academic courses. The common refrain was "We'll take anything that you teach; we understand you". The question emerged for me: is there a connection between Anyon's beliefs about hegemonic reproduction in the elementary schools, and my appeal for these students? Specifically, was I somehow making links and
building bridges for these students between their cultural capital, and that of the dominant group, the Euro-Canadians; links that were essential to full comprehension in a classroom? And could this be due to my exposure as a teacher to two such divergent schools, an upper middle class, mostly White school in Vancouver, and Merritt Secondary; divergent in terms of culture and socio-economic status?

I had commenced the Master’s program in Curriculum and Instruction, and during my research, studied the concept of ‘cultural capital’. I began to tie together:

- clarity of instruction
- multiculturalism, and
- cultural capital.

Informally, I noticed a connection, but I felt the need to formalize the investigation; hence, the topic for this thesis was born.

CULTURAL GROUPS IN THIS STUDY

Anglo: Someone of British extraction or heritage; a term often used to refer to the cultural capital of the dominant group in Canada.

Euro-Canadians: White Canadians of European ancestry, and one of the two cultural groups researched in this study.

Indo-Canadians: For this investigation, Indo-Canadians refers to a specific cultural and religious group, the Sikhs, who largely emigrated from the Punjab to this town in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This was one of two cultural groups researched in this study.
CULTURAL CAPITAL

Cultural capital refers to "the forms of knowledge, the aptitudes, and the skills required for success within the dominant group" (Kincheloe, 1991, p. 7).

In Canada the cultural capital is largely British, due to the historical past of colonialism. According to Pierre Bourdieu (1986):

cultural capital can exist in three forms: in the embodied state, i.e. in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the objectified state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of the theories, problematics, etc.; and in the institutionalized state, a form of objectification which must be set apart because ... it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee. (p. 243)

Embodied capital "cannot be transmitted instantaneously" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 245) and since it is linked to a person and is "subject to hereditary transmission which is always heavily disguised or even invisible ... it is predisposed to function as symbolic capital" (p. 245).

Since the process and the time required to obtain embodied cultural capital:

depend on the cultural capital embodied in the whole family ... the initial accumulation of cultural capital, the precondition for the fast, easy accumulation of every kind of useful cultural capital, starts at the outset, without delay, without wasted time, only for the offspring of families endowed with cultural capital. (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 246)

This is of particular significance for non Euro-Canadians, as their cultural capital is the least congruent with that of the dominant group in our society, Anglo culture. For students from non Euro-Canadian families, often their first exposure to Anglo cultural capital is in the schools; hence the need for sensitivity to the differences in cultures within the classroom. According to
Nieto, (1996):

Some values, tastes, languages, dialects, and cultures have more status, and these are invariably associated with the dominant group ... Thus, to imply that working-class students and students from dominated groups need not learn the cultural norms of the dominant group is effectively to disempower the very same students who are most unsuccessful in schools. (p. 233)

THE RESEARCH

An explorative case study design drawing upon ethnographic approaches was employed to determine if narrowly defined levels of cultural capital existed between the two groups studied. Differing levels emerged, indicating a possible need for sensitivity and clarity of instruction by the teacher in a multicultural classroom.
[Racism]: whatever acts or institutional procedures help create or perpetuate sets of advantages or privileges for whites and exclusions or deprivations for minority groups....

To speak of institutional white racism does not mean that everyone who is white consciously or unconsciously believes that all whites are innately superior and that all blacks or minority group members are innately inferior. Nor does it suggest that persons believing or acting in ways that maintain white privilege are operating on conscious and evil intentions. In some cases racist policies, acts, and attitudes are fairly actively and overtly pursued; in other cases they may be more passive responses awaiting articulation and mobilization. But in whatever way persons or institutions contribute to the social condition wherein minorities receive lesser social and economic rewards, they help maintain racial injustice and racism. (Chesler, 1976, p. 22)

The theories of race and educational reform will first be briefly addressed, followed by a discussion of a specific immigrant minority, the Indo-Canadian Sikhs, with reference made to cultural capital and the Indo-Canadian Sikhs' techniques for success. The educational system will be considered in terms of various studies, and finally, the teacher's role in 'levelling the playing field' will be examined. For as John Dewey said in 1916, "the maldistribution of material goods is reflected in an even greater maldistribution of cultural goods" (cited in Kincheloe, 1991, p. 3).

**APPROACHES TO RACE AND EDUCATION REFORM**

The issue of race and education reform can be roughly divided into two main factions: mainstream and neo-Marxist (McCarthy, 1990). Mainstream educators consist of neo-conservatives and liberals. The neo-conservatives espouse four guiding principles:
1. An end to state-sponsored preferences to minorities,... and its replacement by a policy that grants rewards based on a system of merit.

2. An end to the steady dilution of the school curriculum by the infusion of politically motivated subject matter.

3. The reintroduction ...of a rigorous, academically-oriented core curriculum that stresses desirable aesthetic, social, intellectual and moral values that are best exemplified in the history, philosophy, literature and scientific achievements of 'western culture' (Bloom, 1987, cited in McCarthy, 1990).

4. The introduction of state-instituted programs that require minority underclasses to 'work' rather that to rely on 'handouts'. (McCarthy, 1990, p. 106)

The second group of mainstream curriculum reformers, the liberals, take the view that the school system is essentially neutral, open to rational arguments, and is ultimately reversible if schools "take appropriate action to eliminate prejudice and guarantee equality of opportunity" (McCarthy, 1990, p. 101). The liberals espouse three guiding principles:

1. initiatives to improve schooling such as compensatory education and Headstart,

2. increasing minority representation among teachers and administrators,
3. curricular reform, with emphasis on minority history, language, and achievement.

More radical than the two mainstream curricular reform groups are the neo-Marxists, who divide into two groups: the structuralists and the culturalists. The neo-Marxist structuralists are more concerned with changing the essential inequities which flow from "the structural relations of exploitation and domination that determine inequality in capitalist America" and they view reformist policies in education as "merely providing temporary band-aids to a system that is inherently oppressive" (McCarthy, 1990, p. 109).

To structuralists, educational reform is accorded secondary importance in the struggle against capitalist oppression, with the role of the teacher being "that of a subversive, who, on the one hand, works toward democratization of the school process, and on the other hand, attempts to build organic links with politically active movements within the community" (McCarthy, 1990, pp. 110-111).

The second group of neo-Marxists, the culturalists, perceive curricular reform as having a greater role than do the structuralists. Critical literacy is emphasized, whereby students become more aware of the "structures of decision-making in the state and in the economy that effectively work to perpetuate the marginalization of oppressed minorities and working-class men and women" (p. 113).
In terms of race and educational reform, mainstream reformers are more concerned with the micro or school level, and neo-Marxists concentrate on the more macro level of society as a whole, offering less structured suggestions than do mainstream camps, for educational reform. However, the essence of this research appears to be neo-Marxist and structuralist in nature: the cultural capital which is required in liberal arts courses is not evenly distributed among the Euro-Canadian and Indo-Canadian groups, making the schooling process a tool of hegemonic reproduction, rather than part of a true democracy.

This study will address the needs of a specific immigrant minority, the Indo-Canadian Sikhs, to have access to the cultural capital of the dominant culture, in order to obtain educational and economic equality. The study will first discuss racial and class inequality, and the need for teacher awareness of the situation, followed by the researcher’s position being outlined.

**ECONOMIC INEQUALITY IN CANADA**

Li (1988) in his book, *Ethnic Inequality in a Class Society*, explores the influence of ethnic origin on the education level, class position, and income levels of 17 ethnic groups, to determine whether ethnicity or ethnic origin affect the educational and economic opportunities for Canadians. He posits that a significant reason for the persistence of racism in Canada is due to the colonial experiences of the western European nations, and their historical biases against the indigenous peoples of the colonies, attitudes which have been carried forward into the present.

Li analyzed the effect of education on income by plotting the level of
schooling against the level of earnings, resulting in the average earnings for each given level of schooling for each of the 17 ethnic groups. According to Li's analysis, "the North Europeans -- the Dutch, Germans, and Scandinavians -- have a relatively high starting income; the non-whites are among those with the lowest base income [income level for no years of schooling]. The effect of education on income for Chinese and blacks [the only non-white census data categories available], however, is better than the national average" (p. 101).

"For the non-whites, the effect of schooling on income is relatively high, but their overall earnings tend to be lower than Jews, the British, and North Europeans because of a low base income" (p. 108).

Li posits that after adjusting for differences in schooling, age, nativity, gender, class, industrial sectors, and the number of weeks worked, substantial income differences are exposed in Canadian society that can be attributed directly to ethnic origin. "The net ethnic differences in earnings indicate that Jews have the most income advantage due to their origin, whereas Blacks, Chinese and Greeks face the most discrimination because of their origin" (p. 127). Li concludes that the two non-white groups studied, Chinese and Blacks, have educational levels higher than the national average, yet despite their educational advantage, "both groups suffer a loss of income due to their origin when education differences are accounted for. When variations in all variables are adjusted for, both groups still suffer the worst income discrimination which is attributable to their origin....The Canadian income structure remains differentiated along ethnic and racial lines...[with those of]
non-white origins at the bottom" (pp. 137-138).

EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SIKHS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

Li's findings have significant implications for the education of non Euro-Canadian immigrant minorities. When the effects of ethnic origin on earnings by including schooling, ethnicity, nativity, gender, and age on earnings are tested, the non Euro-Canadians "continue to have income levels which are substantially below the national average" (p. 115).

The base earning levels for non Euro-Canadians are the lowest of all, and the increase in earnings per year up to 18 years of schooling, is significantly higher than the national average, 17 percent for Blacks and 20 percent for Chinese. There are obvious incentives to stay in school, assuming the ethnic inequalities for Sikhs are similar to those of other non Euro-Canadians in Canada. The further that non Euro-Canadians are able to go to in the schooling process, the higher their incomes, with rewards per additional year of schooling greater for non Euro-Canadians than any ethnic group in Canada except the Jews and the Czech/Slovaks.

This researcher suggests that increasing a teacher's clarity of instruction by sensitivity to cultural capital differences between the dominant culture and the immigrant culture, will make schooling more equitable and accessible for immigrant groups, for whom the economic benefits are relatively high. Levelling the playing field regarding access to the requisite cultural capital required for liberal arts courses, opens up many more options for non Euro-Canadians to pursue their educations in culturally embedded fields.
THE NORTH AMERICAN SIKHS AS AN IMMIGRANT MINORITY

The Sikh culture, like all cultures, is not static; it is changing as it adapts to North American culture. "Ethnic groups are not primordial units of human relationship. They form, dissolve, and change their boundaries and their bases of their group identity" (Spickard, 1994, p. 159). Spickard maintains that ethnicity consists of three components: shared ancestry, shared interests, and shared institutions. But the host country to a large degree, affects the shared interests. According to Spickard, shared interests refer to political or economic interests, and "while interests may bring a group together initially, interests change easily--they are external to the group" (p. 161).

The Sikhs' attitude toward education can be viewed from this framework. The Sikhs who have emigrated to Canada and the United States are generally from the Jat caste. They are members, from birth, of a landowning class in India. According to Gibson (1987a) education for the Jats in India has little value:

In India, Jat Sikh farm families have traditionally placed no great emphasis on all their children becoming educated. Secondary and postsecondary education for females not only has not been considered a priority, it has been discouraged. In rural Punjab, furthermore, formal education for Jat Sikh women has had little function as there were, and still are, no jobs apart from household chores which they can perform. (p. 304)

When the early Sikhs came to British Columbia, there was still little incentive for education:

As British subjects, Sikhs had the right to vote in all elections. This was viewed as posing a threat to the existing government, since it meant that a significant block of votes -- there were 5,000 Sikhs -- might go to another political party more sensitive to human rights, immigration and
fair play. So in 1907, the government of British Columbia passed a bill to disenfranchise all natives of India not born of Anglo-Saxon parents. (Jagpal, 1994, pp. 23-24)

Buchignani (cited in Jagpal, 1994) reports that:

Although exclusion from the voters’ list did not legally restrict [the Sikhs] from public service, this became a universal practice. Public works contracts specified that they not be employed. The same restriction applied to the sale of Crown timber, and the professions of law and pharmacy were informally closed to them. (p. 90)

The Jat Sikhs were not an educated group of immigrants, but the loss of the vote further diminished the value of education for them. They did not regain the vote for another 40 years, in 1947. With re-enfranchisement and later, with the change in the immigration policy towards non-Whites in 1967, with an emphasis on the point system, the interests in education radically changed within the Canadian Sikh community. That is, the interests of this immigrant group were determined to a significant extent, by the politics and economics of their environment.

Gibson (1987b) reports “objective chances for upward mobility clearly influence minorities’ expectations about the value of formal education, but so too do their subjective views regarding their chances to get ahead in society” (p. 272). Gibson and Bhacchu (1991) discuss the changes that have occurred in the Sikh community; this group now perceives:

a strong positive correlation between the amount of education one has and the type of employment one can expect to obtain (p. 73). As the Sikh case makes clear, however, a group’s theories of success, including its educational beliefs, are not rigidly defined, but are in a constant state of negotiation. (p. 89)

These changed shared interests are due to the changed political and economic
conditions experienced by the group.

Ogbu (1991) views minorities as falling into one of two categories, immigrant or voluntary, and caste-like or involuntary. Wolcott (1987b) when describing the involuntary minority First Nations of Blackfish Village, suggests:

More appropriate to antagonistic acculturation as manifested in school might be an analogy to a prisoner-of-war camp. Prisoners-of-war -- inmates and captors alike -- are faced with the probability that a long period of time may ensue during which their statuses remain unchanged. While great hostility on the part of either group might be present in the relationship, it is not essential to it, because the enmity is not derived from individual or personal antagonism. (p. 145)

On the other hand, the Sikh immigrants of the last 40 years illustrate the reasons for success of immigrant groups to North America: they view barriers as temporary: time, hard work, and most importantly education will remove them, and the dominant society is not the enemy. They view any societal exclusions as due to their "foreignness"; they do not speak the language of the host country well because they received their education elsewhere. They trust the system and believe their opportunities are better for themselves and their children than they were in the Punjab. "The Sikhs also believe that their best weapon against job discrimination is a good education" (Ogbu, 1991, p. 11).

Gibson (1987b) analyzed school performance data for 2100 students grades nine through 12 attending a California high school. She found that:

Punjabi students who received all of their education in the United States did quite well academically....Punjabis' grades equalled or, in the case of boys, surpassed those of majority [white] peers. The Punjabi boys, moreover, took more upper-level, college preparatory math and science classes than did the majority group males or females. This was in keeping with their aspirations for careers in computer science,
Gibson and Bhachu (1991) found that:

The Sikh boys, furthermore, as a group, took significantly more advanced academic courses than their white Valleysider classmates, male or female. Thirty-seven percent of those sampled took four years each of science or math compared to less than 15 percent of their majority-group classmates. (p. 68)

This is consistent with Jackson's (1987) findings. In a large high school in Vancouver, British Columbia, Jackson found that immigrant minority groups often either choose or are channelled by the school system into selecting math, physics, chemistry, and accounting courses. Jackson believes that channeling students into accounting because they want to be chartered accountants has "the general effect of limiting and narrowing future options for students rather than expanding them" (p. 166). She goes on to say "the benefits of this kind of schooling are primarily short-term, and it may actually serve as a handicap to further educational and employment opportunity" (p. 171).

People of Chinese origin constitute a significant component of the accounting profession in this urban area. Jackson describes the attitude of the school, whereby immigrant students are expected to take algebra, physics, chemistry, and accounting because these courses do not require a lot of language usage so the students can achieve high grades in these courses. But she states "educational policy concerned with ethnicity cannot have more than a limited impact on the organized social inequality which it claims to address" (p. 182). Ng (1987), when discussing Jackson's findings, suggests:
The students themselves also actively construct their experiences of schooling in relation to labour market demands. They come to make use of the resources in the schools differently in terms of their perceptions of the objective relations of production. An example is how the Chinese students [in Jackson's study] perceive their aspirations and career options to be lodged in the Canadian labour market and then construct their relation to it through the process of schooling. (p. 187)

Wong (1995) expresses concern with what he calls a risk-aversive strategy. He feels it results in "many Asian [American] students fail[ing] to develop adequate oral or written skills in English" (p. 231). Asian high school students employ this risk-aversive strategy by taking "an over-concentration in advanced courses in science and mathematics and a minimal concentration of English courses" (p. 232). When in college and university, this same strategy is employed, with the effect that their long-term goals may be severely curtailed.

Their lack of facility with the English language, whether involving written and/or oral communication skills, may place an insurmountable barrier to their further socioeconomic and career advancement. (p. 232)

Suzuki (cited in Wong, 1995) argues that because of their concentration in the technical fields, Asian American students are being educated for lower white collar positions to be technocrats, and are not being educated for decision-making administrative positions. The concern is that true equality of access is not presently operational, in that immigrant minorities do not perceive the liberal arts courses in the secondary schools as viable alternatives in their course selections.
CULTURAL CAPITAL AND HEGEMONY

Hegemony refers to domination of one social class over others. Gramsci (1947) developed the concept of hegemony to refer to:
forms of supremacy obtained primarily by consent rather than by coercion, by 'moral and intellectual leadership' rather than by domination....Consent is the 'normal' form of hegemonic control in bourgeois society, with coercion visible only in moments of particular crisis. (cited in Christie, 1990, p. 139)

Gramsci states that the functions of hegemony and political government involve:
The 'spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this 'consent' is historically' caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production. (cited in Christie, 1990, p. 139)

For Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), the concept of cultural capital, or cultural knowledge, is central to the issue of reproduction of the hegemony in society. They posit that cultural congruency, or similarity of cultural knowledge, between student and teacher, is a significant factor in student success all through the school years. Mehan (1987) concurs: "schools are also places where cultural capital matters and decisions are made on the basis of particularistic consideration" (p. 132).

Bourdieu and Passeron, in their study of French students, determined that urban students, whatever their social background, scored better on university entrance tests, than did their rural counterparts, and among working class students, the residence-related difference is most marked. This study did not take multicultural variables into consideration, but there is a very real possibility that being a working class Sikh immigrant from a rural area would not
If teachers could be made more aware of these differences in cultural capital which exist within their classroom, and the way in which interpersonal communication conspires to reinforce this inequity, they could, through clarity of instruction, make every effort to confirm that all students had access to the cultural capital necessary for scholastic success. In culturally embedded liberal arts courses, immigrant students would then be better prepared for success in these course areas. Bourdieu (1986) posits:

The initial accumulation of cultural capital, the precondition for the fast, easy accumulation of every kind of useful cultural capital, starts at the outset, without delay, without wasted time, only for the offspring of families endowed with strong cultural capital; in this case, the accumulation period covers the whole period of socialization. It follows that the transmission of cultural capital is no doubt the best hidden form of hereditary transmission of capital, and it therefore receives proportionately greater weight in the system of reproduction strategies, as the direct, visible forms of transmission tend to be more strongly censored and controlled. (p. 246)

Kincheloe (1991) challenges the notion of Social Darwinism whereby:

the strongest and most resourceful will gain the rewards and privileges; the weakest will fall by the wayside into demeaning situations. The position is inherently naive as it fails to question the forces which privilege certain groups and impede others. Success, thus, is founded not simply on one's resourcefulness but on one's initial acquaintance (often attained through socio-economic background) with the forms of knowledge, the aptitudes, and the skills required for success, often called 'cultural capital'. (p. 7)

CULTURAL CAPITAL AND THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER

The Coleman Report of 1966 found "that what accounted for most of the differences in pupil achievement among schools was attributable to one factor, the socioeconomic status (SES) of the pupils and the community....Reanalysis
of the Coleman data by Jencks et al. (1972), and a more recent study by
Walberg and Fowler (1987) found that SES overwhelms all other variables in its
to predict student achievement" (Cruikshank, 1990, pp. 20-21). But
Coleman felt there is hope:

Improving the school of a minority pupil will increase his [sic] achievement more than will improving the school of a white child improve his [sic]. In short, whites and to a lesser extent Oriental Americans are less affected one way or the other by the quality of their schools than are minority pupils. (Coleman, 1966, cited in Cruikshank, 1990, p. 21)

Thirty years later Giroux (1993) voiced similar sentiments:

I argue that educators ... need to take up the issue of language around a politics of difference, one that provides the conditions for teachers, students, and others to learn the knowledge and skills necessary to live in a manner in which they have the opportunity to govern and shape society, rather than being consigned to its margins. (p. 157)

According to Hirsch et al. (1993), literate national language and culture are school-transmitted cultures, and "viewed in a long, historical perspective, it has been the school, not the home, that has been the decisive factor in achieving mass literacy" (p. xiv). This has strong implications for the role of a teacher in a multicultural classroom, where the students come from vastly different cultures, many of which may not be congruent with the cultural capital of the dominant culture in society, where "80 percent of literate culture has been in use for more than a hundred years" (p. xiv).

Clarity of instruction cannot occur if all students do not have the same requisite building blocks on which to build new knowledge. In order for students to achieve higher levels of concepts in the classroom, "specific essential prerequisite understandings" must precede exposure to the higher
level concepts (Eustace, 1969, p. 452). The fundamental premise of this thesis is that dominant cultural capital is 'essential prerequisite understandings', that the teacher must be sensitive to differences within the class, and must, through clarity of instruction, transmit those understandings within the classroom.

Canada changed its immigration policies in 1967, no longer restricting immigration due to colour of skin. In 1982, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms replaced the British North America Act, and guaranteed fundamental freedoms and democratic rights to all. As such, all students should have equality of educational access, and equality of educational opportunity, whereby each student, regardless of culture of origin, should have equal access to knowledge of the dominant culture. In this manner, all students in a classroom would have the same requisite building blocks upon which all students can build new, higher level liberal arts knowledge. But the "roots of racism and unequal treatment in the schools are so deep, and the practices so subtle, that it has been difficult to identify them, much less change their course" (Bennett & LeCompte, 1990, p. 205).

CLASSROOM REFORM

As mentioned at the start of this chapter, there are two main camps of education and race reform: mainstream and neo-Marxists, which further subdivide into neo-conservatives and liberals in the mainstream group, and structuralists and culturalists in the neo-Marxist group. Yet I cannot firmly place myself, as a teacher in rural British Columbia, in any one category.
The neo-conservatives are riding the crest of right wing politics in the United States, and Canada cannot be far behind. This implies 'back to the basics', choice schools, and a narrowing of the focus and outlook of the school system. While I do not perceive this move as positive, as a teacher in a multicultural classroom I must be aware of the rigorous academically-oriented core curriculum that university bound students require in order to be competitive.

I believe that the capitalist structure needs a working class, and through the school system, capitalism promotes a basic inequity and injustice for working class and minority students. Yet from my micro level, I feel I cannot serve my students’ best (and immediate) interests by embracing neo-Marxist philosophies, except in the subversive sense, working toward “democratization of the school process” (McCarthy, 1990, p. 111).

I advocate two of the tenets of liberal mainstream reform, (a) initiatives to improve schooling, and (b) increasing minority representation among teachers and educators, and the attending concept that curricular reform with its emphasis on minority history, language, and achievement serves the interests of immigrant minority groups.

However I believe that this legitimization and empowerment of minorities is not enough. I posit the teacher must be sensitive to the cultural capital differences that exist between the mainstream and the immigrant students, and provide the linkages for the non Euro-Canadian students. One way to do this is to make teaching more effective through greater clarity of instruction. The Sikh
students of British Columbia largely subscribe to the skills valued by the dominant culture, appreciate the education system, and believe success comes from accommodation with (but not assimilation by) the educational system (Gibson, 1991). After seven years of teaching in Merritt I believe that in the classroom Indo-Canadian students are less interested in learning about their own culture than they are in the opportunity for success in the dominant one. Knowledge of dominant cultural capital appears to be a means to an end: the parents in Gibson's and Bhachu's (1991) study encouraged the Sikh children to "take up the good values, but leave the rest" (p. 76), and "mix with white peers while in school, but outside of school they were expected to socialize with other Sikhs" (Gibson and Bhanchu, 1991, p. 77). The Sikh parents believe that maintaining a separation of culture between home and school is an important key to success in the dominant society.

Liston and Zeichner (1990) believe that children from different backgrounds vary from one another, and that:

the denial of differences obscure[s] the need for knowledge of how ...children's cultural backgrounds might be quite different from those of some of [the teacher's] white children....This lack of familiarity obstructs [the teacher's] understanding of the child, and therefore the instructional process. (p. 622)

This does not mean that the teacher is involved with teaching about the dominated cultures, where "the white man still arrogates the privilege to tell Third World individuals, without any hesitation or consideration, they should be taught to be dewesternized" (Minh-ha, 1987, cited in McLaren, 1991, p. 245).
To assume, as members of the dominant culture, a privileged position as 'postcultural' subjects with respect to the attitudes and practices of the 'other' is to participate in a procession of colonial modes of thought, in the advance guard of a dominant pedagogy. (McLaren, 1991, p. 246)

Rather, as teachers, we need to recognize the needs of our students to succeed in the educational system of the dominant culture. There are severe limits for us to change the larger system of injustice, but within our own classrooms, we can make a difference. Sarap (1986) maintains that "compared with black children, white children have a hidden subsidy when they enter the classroom" (p. 5). It is not that non-white children are culturally deprived, but rather, they have fewer opportunities to develop specific skills and knowledge demanded by the schools (Sarap, 1986). We must consider, as educators that "the possibility of remaining ignorant of other cultures is a luxury uniquely available to members of any dominant group" (Howard, 1993, p. 38). Giroux (1983) maintains:

To argue that working-class language practices are just as rule-governed as standard English usage and practice may be true, but to suggest at the same time that all cultures are equal is to forget that subordinate groups are often denied access to power, knowledge, and resources that allow them to lead self-determined existences. (cited in Nieto, 1996, p. 233)

In any given social formation, legitimate culture, that is the culture endowed with the dominant legitimacy, is "nothing other than the dominant culture arbitrary insofar as it is misrecognized in its objective truth as a cultural arbitrary and as the dominant cultural arbitrary" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p. 23). Given the dominant culture, the academic route to success within it, and the students' desires to succeed within it, we as educators must "attempt to
educate the masses in a way that allows them accessibility to high status
knowledge and places them on an equal footing to compete” (Gordon, 1985, p. 37).

If learning ability depends not only on broad knowledge, but also on the
shared knowledge, then it is imperative that teachers ensure that what they
perceive as shared knowledge is shared by all students in the class, not just
those with cultural capital congruent with the teacher’s. If this knowledge is not
shared by all, it acts as a kind of filter for success, for:

We learn most easily when we attach the new to the old, new things
faster and more easily than people who do not know very much....The
basic axiom of learning is that the easiest way to learn something new is
to associate it with something we already know. (Hirsch et al., 1993,
pp. xii)

And if the teacher erroneously assumes that the students already know
the concept upon which the next is to be built, those students will be less likely
to succeed in the new topic. Sensitivity to differences in cultural capital, and
clarity of instruction whereby the teacher ensure adequate explanations of the
culturally embedded concepts are available to all students, will contribute to
equality of access and equality of educational opportunity.

According to Murphy and Ucelli (1991) “you can wind up inadvertently
reaffirming your privilege when, out of guilt, you simply don’t acknowledge that
you have cultural capital that others need, and help them to access it” (p. 201).
And Moodley critically comments on the claims of multiculturalism as compared
to day to day realities where, “teaching and learning take place predominantly
through the medium of the English language, and where success is strongly
dependent on how well dominant mainstream norms, lifestyles and accents can be emulated" (Moodley, 1992, p. 8).

Troyna (1993) cites a study conducted by Green whereby teachers were identified as members of two distinct groups: ethnically highly tolerant teachers and ethnically highly intolerant teachers, using a revised version of the British Ethnocentrism Scale.

A comparative analysis of the classroom behaviour of these groups revealed that highly intolerant teachers gave their Afro-Caribbean pupils less individual attention, only minimal praise, more authoritative instructions, and fewer opportunities to initiate contributions to class discussions. Green also found that the mean self-concept scores of Afro-Caribbean pupils taught by 'highly intolerant teachers' were significantly lower than those of their black peers who were taught by 'highly tolerant teachers'. If, as Green suggests, teachers' racial attitudes are translated into classroom action, then this is likely to circumscribe the level of educational achievement of black children. Following on from this, and its relationship to our stated ethical position, the imperative must be for educational researchers to develop interventionist strategies which mitigate these clear-cut forms of unequal treatment and contribute towards equity in the treatment of all students within educational settings. (p. 110)

CLARITY OF INSTRUCTION

For immigrant students in rural areas, teacher sensitivity to the need for clarity in a multicultural classroom has special significance. Arends (1991) describes a six month study of 25 school districts in 21 states, and observed lessons in 30 high school classrooms. The researchers discovered that:

recitation teaching is very much alive in the rural schools of America....In 75 percent of the classrooms, they reported seeing mainly recitation teaching with teachers who talked over three-fourths of the time. Only twice did [the researchers] observe students talking in pairs, and only four times did they observe small group or cooperative learning strategies being used. (pp. 205-206)
Given my experience with the rural schools of British Columbia, I suspect that they are not much more progressive than rural American schools observed in the above study. Given that teachers may be talking a significant portion of the class time, it is especially important that they are talking in a manner for all students to understand, not just those members of the dominant culture.

Cruikshank (1990) analyzed 10 reviews of research on teachers which were compiled from 1971 to 1989, and determined 48 variables which effective teachers seemed to demonstrate. The most frequently cited variable in teacher effectiveness (8 of the 10 studies mentioned it) was clarity. Consulting Webster's Dictionary (1976), the root of clarity is claritat from the Latin clear. Webster's Dictionary defines clarity as "clearness" and defines clearness as "precise unambiguous transmission of meaning in writing or speaking".

From this meaning of clarity, and its significance in teacher effectiveness, the question that comes to mind is: clarity for whom? In a multicultural classroom, not all students have the same frames of reference when the teacher introduces a topic. And, in order for students to achieve higher levels of concepts in the classroom, "specific essential prerequisite understandings" must precede exposure to the higher level concepts (Eustace, 1969, p. 452).

Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) determined in their famous study that the children who teachers expected to gain intellectually, did gain. This, they believed, was due to "a subtler feature of the interaction of the teacher and her pupils...which might help the child by changing his conception of himself, his anticipation of his own behaviour, his motivation or his cognitive skills" (p. 23).
This has profound implications for the teaching of immigrant minorities, who choose, or have chosen for them, the less language intensive math, sciences, and accounting courses, rather than liberal arts courses. If teachers' sensitivities can be aroused, and their recognition for the need of clarity in a multicultural classroom, then more students will have the equal access and opportunity in education, which the Ministry of Education for this province so firmly espouses (Ministry of Education, 1990).

Perhaps, then, more attention in educational research should be focused on the teacher. If it could be learned how she is able to bring about dramatic improvement in the performance of her pupils without formal changes in her methods of teaching, other teachers could be taught to do the same. If further research showed that it is possible to find teachers whose untrained educational style does for their pupils what our teachers did for the special children, the prospect would arise that a combination of sophisticated selection of teachers and suitable training of teachers would give all children a boost toward getting as much as they possible can out of their schooling. (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968, p. 23)

This literature provides a framework within which to approach my own research. Significant themes within the literature will inform my data gathering, and will guide and inform my analysis, as I study teacher effectiveness using the concept of clarity of instruction in the context of a multicultural classroom. The focus for this research is, as its very narrow focus, levels of dominant cultural capital, and its ease of transmission in a classroom from the researcher to the student subject.

What this literature neglects, through its uncritical promotion of the teaching of cultural capital for success, is the assimilative nature of the process. What is left uncontested is whether the teaching ought to reflect a reconceptualization of images used in conveying concepts. Should the teacher
not become more multiliterate about familiar images and symbols of the learners' world? The cultural literacy and cultural capital literature leaves this area unproblematized and in the interests of expedience thereby reaffirms an assimilationist thrust. On the other hand, the question still remains as to how far teachers can actually proceed in taking the cultural literacies of a divergent multicultural class into account. Furthermore while it may have positive affective outcomes for students' self images, the question still remains, namely, does it provide them with a competitive education for the the marketplace? These are complex issues.

My choice to teach them 'cultural capital' along Gramscian lines is not a rejection of the students' need for cultural reaffirmation through locating 'their knowledge' in the instructional process. It is aimed at providing them other kinds of success through mastery of subject matter, required of all students in the interest of their empowerment. This may be a short term goal, which could however proceed alongside the more desirable goal of transforming the curriculum and teaching tools to a more culturally compatible style with that of the learners.
CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

OVERVIEW

This research was initially to proceed as exploratory action research in my Economics 12 multicultural classroom for the last month of the 1995 - 1996 school year. The research was deemed exploratory because it was to examine "a topic in which there has been little previous research [and was] designed to lead to further inquiry" (Schumacher & McMillan, 1993, p. 376). According to McCutcheon and Jung (1990) "action research is characterized as systematic inquiry that is collective, collaborative, self-reflective, critical, and undertaken by the participants of the inquiry. The goals of such research are the understanding of practice and the articulation of a rationale or philosophy of practice in order to improve practice" (p. 148).

Merritt has had a long history of racism both overt and covert. A local paper, the Merritt Herald in March of 1996 ran on the front page the headline "Merritt labelled as a 'hotbed' of racism during trial" with the pull-quote "Crown Counsel said a May 30, 1994 incident is not an isolated one" (Brandt, 1996, p. 1). In the article, Crown Counsel reported that the town "has a history of rocky racial relations among its Caucasian, native and Indo-Canadian population" (Murphy, 1996, cited in Brandt, 1996, p. 1). I was well aware of the sensitivity of the exploratory research, but felt confident to conduct it. The students were excited at the prospect of contributing to education, and all wanted their names included in the acknowledgements.

However, on May 11, 1996, just two days before my exploratory action
research was to begin, there was a shooting just outside of the town, of two Euro-Canadian teenage males by an Indo-Canadian teenage male.

Bermingham of The Province newspaper used the headline "Merritt edgy after two teens shot" in his report on May 13 (p. A8), and two days later, on May 15, he reported the racial tension of the town in his article titled "Braced for racists" (p. A4). And Brandt, of the local paper, the Merritt Herald, on May 15 composed the headline for the front page "Racial tension downplayed", with the pull-quote "A Saturday morning shooting has community members questioning if there is a problem with racism" (p. 1) He reported that "the shooting is the worst of many incidents that have happened in the past couple of years in teen clashes but others could have escalated to such a point" (p. 1)

It was in this environment that I was to conduct my master’s research on sensitivity and clarity in a multicultural classroom! Most of the Indo-Canadian key players were in my Economics 12 class; several had spent many hours at the police station on the evening of the shooting, one had allegedly brought the shooter to town to correct a wrong that had been done to him, one was the local M. L. A.’s nephew, and one was the main spokesperson for the Sikh community of Merritt. The proposed method of research, action research, was no longer feasible; the situation was too volatile. For the action research I had chosen two 'critical friends', who "have empathy for the teacher’s research situation and relate closely to his or her concerns, but at the same time [are] able to provide rich and honest feedback" (Altrichter, Posch, & Somekh, 1993, p. 61). The first critical friend migrated from Estonia. She is a doctoral
candidate in Pedagogical Sciences from the Moscow Institute of Foreign/Modern Languages. She was a professor at the Tartuc State University in Estonia until 1988, when she moved to British Columbia. She teaches French immersion in the same high school as the researcher. The second critical friend emigrated from Austria at age nine, in 1952, seven years after the Second World War. It was he who opened my eyes to the concept of cultural capital in the public school system. In consultation with both my critical friends, I decided to conduct my research in private, rather than in an open classroom forum. I feared that at any time, I would be denied the opportunity to do the research by the school board chair, the superintendent, or the principal. Both critical friends aided in the composition of the initial round of exploratory questions, and one critical friend assisted the construction of the second round of narrowly defined cultural capital questions.

The investigation occurred during May and June of 1996; interviews of 18 students were the primary investigative tool. The purpose of the study was to determine whether there were differences in levels of Anglo cultural capital between two groups of students, all of whom were born in Canada, one group from the dominant culture, and the other, from an immigrant group. And if this was the case, was it possible to effectively bridge the knowledge gap, through clarity of instruction, so that all groups, having access to a component of requisite cultural capital, would be able to construct new knowledge effectively.

Using McMillan and Schumacher (1993) as a framework, the study was exploratory, to "examine a topic in which there has been little previous research,
[and was] designed to lead to further inquiry" (p. 367). Since the study was based on a "philosophy that views reality as multilayered, interactive, and a shared social experience interpreted by individuals" and the goal was to understand "the social phenomenon from the participants' perspective" (p. 373), qualitative research employing the case study design was chosen. As McMillan and Schumacher (1993) state:

Qualitative researchers investigate small, distinct groups such as ... the students in a selected classroom; ... these are typically single-site studies...where the data analysis focuses on the one phenomenon, which the researcher selects to understand in depth regardless of the number of sites, participants, or documents for a study. (p. 375)

Case study design, because of its flexibility, is appropriate for exploratory and discovery-oriented research because the design "allows researchers to discover what are the important questions to ask of a topic and what are the important topics in education to pursue empirically" (pps. 375-376). "Geertz (1973) reminds us that there is no ascent to truth without a descent to cases" (cited in Wolcott, 1987a, p. 203).

Ethnographic approaches were employed during this educational research. According to Wolcott, (1987a):

It is not the techniques employed that make a study ethnographic, but neither is is necessarily what one looks at; the critical element is in interpreting what one has seen. In research among pupils in classrooms and in other learning environments -- work generated out of ethnographic interests -- a few ethnographically oriented researchers have been looking at smaller units of behavior, such as classroom teaching and learning styles, or at the classroom "participant structures" through which teachers arrange opportunities for verbal interaction (Philips, 1972)... But they are also embedding their analysis in cultural context. (p. 202)
Informal interviews were the primary tool chosen, because I believed that open response questions would elicit "how individuals conceive of their world and how they explain or 'make sense' of the important events of their lives" (McMillan and Schumacher, 1993, p. 423). According to Wolcott (1987a) he includes as an interview activity "anything that the fieldworker does that intrudes upon the natural setting and is done with the conscious intent of obtaining particular information directly from one's subjects" (p. 194). Several types of interview questions were employed: there were foci on experiences, opinions, feelings, and knowledge, with a limited number of background or demographic questions at the start of each interview. Two forms of ethnographic interviews were employed: the informal interview or interview guide approach, "where topics are selected in advance but the researcher decides the sequence and wording of the questions during the interview", and the structured formal or standardized open-ended interview approach, where participants were "asked the same questions in the same order" (p. 426).

The intention was more than descriptive; it was "to formulate questions which expose the conditions which promote social and educational advantage and disadvantage" (Kincheloe, 1991, p. 39). Since the topic of the investigation was "controversial [and] confidential within [the] institution...and the characteristics of the situation or the individuals [did] not permit use of an instrument" (McMillan & Schumacher, 1993, p. 377), qualitative research, using case study design, with an ethnographic approach to interviews for the primary data collection tool, was selected for the research.
I determined that the qualitative case study design, using an ethnographic approach, would be the most effective method of capturing the full richness and nuances of the data involving cultural capital, multiculturalism, and clarity of instruction.

CONCERNS

Since I, as researcher, am "part of the situation in question, not detached from it" (Winter, 1989, p. 55), impartiality is a concern. After having taught these 21 students an average of three courses each, which represents 360 hours of interaction with each of them over 15 months, I as a teacher believed there was an aspect of multiculturalism which was not being explored, dominant cultural capital. I was uncertain what the results might be, but I believed before the research commenced that there were certain concepts which appeared to be necessary for comprehension of other higher level concepts. I thus brought this bias to my research. Ethnographic research according to Wolcott (1987a) is "an inquiry process carried out by human beings and guided by a point of view that derives from experience in the research setting and from the knowledge of prior anthropological research" (p. 191). While I make no pretense of being an "anthropologically informed researcher who [does] ethnography", I see myself as an "educational researcher who frequently draw[s] upon ethnographic approaches" (Wolcott, 1987a, p. 202). And my perspective is germane to my research focus.

Collaboration will allay some of the fears, because
the principle of ‘Collaborative Resource’ indicates a process of simultaneously giving weight to the understandings contributed by all members...[and] full recognition to those fleeting glimpses of ideas which we normally dismiss as ‘irrelevant’ because they don’t fit with the rest of our conceptual framework. (Winter, 1989, p. 57)

Winter emphasises that the researcher must recognize that her or his provisional interpretation is only one of many opinions. The researcher must be willing to struggle to understand where the study is going and what it stands for. This is a very real concern for me. Anderson, Herr, and Nihlen (1994) talk of their research involving students and racism. They became concerned about their intimate involvement with the research site which raised issues of:

vulnerability as I struggled with how to be honest to my own perceptions, increasingly informed by the students’ stories, while not sounding so dissenting at school meetings that I would be discounted or face negative sanctions. (p. 100)

Nevertheless, I believe the issue of sensitivity to Anglo cultural capital in a multicultural classroom, through clarity in instruction must be addressed. The vast majority of the students in my Economics class were Indo-Canadians, whereas I am Euro-Canadian. I find Strauss’ (1995) words very evocative:

The dangers lie on both sides....the danger of being absorbed into an unquestioning acceptance of reified forms of educational culture; and the danger of being worn down by unrealistic and impossible gestures of dissent. (p. 38)

There are some feminists who take the view that “symmetry provides the sine qua non of valuable and reliable data” (Oakley, 1981, cited in Troyna & Carrington, 1993, p. 107; see also Finch, 1984). But there are also sceptics of this view, who suggest that certain aspects which someone with cultural symmetry (or sameness) might take for granted, are more likely to be probed
and made problematic by a cultural stranger (Davies, 1985, cited in Troyna & Carrington, 1993). In my research, with my lack of cultural symmetry with Indo-Canadians, I have the potential to probe and question areas which a researcher of Indo-Canadian culture might not assume to be problematic.

As a researcher however, this is a double-edged sword: as a cultural stranger, many new areas are opened up, but because of the non-symmetry of culture, ethics become even more important with these human subjects. As explained by Flinders (1992), with cultural groups other than the researcher's own, ecological ethics are required. Bateson (1972) cautions:

> we social scientists would do well to hold back our eagerness to control that world which we so imperfectly understand. The fact of our imperfect understanding should not be allowed to feed our anxiety and so increase the need to control. Rather, our studies could be inspired by a more ancient, but today less honoured, motive: a curiosity about the world of which we are part. The rewards of such work are not power but beauty. (cited in Flinders, 1992, p. 109)

Troyna and Carrington (1993) express concerns that accounts of cultures, other than the researcher's own, may not only be:

ethnocentric but caricature these communities by centralizing empirically questionable concepts such as 'identity crisis', 'negative self-image', 'intergenerational conflict', 'unrealistic and high aspirations' and 'culture conflict'. (p. 107)

And Kincheloe (1991) cautions:

Because of their class, race, and gender positions, many educational researchers are insulated from the benefits of the double consciousness of the subjugated and are estranged from a visceral appreciation of suffering. (p. 40)

To ensure fairness and accuracy, both in data collection and analysis, I constantly reflected on these concerns, with the help of two 'critical friends' who
had “empathy for the teacher’s research situation and relate[d] closely to his or her concerns, but at the same time [were] able to provide rich and honest feedback” (Altrichter, Posch, and Somekh, 1993, p. 61). Utilizing my two critical friends, I was able to test “the coherence of arguments being presented in a ‘critical community’ or a ‘community of critical friends’ whose commitment is to testing the arguments and evidence advanced in the account of the study” (McTaggart, 1995, p. 1).

RESEARCH DESIGN

The research was initially designed for exploratory action research in the classroom. As previously mentioned, the volatile situation within the town after the shooting of two Euro-Canadian youths by an Indo-Canadian youth precluded the original design.

One of the central tasks of a critical constructive researcher is to formulate questions which expose the conditions which promote social and educational advantage and disadvantage.... [This] research perspective is counter-hegemonic (i.e., a threat to entrenched power), and radically democratic as it uses the voice of the subjugated to formulate a reconstruction of the dominant educational structure. It is a radical reconstruction in the sense that it attempts to empower those who are presently powerless. (Mies, 1982, and Connell, 1989, cited in Kincheloe, 1991, p. 39)

The primary tools for the investigation were interviews with the students of the Economics 12 class in May and June of 1996. These occurred in two separate series, referred to as Round One and Round Two. The secondary tools were documents collected in class on May 27, and field notes before, during and after the interviews.
I chose words and phrases from *The Dictionary of Cultural Literacy* (Hirsch et al., 1993) which I believed were commonly used words and phrases embedded in teaching in a classroom in British Columbia. This dictionary was chosen not from a philosophical viewpoint, but rather because it represented a comprehensive list of many words and phrases commonly used by the media in the United States. This list can be viewed as more authoritative than any list which I could have generated to assist my exploratory research. From my teachings of Economics 12, I chose concepts to which the participants had, as my students, been previously exposed. I also developed questions which were very open-ended, in order to elicit students' feelings, opinions, values, and experiences.

The interviews involved interview guides (see Appendices A, B, C), but in some of the questions, the sequence and wording of the questions was altered, and given the nature of the open-ended questions, the students' responses would determine inclusion or exclusion of topics in Round One.

Apparent informality on my (the researcher's) part was carefully structured, deliberate, and purposeful to prompt and elicit responses. This was particularly necessary in explanations of the cultural capital in questions as it related to economic concepts.

**DATA COLLECTION**

In March of 1996, a Certificate of Approval was obtained from the University of British Columbia Behavioural Science Screening Committee for Research Involving Human Subjects, and permission to conduct the research
was granted by the School District. In April of 1996 the parents or guardians received and signed consent forms. (see Appendix J) The cover letter briefly described who was conducting the study, how, and why, how their children were selected, why their child's participation was important, what will be done with the results, and the steps which will be taken to preserve anonymity and confidentiality. It was stressed that their children had the right of refusal and/or withdrawal at any time.

Rights of confidentiality were assured and were adhered to. Due to the racial and gender breakdown of the class, and in order to protect the identities, the students interviewed will only be identified by their culture, not by gender. In the exploratory first round, four pairs of students elected to have dual interviews; the participants in each duet were the same gender and the same culture.

My Economics 12 classroom was chosen as the site for the study for convenience and for familiarity for the participants. I teach in a secondary school of approximately 550 students. The class consisted of 17 Indo-Canadians and four Euro-Canadians. All students were going on to post-secondary education at university or college. I had taught every student at least two other courses prior to the research, many of them four courses. During the research a few of the students were taking additional courses with me, or acting as teaching assistants in my Accounting 11 classes. Economics 12 was chosen because it is a liberal arts course, and since the students were in their final year of school, they would be better able to articulate their feelings,
attitudes, and beliefs. The course took place in the second semester, February to June of 1996, six hours per week. It was not a provincially examinable course. The course is known throughout the school as rigorous: we used a popular college textbook, and I frequently assigned articles from the periodical *The Economist*. A high level of achievement was expected from all the students. I believed that this study would enhance the students' learning of the course, and was pedagogically justifiable.

The fact that I had taught these students previously was an important component of my research, for we would be discussing topics which may have seemed difficult or unusual to them. I believed that I had established myself with them as being trustworthy and credible, and that we worked well together. A large portion of all my classes was Indo-Canadian; during my seven years in Merritt, I had taught up to four siblings in my courses, and had developed a reputation for being particularly fair to all students. Another reason for the Indo-Canadians' trust was my efforts to ensure that I used language in my classes that both groups understood equally. Through self monitoring, I began to realize that cultural congruity was an integral part of teaching. Academic capacity was evenly distributed between the groups, but the Euro-Canadian students grasped some of my ideas more quickly. If I didn't put the effort in, only the Euro-Canadians would understand the concept in its entirety; if I was sensitive to the cultural incongruities within the classroom, concept transmission was achieved equally between the cultural groups. These students found my teaching style to their liking, and it appeared to promote their trust in me, which
carried over to my research, and its separateness from their letter grades. The students appeared to trust me when I told them that the purpose of my research was to improve the education system, and was independent of their marks. I informed them that during the interviews they could speak whatever they wanted and however they wanted, and that no one would see the raw data but my faculty advisor. Because they trusted me and because they believed that they could make a difference, we were able to separate our roles as researcher-participants from teacher-students. They appeared to feel free to clarify their positions and responses. The overall comfort of all the participants and a general rapport were essential for the success of this study.

Collaboration was essential to the project; the researcher is nothing without the willing participation and involvement of the class in the study. I had hoped that with the exploratory action research, the students would play a major role in the directio Winter (1989) intends collaboration to mean:

> everyone’s point of view will be taken as a contribution to resources for understanding; no-one’s point of view will be taken as the final understanding as to what all the other points of view really mean....If we begin by seeking consensus between viewpoints we shall have no counterweight to the subconscious selectivity which makes us tend to notice more readily what agrees with our prior assumptions. (p. 56)

My goal in this research was that it would be:

> a process of simultaneously giving weight to the understandings contributed by all members and at the same time a process of ‘deconstructing’ the various contributions so that we can use them as resources for ’reconstructing’ new categories and interpretations. (Winter, 1989, p. 57)

There were limits on the symmetrical (or democratic) research relations, for “the injunction to practice symmetricality neglects realities....We come up
with a bridge too far in the case of adult-child relations” (Chisholm, 1992, p. 254). As their teacher, there is not only the “privilege of adulthood” (Chisholm, 1992, p. 253), but more importantly, there is a power relationship due to the grading system of schools. The success or failure of the study depended to a large extent, on the trust the students had in me, that their responses during the research would have no bearing on their classroom grades.

Intervews

The interviews all occurred in my classroom, outside of class time: before school, after school, during lunch hour, and during the break. The room was always empty during the interviews, except for the researcher and the participant or participants.

One of my critical friends was a fellow teacher at the school, and she agreed to collect the consent forms from the students. In that way, their responses would be unknown to me, and they would feel less pressure to participate in the study. There was one student who did not agree to be part of the study. Since the identity was not made known to me until final grades for the course had been submitted to the administration, in consultation with my critical friends I decided that the most effective route for interviews would be on a voluntary basis.

Much interest and anticipation had been shown in class for the research; rather than have my critical friend decide on the participants, it was decided to see what interest was shown on the students’ part to be interviewed. Using this
method of volunteer participants, scheduling was simplified, and interest in the study was heightened. In the first round, fifteen out of twenty students volunteered and due to time constraints, only 12 were interviewed. In the second round, eighteen students volunteered and all were individually interviewed. This appeared to be a good sample of the class, and produced approximately seven hours of interviews.

All interviews were taped and later transcribed in their entirety by the researcher. A conscious decision was made not to take notes; this would have been intimidating for the participants, as it would be analogous to them being in the principal's office where he would be taking notes of what they said. The tape recorder was quite a novelty to them, especially as it was a micro, hand held model, which none had seen before. Most of the males asked for a demonstration of its operation, either before or after the interviews; the females did not ask for demonstrations, but appeared to enjoy holding the tape recorder and speaking into it. I had the participants hold the recorder for greater clarity of voice to aid in transcription. Nevertheless, there was a lot of background noise, through the closed door, from the hallway.

All interviews were prefaced with a scripted introduction, advising the participants of the purpose of the interview, the format it would take, and the researcher's respect for their confidences.

With the help of my two critical friends, the first interview guide was developed. (see Appendix A) This guide was used in the first two interviews, two students in each, all four Indo-Canadian. Hopkins (1993) recommends
group interviews: "Far from inhibiting each other, the individuals 'spark' themselves into sensitive and perceptive discussion" (p. 124). Altrichter et al., (1993) concur:

The group interview is a more normal situation for students: the social pressure to talk is lower for the individual because of the presence of others, and if one student talks, this can stimulate comments from others. (p. 103)

There was, however, a trade-off. The students talked more, (the four duet interviews averaged more than twice as long as the four solo ones) but it was unclear how much information each student had, and there was also the possibility that participants would be less frank with another student in the room. However, since Round One was entirely exploratory in nature, the benefits of group interviews outweighed the costs. For the second round, because individual knowledge was being collected, all interviews were conducted with a single participant.

The first interview and the second interviews lasted 20 minutes and 45 minutes, respectively. After the first two interviews, I transcribed the interviews and reflected on the data. I determined that a more objective and structured format with structured formal interviews was required in order to determine the students' knowledge of embodied cultural capital, as defined by Bourdieu (1986); the questions regarding cultural capital were rephrased into standardized, open-ended knowledge questions, where the participants had to demonstrate their understandings of the idioms or words with a phrase. (see Appendix B) This was later coded in the format: yes or no, for purposes of analysis. (see Appendix E)
The next six interviews followed the interview guide titled Interviews 3 Through 8. (see Appendix B) Of these, two were in groups of two, and four were single participants. The interviews lasted between 10 and 45 minutes. The total number of participants in the eight interviews of Round One was 12. These interviews occurred during the period May 21 to May 27.

The interview guide for Euro-Canadians was somewhat shorter than for Indo-Canadians as some questions had no relevance for Euro-Canadians and only had relevance for Indo-Canadians, but the nature of the responses determined the questions in the interview. (see Appendix B) However, the essence of all interviews in Round One was participant knowledge of cultural capital; the other questions were included because of the exploratory nature of the research.

Round Two of the interviews occurred from May 28 to June 4. The questions were scripted and five were chosen from a selection of twelve (see Appendix C). The selections were somewhat random, although if I was interviewing two or three students, with no time space between them, the same questions would be used, without a risk of diminished validity of the responses.

Every question was answered correctly, without the assistance of explanation, at least once (see Appendix F).

If the participant was able to correctly connect the economic topic with the culturally embedded idiom or phrase, and explain the "combined" meaning, I would ask the next interview question. However, if the participant had problems with either the metaphor's meaning or the economic concept, either or both
would be explained until

- the correct response was received, or
- the student began to exhibit frustration or boredom with the
  question, or
- the student indicated that comprehension was not possible.

For purposes of data analysis, these responses were categorized as:

- number of times metaphor was explained
- number of times economic concept was explained
- successful response without explanations
- successful response with explanations
- partially successful response
- unsuccessful response

**Documents**

Given the controversial potential of the research, only one set of
documents was collected from the students (see Appendix D). An article from
the front page of the *Vancouver Sun* newspaper, dated May 25, 1996, was
distributed to the class. This article meshed with the unit being studied: the
pricing of resources - land, labour, and capital. I had underlined several words
and phrases in the article, seeking triangulation for, or confirmation of the type
of data that was being recorded during the interviews. In addition to culturally
embedded words, other words or phrases were included, related to course
work. This was done in order to determine students’ understanding of
concepts considered fundamental for a literate person, that is, a person who
could read a large, daily newspaper.

It was emphasised that no marks were to be awarded for the students' efforts; it was strictly for my information and illumination. But, since I, as researcher needed to know their levels of knowledge, they were not to discuss their responses with anyone, until they had handed in their sheets. The next day I returned their documents, and went over the underlined words, and the content of the article.

Field Notes

I maintained extensive field notes before, during, and after the interviews. These contained both descriptive and interpretive sequences, the latter consisting of theoretical notes, methodological notes, and planning notes. From time to time provisional analysis of the diary entries occurred, resulting in reformulating the initial questions more clearly, modifying them, planning the next steps, and maintaining a better understanding of the data, in order to avoid data overload. (Altrichter, Posch, & Somekh, 1993).

Using the multi-instrument approach of 26 interviews, the documents, and field notes, I achieved triangulation; that is, I "obtained information in many ways, rather than relying solely on one" (Wolcott, 1987a, p. 192).

RELIABILITY

Where positivistic verifiability rests on a rational proof built upon literal, intended meaning, a critical qualitative perspective always involves a less certain approach characterized by participant reflection and emotional involvement. (Kincheloe, 1991, p. 135)

Design Reliability

Design reliability is enhanced "by making explicit six aspects: researcher
role, informant selection, social context, data collection and analyses strategies, and analytical premises" (McMillan and Schumacher, 1993, p. 386). My research role was not the preferred role of outsider, "unknown at the site or to the participants", and since I already had "status within the social group being observed" (p. 386) this also limited the reliability. As a teacher, I had seven years' experience in the school, teaching that age group, and six years' experience teaching Economics 12, three in a wealthy almost all white, Vancouver school, and three in the multicultural research setting. I chose my Economics 12 class of 21 students because Economics was a liberal arts course, and I knew all the respondents well; I had interacted with each of the students an average of 360 hours. The design was initially exploratory action research, but the interracial teen shootings precluded utilizing the original design. Due to time and political constraints, in order to conduct the research on what I believed was an ideal participant group of students who I trusted and who trusted me, the research design was altered to that of an exploratory case study design was employed, drawing upon ethnographic approaches. Individual and duet interviews were the primary method, with 18 students interviewed, 12 of them twice. Documents and field notes were corrobatory data collection strategies.

A fifth enhancer of design reliability occurs when data analysis strategies are made explicit. Retrospective accounts of how data were synthesized and general strategies used for data analysis and interpretation are provided in the Overview section in Chapter Four. The final enhancer, making explicit the
analytical premises, was outlined in the Data Collection section of this Chapter.

**Data Collection Reliability**

The strength of fieldwork lies in its "triangulation," obtaining information in many ways rather than relying solely on one. Anthropologist Pertti Pelto has described this as the "multi-instrument approach." The anthropologist himself is the research instrument, but in his information gathering he utilizes observations made through an extended period of time, from multiple sources of data, and employing multiple techniques for finding out, for cross-checking, or for ferreting out varying perspectives on complex issues and events. By being on the scene, the anthropologist not only is afforded continual opportunity to ask questions but also has the opportunity to learn which questions to ask. (Wolcott, 1987a, p. 192)

In order to reduce threats to data collection reliability, all interviews were audiorecorded and transcribed. While I was the only researcher, my two critical friends were invaluable in providing different perspectives on the issues, and in the conversion from action research to qualitative research using case study design. They were intimately involved in the project from its inception, the preparation of interview questions, through to the analysis and interpretation of the data. From casual conversations with participants, during non-interview periods, I was able to "confirm observations and participants' meanings" (McMillan and Schumacher, 1993, p. 391).

**VALIDITY**

Ethnographic significance is derived socially, not statistically, from discerning how ordinary people in particular settings make sense of the experience of their everyday lives. (Wolcott, 1987a, p. 191)

It is not necessary to know everything in order to understand something (Geetz, 1973, p. 20, cited in Wolcott, 1987a)
Internal Validity

While the actual interviews spanned two weeks, the field note collection period spanned several months, and I had been in the field for seven years. The interviews were conducted in a natural setting: my classroom. They were always done when class was not in session and there was no one present in the room but myself and the participant or participants for that particular interview. Both alone and with my two critical friends, I continually and rigorously submitted all phases of the research process to questioning and reevaluation. My self-monitoring was essential, given my biases before the research commenced. I believe that only one student was lost from the research due to the interracial shooting of May 11. All Indo-Canadians but two were interviewed, and prior to the shooting, one had showed no interest in the research, while the other had been very interested, and had been cited several times in the field notes. Fifteen grade 12 Indo-Canadians, or 60 percent of the grade 12 Indo-Canadians of the School District were interviewed.

External Validity

The ethnographer, like other social scientists, is concerned with the issue of "representativeness" but approaches that problem differently, by seeking to locate the particular case under study among other cases. The question, as Margaret Mead once noted, is not "Is this case representative?" but rather, "What is this case representative of?" You conduct your research where you can, with whatever available key informant or classroom or family or village best satisfies your research criteria, and then you undertake to learn how that one is similar to, and different from, others of its type. (Wolcott, 1987a, p. 203)

Even though I was not performing research as an ethnographer, I was drawing upon ethnographic approaches, and I was "guided by a point of view
that derive[d] from experience in the research setting" (Wolcott, 1987a, p. 191).

Further, it is in my attempts at the:

pulling together of the whole fieldwork experience, an activity informed by observations and writings of other anthropologists [See Gibson] that the material takes ethnographic shape as both description of what is going on among a particular social group and a cultural interpretation of how that behavior "makes sense" to those involved. (Wolcott, 1987a. p. 200)

This research was aimed at "the extension of the understandings, detailed descriptions that enable others to understand similar situations and extend their understandings in subsequent research" (McMillan and Schumacher, 1993, p. 394). Comparability is one of two essential components for external validity: the research must be described in enough detail so that other researchers can build on the initial research. While the research was conducted using two cultural groups, using very narrowly defined cultural capital, the research design is described in detail, particularly in the appendices. The second essential component of external validity of research is translatability. "Translatability is the degree which the researcher uses theoretical frameworks and research strategies that are understood by other researchers" (McMillan and Schumacher, 1993, p. 394). The town I studied has a specific racial composition, and primary resource base. Yet this study could be easily translated into other towns and regions, considering that what is being researched is a measure of the existence and transferability of narrowly defined embodied dominant cultural capital.

Winter (1989) claims that in order for the findings to be generalizable through having external validity:
what enables one specific situation to be relevant to may other situations is a similarity of structure, so that if our research report has managed to go beyond accidental descriptive details and grasp the structure of the situation in which we have been involved, then there is every chance that the report will appeal to a wider audience than our immediate colleagues. (p. 65)

And Kincheloe (1991) maintains:

The function of this appraising aspect [making judgements] of qualitative research is to describe the essential qualities of events, to interpret the meanings and relationships among those events, and to appraise the significance of these events in the larger picture of social and educational concerns. In making these types of judgements qualitative research must be explicit about the social values and human interests on which its appraisals are founded. (p. 145)

The research was exploratory in nature; little study has been done in the area of cultural capital and multicultural groups. My research attempted to describe a particular group of students, and describe how they made sense of their situation in a very narrow sense. Even though I knew the participants well, the responses tabulated for this research are unlikely to contain bias. The questions were designed so that each participant would answer questions about cultural capital to the best of his or her ability; there was no benefit to anyone concerned to answer incorrectly, although in the exploratory and probing questions listed in the appendices, there is every possibility that the responses were biased, based on, among other things, the fact that I was already known to the participants. However, these responses are not included in the data from the study, removing to a significant degree, the possibility of bias.
ANALYSIS

According to Carson (1990):

the process of critical action research is collaborative and follows a cycle consisting of moments of reflection, planning, acting, observing, reflecting, replanning, etc., which take place in a spiral fashion....True critically reflective action research is characterized by a continuing program of reform. (p. 168)

Through collaboration, everyone's point of view is included, even the negative ones; this helps to control the bias of the study and links with the concept of objectivity through four senses: (a) the collaborative process challenges one's subjectivity, (b) the process of collaboration examines relationships between the accounts of various members, (c) a series of analyses result from the process, but these do not add up to a general law, and (d) the outcome of the process is a feasible strategy (Winter, 1989).

In data analysis, triangulation is a useful format, triangulation of both sources of data, and of perceptions. The sources of data were the 26 interviews, the documents collected from the students on May 27, and my field notes. The triangulation of perceptions included the researcher, the participants, and two critical friends. While neither critical friend was Indo-Canadian, both had immigrated to this country, one in the 1980s from Estonia, and one in the 1950s from Austria, and while both became Euro-Canadians, both fully subscribed to Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital, and the potential problems for non English speaking immigrants, both white and of colour.

During the entire research process, four constructive stages of analysis occurred: (a) reading data, (b) selecting data, (c) presenting data, and (d)
interpreting data and drawing conclusions (Altrichter et al., 1993).

But as the research drew to an end, it was systematically analyzed. It was coded and categorized, using the questions which related to the narrowly defined cultural capital. The responses to questions on cultural capital on Round One were recorded as yes or no, depending on correctness of response, and in Round Two, the responses were recorded as either yes (and the number of explanations required for the participant to achieve the correct response) or no, if the participant was unable to achieve the correct response. The computer program, Excel for Windows, Version 5.0 was employed for data presentation and analysis.

The next chapter summarizes and analyses these data.
CHAPTER 4 FINDINGS

OVERVIEW

The focus of this research was very narrow: cultural capital differences in a multicultural classroom, and whether they could be overcome by teacher sensitivity and clarity, leading to an increase in teacher effectiveness. The findings were consistent with the hypothesis; dominant cultural capital differences did exist between Euro-Canadian and non Euro-Canadian groups, but these differences were surmountable with a moderate level of teacher sensitivity to the needs of the non Euro-Canadian students.

PARTICIPANTS

Every student in the Economics class held a part-time job, generally in fast food restaurants or mills. Some students were working thirty-five hours a week, saving to go to college or university. Every student was going to college or university in the fall, except one who was working until the following January, saving money for college. These were highly motivated individuals, and often high achievers both inside and outside of school. Several took the required four provincially examinable courses in order to gain entry into the provincial universities.

For these students, marks were their guarantee to potential success after graduation. They were interested in receiving the information required to achieve their successes, and marks were the only currency that mattered.

While almost every Indo-Canadian student's father worked in one of the local mills, eight of these families also owned motels. The Indo-Canadians of
this town form a strong, entrepreneurial sector, and in the last few years, have built almost all the new motels and fast food restaurants in Merritt. Their children, eight of whom were taking Economics 12, were, in addition to outside jobs, very involved in the day-to-day operations of the family businesses.

**CULTURAL CAPITAL**

The focus of the research was two-fold: determining if there were cultural capital differences between Euro-Canadians and second generation Indo-Canadians which were salient to the instructional process, and, if so, could the playing field be levelled somewhat by unbundling the cultural capital so that both groups would understand the essential concepts. Round One (see Appendix E) determined there were differences, and Round Two (see Appendix G) determined that the problem was solved for the vast majority of the students, the Indo-Canadians in particular. A description of the findings will be presented as Rounds One and Two, before discussing the overall findings.

In order to protect the identities, the students will only be identified by their culture, not by gender. For example, there was only one Euro-Canadian female participant. In all dual interviews, the participants were the same gender and the same culture.

**Round One**

The seven questions on Christianity (Original Sin, the Promised Land, the Garden of Eden, an Eye for an Eye — a Tooth for a Tooth, Noah’s Ark, Crucifixion, and Good Friday) probed a relatively unknown area for the Indo-Canadians. One student reported, before the interview
• "There are too many unexplained religious references in Literature 12. They are not referring to my religion. I don’t know anything about Christianity. Why am I expected to understand these references without explanations?"

Other responses during the interviews:

• "When you are talking about Christianity, I don’t get it", and the other participant stated, "I don’t get it either. Way up there, and they’re like ‘yah, Jesus Christ did this stuff’ and we’re like, OK...."

• "They talk about it all the time in socials."

In a dual interview, when asked if they knew what Christmas carols were about, one Indo-Canadian participant responded:

• "about 40 percent of the time", and the other respondent said

• "I don’t know that many."

Another respondent discussing Christianity:

• "Yeah, Christianity, and then you don’t know what’s going on because you’re not [Christian]. It’s expected that you know what this means, and then, ‘explain that again because I don’t get it’ type of thing."

The three Aesop’s Fables (Wolf in Sheep’s Clothing, the Little Boy who Cried Wolf, and the Tortoise and the Hare) were better known by the Indo-Canadians than the topics chosen from Christianity. As one Indo-Canadian student reported:

• "I feel about... recently it’s [the need for knowledge about the Fables] has gone to about a three or a four [on a scale of 5, 5 high
importance]. Growing up I find a lot of people are using it more. When you're a child you don't hear it as much. Cause the people you're around, your peers, kids don't usually use these things. Like when you go to a birthday party you hear one of these sayings from older people."

Another Indo-Canadian felt the fables:

• "...are important. Those are important in English."

The four Greek and Roman gods (Venus, Zeus, Apollo, and Poseidon) were relatively unknown to Indo-Canadian students. One said when asked how often they were heard, and if the knowledge is important, responded with a three (medium level) in importance. But another said:

• "I think five. In grade seven and eight, big time."

When participants were asked if they felt at a disadvantage for not knowing the myths, some of the responses were:

• "I don't know them as well as the Anglo kids", and the co-participant agreed, "Yeah, I don't either."

The six nursery rhymes (Humpty Dumpty; Jack, Be Nimble; Mary, Mary, Quite Contrary; Simple Simon; Little Red Riding Hood; and the Owl and the Pussycat) were an area which produced quite a wide range of responses. To the question "how important was it in early elementary school to have a good foundation in nursery rhymes?" One student responded "Very important."

Another answered "Actually, for me it wasn't that important. It didn't really matter if you understood or anything; it was just kind of fun to know something."
I didn't really care.... Humpty Dumpty is just a little rhyme.... They were just, it was just kind of like how songs are right now; we have the songs that we listen to; kind of the same thing."

When asked about "Jack, Be Nimble", another Indo-Canadian student first asked "Why is he nimble?" When the researcher explained, the student asked "What is nimble?"

When discussing the importance of a foundation in nursery rhymes, one Indo-Canadian student said:

- "It's good to know because some of the theories that are developed in there can help you.... The theories behind them. Not knowing the riddle itself, but knowing the theory and the moral of the riddle." The co-participant agreed, "Yeah, cause they're always referring back to them."

Another Indo-Canadian student responded "If you don't know them you can kind of bypass them, but if you know them it's good for you."

Idioms were the biggest problem of all for both groups, but especially for the Indo-Canadians. Responses from both Indo and Euro-Canadians to the twelve questions in this area included:

- "I haven't heard of any of those!"
- "I don't get this."
- "How come I haven't heard of any of them?"
- "Where are you getting these from? We feel real smart!"
- "Where did you get those?"
Round Two

Ninety questions in total were asked of 18 students, linking a form of cultural capital with an economic concept (see Appendix C). There were 12 questions which I developed with one of my critical friends, after analyzing the results of Round One. Before Round One had occurred, I had no idea how I would explore the narrowly defined concept of cultural capital in my multicultural classroom. But case study design "allows researchers to discover what are the important questions to ask of a topic and what are the important topics in education to pursue empirically" (McMillan and Schumacher, 1993, pp. 375-376). Case study design:

is an emergent design, in which each incremental research decision depends on prior information. The emergent design, in reality, may seem circular as processes of purposeful sampling, data collection, and partial data analysis are simultaneous and interactive rather than discrete sequential steps. (McMillan and Schumacher, 1993, p. 374)

Once I had the Round One results for the five sets of structured questions regarding nursery rhymes, Aesop's fables, Greek and Roman gods, idioms, and Christianity, it seemed the next step in the research was to study these specific areas further, and somehow connect them with Economics.

Given the severe time constraints following the interracial shootings, my objective in Round Two was to complete as many interviews as were possible before my research was terminated. While I was successful in interviewing all 18 students who wanted to be interviewed, I often interviewed several students back to back, after school or at lunch. Since many of the students were friends, to increase the validity of my data, I often asked the same question
three times in a row, if I was certain that the participants were not sharing their interview experiences, because they were waiting to be interviewed. I also tried to use the same questions between students who were not friends, to increase the validity of the responses. Due to my efforts at validity, and due to the exploratory nature of the research, where I made no pretense to have designed questions which exhibited content related, criterion related or construct related evidences of validity (McMillan and Schumacher, 1993, p. 223), there are different numbers of responses for each of the 12 questions. Four samples are provided below, with the corresponding number of correct responses for Indo-Canadians without an explanation of the metaphor, and the cumulative total correct with only one explanation.

- Talking about supply curves, one of the concepts in a supply curve is the psychology of the owner, whereby the owner may refuse to supply a good for a peculiar reason. The owner may be throwing out the baby with the bath water.

After one explanation of 'throwing out the baby with the bath water', the Indo-Canadians' success increased from 2 to 8 out of 8 responses.

- In many countries with weak or no labour legislation, and no protection for unions, management may crucify workers for trying to organize unions or any union activity.

After one explanation of the word 'crucify', the Indo-Canadians' success increased from 3 to 9 out of 12 responses.

- If you're going to speculate in land values, or in purchasing any kind of
natural resources, it's very important to strike while the iron is hot.

After one explanation of the phrase 'strike while the iron is hot' the Indo-Canadians' success increased from 2 to 5 out of 5 responses.

- Pay equity is where you have fairness and justice in pay; equal pay for work of equal value. Even in the 1990s, in this era of great advancement, true pay equity is still a pie in the sky notion.

After one explanation of the phrase 'pie in the sky', the Indo-Canadians' success increased from 4 to 8 out of 9 responses.

The interviews were transcribed then analyzed to determine whether

- correct response was given with no explanation,
- after explanation(s),
- a correct response was given,
- a partially correct response was given, or
- an incorrect response was given.

These were entered into a spreadsheet and sorted and filtered. There were 26 initially correct responses. (see Appendix F) The Euro-Canadians were very over-represented in this group: nine of the 26 correct responses were made by Euro-Canadians, yet these students only represented 17 percent of the participants.

After only one explanation of the metaphor, 43 correct responses emerged. Of these 43 responses, 41 responses, or 95 percent of these were Indo-Canadians. (see Appendix G) After two explanations of the metaphor, another six correct responses emerged, and with a third explanation, a further
two responses were correct. (see Appendix H) All the benefits of the second
and third explanations accrued to the Indo-Canadians.

The metaphors chosen were:

- Throw out the baby with the bath water
- Crucify
- Cup runneth over
- David and Goliath
- Depends on whose bull is getting gored
- Strike while the iron is hot
- The meek shall inherit the earth
- Make no bones about it
- Noah's ark
- Pie in the sky
- St. Peter and Satan
- Crying wolf

After one explanation of the metaphor, 43 students, who initially found
the question incomprehensible, were able to successfully phrase a response. A
sample of these responses is given:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metaphor</th>
<th>Response After One Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bath water</td>
<td>• When your supplier doesn't want to supply their products to someone because of beliefs or something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bath water</td>
<td>• That means he or she is not willing to supply the</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
product or whatever they have for any peculiar reason, because that's like even if somebody comes to them and says "okay, I'm willing to have someone buy some of your product" or they want to obtain some of the product, the guy who is 'throwing out the baby with the bath water' just says "no, I just don't want to sell it" or just don't want to give it away". He's ripping himself off because someone's giving him something, but he's not taking it; he's just throwing all the good stuff out

- Make their life a living hell
- They'll punish them
- They feel that they are already getting paid enough; they've already got too much money
- They think it's already high enough
- The small producers are like David, and the big corporations are like Goliath. And, are the small people going to overcome the big people?
- David's the small egg thing, and Goliath is the egg marketing board
- Well, because if they do that, then they're going to like them
iron is hot

- So, whenever is the best time, you do it

iron is hot

- If you find some land that's a good value, a good price, buy it right then. Look it over and sell it for a higher value

meek shall inherit

- Good for the regular person

no bones about it

- They better present their facts and don’t lie; get down to what they want to say

no bones about it

- Be straightforward and tell your position right away

Noah’s ark

- The production possibility curve limits you to what you can do or make. And that’s the same with Noah’s ark, because if he didn’t have a pair of something, there would be no generation or anything any more

Noah’s ark

- You’re saying that when he’s got the two animals, he has to get two of every kind, and he did it so that he could get the most out of all the animals, by bringing one of each to have babies

pie in the sky

- You’d be lucky if you get that equal payment opportunity thing, even in the 1990s

pie in the sky

- It’s a dream that will never come true. Everyone wants it to come true, but it won’t
St. Peter • One of them is bad and one of them is good. Got it now!

St. Peter • Some people would think that one of them is like Satan. They mean Satan is thought of as really bad, and St. Peter is a priest. It's kind of like god is thought of as good, so it's like they're total opposites

crying wolf • He's making it sound a lot more depressing than it really is

crying wolf • It never happened

Documents

The documents corroborate the findings of Round One: that understandings of culturally embedded words are more readily available to students of the dominant culture than to students of this immigrant culture. Of the eight categories selected for analysis, Indo-Canadians averaged 4.1 correct responses and the Euro-Canadians averaged 29 percent higher, or 5.3 correct responses.

ANALYSIS

Round 1

From Round One data, it is clear that the non Euro-Canadian group is at a disadvantage in areas of Euro-Canadian cultural capital. There are three categories: one Indo-Canadian respondent, two Indo-Canadians responding together, and solo Euro-Canadian respondents. The maximum number of correct responses was 32.
Figure 1. Correct Responses by Indo- and Euro-Canadians, Round One
Round 2

From Round Two data, this European cultural capital deficit becomes significant in the learning process, and the non Euro-Canadian group is, at a disadvantage. However, with only one explanation, the number of correct responses jumps from 17 to 58.

Figure 2. Cumulative Correct Responses by Indo-Canadians, Round Two

In terms of teaching in a multicultural classroom, with wide ranges in the levels of cultural capital among the students, one simple explanation of a metaphor will increase the comprehension level from 29 percent to 77 percent.
And a second explanation will increase the comprehension to 83 percent. It appears that if teachers were sensitive to the needs of non Euro-Canadian students in their class, when using culturally embedded concepts, they could successfully employ these metaphors, and increase the students' knowledge base, by prefacing their use with an explanation of them. And it is particularly important to first give the specific meaning, and then, the broader meaning as used in the literature. In this way, the 'playing field' could be made more level for all students.

The documents from the students indicate that an understanding of the dominant culture is important for something as everyday as reading the front page of a large, daily newspaper. And they further support the notion that the Indo-Canadians in this group were at a disadvantage, compared to the Euro-Canadians, when extracting higher level concepts from the article, because they were having greater difficulty with the essential metaphors and allusions in the article.
CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION

ASSIMILATION VERSUS ACCOMMODATION

There is much discussion in the literature regarding assimilation and accommodation, particularly regarding self concepts of minority children; specifically legitimating and empowering them by seeing themselves and their group reflected in history books, literature, and art. But this aspect is beyond the scope of this research. Mickelson (1993) reports:

Gibson (1988) argues that Punjabi students succeed in school by employing a strategy of accommodation and acculturation without assimilating into mainstream dominant culture. Because of this interpretive framework, Sikhs view acquisition of important cultural tools, such as standard English, as additive rather than subtractive from their own identity. (p. 274)

The students in this study were very interested in successful pursuits in post-secondary education, both at the college and university levels. And given the dominant culture, and the students’ desires to succeed within it, we must, as educators, "attempt to educate the masses in a way that allows them accessibility to high status knowledge, and places them on an equal footing to compete" (Gordon, 1985, p. 37). Providing these students with the requisite cultural capital allows them to choose their futures. Whether it means assimilating, accommodating, or even rejecting aspects of the dominant culture seems an essential ingredient in our fundamental premise about the educational system: equality of access and equality of educational opportunity. Any discussion of transformation of the curriculum to reflect the multicultural society in which we live, whereby the curriculum would be more inclusive, and thereby more accessible to those of non Euro-Canadian background is beyond the
scope of this research, although I fully endorse the transformation.

According to Bourdieu (1977) the knowledge known as cultural capital is essential for success within the hegemony, and is ingrained within the dominant culture:

An educational system which puts into practice an implicit pedagogic action, requiring initial familiarity with the dominant culture, and which proceeds by imperceptible familiarization, offers information and training which can be received and acquired only by subjects endowed with the system of predispositions that is the condition for the success of the transmission and of the inculcation of the culture. By doing away with giving explicitly to everyone what it implicitly demands of everyone, the educational system demands of everyone alike that they have what it does not give. This consists mainly of linguistic and cultural competence and that relationship of familiarity with culture which can only be produced by family upbringing when it transmits the dominant culture. (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 494)

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this research was to investigate the hypothesis that in order to provide equal opportunity for all students, an emphasis on teacher sensitivity and clarity is required in the multicultural classroom. This study has revealed that the 'playing field' in a multicultural classroom may be levelled to a significant extent, with attention to what constitutes access to cultural capital.

Specifically, with no 'bridging' between economic concepts and culturally embedded metaphors, the initial success rate of the participants was only 29 percent, and heavily over-represented by Euro-Canadians. Yet with only one attempt at clarification of the meaning by me, the success rate rose to 77 percent correct. And with a second elaboration of the culturally bound concept, the success rate rose to 83 percent. The major gains in success were made by
Indo-Canadian students (95 percent of the gains).

This study highlights the importance of teachers' ongoing assessment of their own communication and their students' knowledge in areas that are non-traditional, and where the knowledge is assumed.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study examined a particular school, with emphasis on a particular culture, in a rural, primary industry town in southern British Columbia. The racial composition was approximately 25 percent Indo-Canadians, 20 percent First Nations, and 50 percent Whites. Consequently, the ability to generalize the findings may be limited. However, due to the focus of the research, and the consistency of results obtained through triangulation of data and perceptions, there is potential for the conclusions to be applied to other schools in similar settings. Winter (1989) counsels that in order for the findings to be generalized to other areas:

what enables one specific situation to be relevant to many other situations is a similarity of structure, so that if our research report has managed to go beyond accidental descriptive details and grasp the structure of the situation in which we have been involved, then there is every chance that the report will appeal to a wider audience than our immediate colleagues. (p. 65)

The second limitation of the study revolves around the concept of the validity of the questions asked in the research. This research was intended to be exploratory action research, but due to unfortunate events in the town, an exploratory case study design, drawing on ethnographic approaches was employed. The questions from Round One yielded responses which generated for me a specific avenue to study in Round Two. But the questions did not
exhibit the content-related evidence, criterion-related evidence, or construct-related evidence necessary for validity in a quantitative study (McMillan & Schumacher, 1993). But this was not a quantitative study. It was a qualitative study and exploratory in nature. Validity in this study was achieved through comparability and transferability.

**IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE**

Teachers in this province are still largely Euro-Canadian in culture, yet their students are, more and more, from cultures that are not European in origin. In order to effectively deliver an education to all students, we must develop the "ability to step back from the world as we are accustomed to perceiving it and to see the ways our perception is constructed through linguistic codes, cultural signs, and embedded ideology" (Kincheloe, 1991, p. 121).

This means that we must become sensitive to the cultural differences between us and our students, and through clarity of instruction, make bridges for them so that all students, regardless of cultural background, are working with the same essential building blocks. That is not to say we are trying to create new knowledge but rather, trying to make existing knowledge accessible. This knowledge makes accommodation and acculturation possible without requiring assimilation.

This does not mean that we become sensitive to those differences and 'launder' class room instructions of their Anglo-Saxon and Christian biases. For this would further exacerbate the differences in dominant cultural capital
between Euro-Canadians and non Euro-Canadians, making the present day liberal arts curriculum less accessible for non Euro-Canadians.

Rather, as teachers, we must become sensitive to the different learner levels of familiarity with the dominant cultural capital within the classroom, and share our dominant cultural knowledge with our pupils, so that more students have equality of access and equality of educational opportunity within this society. I do not believe this to be unquestioned assimilation, but rather, given the curriculum in 1996, greater equality of access to education for all, not just those born of the dominant group. If we, as teachers, do not disseminate this information, when there are some students of non Euro-Canadian backgrounds who do not, in their homes, have access to hegemonic cultural capital, then we are, inadvertently, perpetuating non-egalitarianism in the school system.

One way to think about culture in society is to employ a metaphor of distribution. That is, one can think about knowledge as being unevenly distributed among social and economic classes, occupational groups, different age groups, and groups of different power. Thus, some groups have access to knowledge distributed to them and not distributed to others. (Apple, 1990, p. 16)

**IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH**

Given the consistency of the results, there appear to be implications for future research. A similar study could be undertaken in the elementary schools of this district, or in other schools, elementary and/or secondary, and even preschool.

And although the questions used in the interviews did not exhibit the content-related, criterion-related, or construct-related evidence necessary for validity in a quantitative study, if the research is deemed worthy and to have
potential, valid instruments could be developed. Much larger quantitative studies could then be undertaken to determine if differences in hegemonic cultural capital do, in fact, exist between Euro-Canadians and non Euro-Canadians, and if so, to what degree, in the various school districts of the province. In addition, teachers may want to familiarize themselves with the cultural capital of the non Euro-Canadian students, and incorporate it in the learning situation.

For then, with increased teacher awareness province wide, teachers may begin to practice sensitivity and clarity of instruction, with respect to cultural capital ‘bridging’, in multicultural classrooms. "Our children deserve to have the most effective educational practices in order to gain the knowledge, skills, and attitudes that will serve them now and throughout their lives" (Cruikshank, 1990, p. 45).
REFERENCES


RESEARCH QUESTIONS. ROUND ONE. FIRST TWO INTERVIEWS
* - Indo-Canadian participants, only

On a scale of 1 to 5, 5 being very important, 1 being very unimportant:

How important has an understanding of Christianity been in your schooling?
(examples)
    Christ rising
    crucifixion
    old and new testaments
    garden of Eden
    Christmas carols
    the meaning of Christmas

How important has an understanding of Aesop’s fables been in your schooling?
(examples)
    wolf in sheep’s clothing
    the little boy who cried wolf
    the tortoise and the hare

and also Greek/Roman myths such as Venus, Zeus, Apollo, Poseidon

How important was it in early elementary school to have a good foundation in
nursery rhymes? And how important is it today? (examples)
    Humpty Dumpty
    Jack be nimble
    Mary Mary, quite contrary
    Simple Simon
    the owl and the pussycat

On a scale of 1 to 5, how important has an understanding of English idioms
been in your reading of literature? (examples)
    people in glass houses shouldn’t throw stones
    as the crow flies
    a bird in the hand
    stitch in time saves 9
    sitting duck
    make a silk purse out of a sow’s ear
    throw out the baby with the bath water
    eat crow
    dutch treat
*Do teachers use examples that seem to assume that you understand them when explaining topics such as?
   art
   camping, swimming
   hunting, fishing
   Christian church ceremonies

*In English and Socials classes, did you have any problems understanding stories or poems, or references made to history?

*When they tell rugby jokes in the staff room, I don’t get them. Are there jokes made by teachers in class do you have trouble understanding, now or in the past?
   Was/is this because of cultural differences?

Are there some assignments where you and your Indo-Canadian friends find things especially difficult compared to white friends; [reverse question for Whites]?

*By this I mean, you feel there are gaps in your knowledge that the teacher has not filled in, which the white kids already seem to know, before the work is assigned?
   topics that Indo-Canadians find especially easy

Is there certain types of group work that Indo-Canadians appear to find better or more enjoyable for learning, that the whites find less appealing? (example)
   and that whites find more appealing?

By this, I mean, when the teacher suggests a method of study, you can remember your Indo-Canadian or white friends feeling differently about the assignment

Are there certain types of assignments that Indo-Canadians appear to find better or more enjoyable for learning, that the whites find less appealing? (example)
   and that whites find more appealing and Indo-Canadians find less appealing?

Do you think that there are kinds of concepts that Whites seem to understand more easily than Indo-Canadians? Or that Indo-Canadians understand more easily? [if so, please explain]

Do you think that teacher expectations are different for Indo-Canadians and Whites? [ if so – why do you say this]?

*Are there any cultural opinions expressed by teachers which upset or have
upset you in the past?

What kind of teaching style or methods do you work best in academically, and which styles or methods do you find most difficult to learn from?

What makes a really good teacher?
APPENDIX B

RESEARCH QUESTIONS, ROUND ONE, INTERVIEWS 3 THROUGH 8

* – Indo-Canadian participants, only
Hours spent studying per week and last term’s average of 4 courses
Give me the meaning of, or a few words to describe these phrases or people

Christianity
Original Sin
The Promised Land
The Garden of Eden
An Eye for an Eye, a Tooth for a Tooth
Noah’s Ark
Crucifixion
Good Friday

Aesop’s Fables

Wolf in Sheep’s Clothing
The Little Boy Who Cried Wolf
The Tortoise and the Hare

Greek/Roman Myths

Venus
Zeus
Apollo
Poseidon

Nursery Rhymes

Humpty Dumpty
Jack, Be Nimble
Mary, Mary, Quite Contrary
Simple Simon
Little Red Riding Hood
The Owl and the Pussycat

Idioms

People in Glass Houses Shouldn’t Throw Stones
As the Crow Flies
A Bird in the Hand is worth Two in the Bush
A Stitch in Time Saves Nine
Sitting Duck
Uncle Tom
Sow
Make a Silk Purse out of a Sow’s Ear
Throw out the Baby with the Bath Water
Eat Crow
Dutch Treat
The Squeaky Wheel Gets the Grease

Moving on into more general areas:
*Do teachers use examples that assume that you understand them when they are explaining topics such as art, where you don’t know what they are referring to. Mona Lisa, Sistine Chapel, Andy Warhol

*Camping hunting or swimming examples? What I’m looking for is examples like when I’m talking about pump priming and I’m squeezing the pump for starting a boat

*Do you have examples of hunting, fishing, swimming, camping that you don’t have experience with, that you don’t understand

*Christian church ceremonies. What colour of dress do women wear to church; not the bride but the women?

*English and socials classes. Do you have any problems understanding poems or stories or references made to history that might be because of your different background and if the teacher filled it in, it would be easier?

*In the staff room, I don’t get rugby jokes because I don’t play rugby. Are there kinds of jokes made by teachers in class that you don’t get because you don’t know what the joke part is?
Anything where you feel that there is a chunk missing, and if the teacher was aware, they could provide that chunk of knowledge?

Is there a way of working that you and your Indo-Canadian friends prefer from friends of yours that are white? A way of working or learning in a classroom that maybe you find easier to learn from, because something in your culture has prepared you for that kind of learning environment, whereas say, white kids haven’t been prepared, or the reverse where they have been prepared and you haven’t?

What I’m getting at, for example, First Nations kids, they have found, are more comfortable working cooperatively rather than competitively, so if you want to have First Nations kids motivated, teachers often consider having them work cooperatively, in a group, with no competition. Is there a learning style that you would associate with your culture that should be considered? [altered for White participants]

Do you think there are concepts that White kids or Indo-Canadian kids learn more easily, one group than the other?
Two more things: Are teachers expectations different for Indo-Canadians from Whites, and if so, how?

My last question: Any teaching styles that are really good or really bad? What makes a really good teacher or a really bad teacher?
APPENDIX C

ROUND TWO QUESTIONS

First of all, I would like to have a baseline. When did you last read a book for pleasure, and what was it called?

I have 5 questions that I want to ask you. They’re economics related, where I’m going to use an idiom or a metaphor. I’d like you to tell me what the sentence means. If you don’t understand what I’m talking about, any words in the question, then ask me to explain them, and see if it makes sense.

Talking about supply curves, one of the concepts in a supply curve is the psychology of the owner, whereby the owner may refuse to supply a good for a peculiar reason. The owner may be throwing out the baby with the bath water.

In explaining to you the production possibility curve, remembering that it represents all the different possible things that you can produce, Noah’s ark is an excellent example of the animal production possibility curve.

The David and Goliath struggles between the small independent producers and the egg marketing board are very frustrating for some producers who want to be independent.

In many countries with weak or no labour legislation, and no protection for unions, management may crucify workers for trying to organize unions or any union activity.

Pay equity is where you have fairness and justice in pay; equal pay for work of equal value. Even in the 1990’s, this era of great advancement, true pay equity is still a pie in the sky notion.

When I say to you that history has shown that Robert Malthus, a famous economist in the late 18th century, was crying wolf about the food supply, what does that mean?

If I’m talking about progressive income tax rates, as being one of the few examples where the meek will truly inherit the earth, are progressive income tax rates good or bad for the silent majority?

When management and union are negotiating for wages, management’s view is generally that is that the union’s wage cup already runneth over.

When comparing the two economists, Karl Marx and Milton Friedman, these two men who are at opposite ends of the economic spectrum, one tends one
tends to look at one or the other of them as being Saint Peter or Satan. In bargaining, final offer selection between management and union means that both management and union present a proposal and the mediator chooses only one side, so they had better present their genuine position, and make no bones about it.

People tend to vote for politicians after determining whether or not their bull is being gored.

If you’re going to speculate in land values, or in purchasing any kind of natural resources, it’s very important to strike while the iron is hot.
Evangelist still hoping for a miracle

Hinn's expansion hopes are not dead. Hinn still believes God will help him construct a grand church in view of the cars on Highway 99. "There's always an opening for a miracle to happen," Hinn says. "I believe there will be an opportunity where we can get along the highway somewhere. That's his vision," McElroy said, speaking on behalf of Henry, who refused interviews.

Hinn's undying belief that God wants him to build a church along the highway — a church which, as he likes to say, will "not be the devils, but will be holy ground" — has already made some creditors nervous about whether Hinn ever intends to give up the property.

Documents filed with the B.C. Supreme Court in 1994 show that when Hinn became overdue in paying a contractor $130,000 for excavating the church site, Hinn promised to sell the property if the contractor would "call off the lawyers.

However, the contractor's agent wrote in court documents that he feared Hinn never intended to sell because Hinn thought he had a message from God to build there. Instead of selling the property, Hinn eventually convinced several church members in 1994 to cash in their RRSPs to help out.

Another donor was Henry's brother, Benny, who is now based in Florida and who made international headlines when he "healed" the damaged heart of former heavyweight champion Evander Holyfield. He sent $30,000.

Professor Mike Guilian, a televangelist specialist from Westmont College in California, says Benny Hinn is "possibly the most outrageous of the top five televangelists in the United States." Henry Hinn's financial troubles have only grown more grave in the past year. The Royal Bank (owed almost $600,000) and former member Mary Swain (owed more than $370,000) last year began foreclosure proceedings against Hinn because of his failure to meet mortgage payments. Their deadline ended this month.

After insisting in an initial interview in May that Hinn did not intend to sell, McElroy changed his story and claimed this week that Hinn now has an agreement for sale with a group of Christian Asians, but he wouldn't disclose their identity, refuse to release any agreement for sale, or say what price they said they would pay for it. The property is now assessed at $2 million.

"McElroy claims the future looks bright for Henry Hinn Ministries. The TV ministry, which offers telephone prayers and other services, still has 10,000 "partners," he said. A portion of the TV show, called Life in the Spirit, is devoted to collecting donations. And last month, McElroy said, the church finally resolved past building-code violations on the warehouse. Asked if the congregation knows about the Vancouver Christian Centre's foreclosure problems, McElroy said: "We preach the gospel here. We don't preach financing."
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| **GREEK/ROMAN GODS** |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Venus                |    |    | yes | yes |    | yes|
| Zeus                 | yes| yes| yes | yes| yes| yes|
| Apollo               |    |    | yes |    |    | -  |
| Poseidon             |    |    |    |    |    |    |

| **NURSERY RHYMES**   |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Humpty Dumpty        | yes| yes| yes | yes| yes| yes|
| Jack Be Nimble       |    | yes| yes | yes| yes| yes|
| Mary, Mary, Quite Contrary |    | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes|
| Simple Simon         |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Little Red Riding Hood | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes | yes|
| Owl and the Pussycat |    |    |    |    | yes| yes|

| **IDIOMS**           |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| People in Glass Houses |    |    | yes | yes |    | yes|
| As the Crow Flies    |    |    |    |    | yes| yes|
| Bird in the Hand     |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Stitch in Time Saves 9 |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Sitting Duck         |    | yes| yes |    | yes| yes|
| Uncle Tom            |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Sow                  |    |    | yes | yes | yes| yes|
| Silk Purse From Sow’s Ear |    |    |    |    | yes| yes|
| Throw out the Baby   |    |    |    |    | yes| yes|
| Eat Crow             |    |    |    |    | yes| yes|
| Dutch Treat          |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| Squeaky Wheel Gets Grease |    |    |    |    | yes| yes|
## APPENDIX F

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MAXIMUM SCORE 8

| Indo-Canadian Average | 4.1 |
| Euro-Canadian Average | 5.3 |