IDEOLOGY OF CONTENT
IN SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTS

By

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Abstract

This thesis explores the ideology of content in social studies texts. An investigation of tensions underlying Canadian society illustrates diverse points of view which need to be addressed through schooling. A major vehicle for transmitting views of society is found in the content of social studies. Examination of perspectives concerning the relationship of school and society reveals the need for critical analysis of assumptions contained in social studies content.

Citizenship education is considered a central purpose of the social studies. This presumes that social attitudes are promoted through the content of schooling. The view of society that is transmitted to students orients the premises of schooling and definitions of citizenship. Two views regarding the nature and needs of society are described as consensus and pluralism. Interpreted as educational aims, these social views correspond to adaptive and reconstructive orientations to curriculum. Postulated as an extension of the reconstructive orientation, the study develops a conceptual framework rooted in the tradition of critical inquiry. This framework employs three dimensions of content referred to as social conflict, social discourse and social knowledge.
Results of the study indicate that the three dimensions of the framework are adequately addressed in the five textbooks of the study. In particular areas, however, the texts tend to support a consensus view of society, particularly where ideals concerning social progress, social membership and social organization are concerned.

Implications arising from the study explore possibilities for working creatively with questions and concerns of critical inquiry. The study suggests that if the central purpose of Canadian social studies is citizenship education, then the content of schooling must reflect tensions that result from a plurality of interests and value positions.
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Chapter One

THE STUDY EXPLAINED

Introduction

The field of social studies inherits a considerable share of school responsibility for dealing with the concerns of society. Described as citizenship education, this responsibility frequently becomes a topic of discussion among and between educators and the general public. What often motivates the debate are differing views of society and positions concerning how schools should best carry out their social responsibilities.

Many scholars express concern about the content of schooling, partly because they feel it does not reflect what they hold to be a significant view of society. In fact, it appears that social and political imperatives have been major forces throughout curriculum planning in Canadian society (Tomkins, 1979). Essentially, the concerns focus on some ideal as to the relationship between school and society (Feinberg & Soltis, 1985). Points of view concerning this ideal direct the nature of social studies content.

Several empirical studies have examined the nature of Canadian social studies content. Hodgetts' (1968) cross-Canada investigation reveals general student apathy toward the study of
Canada and little pride or respect in a common cultural heritage. The findings of the investigation are linked to social studies texts which portray a "bland consensus version" of Canadian realities. Hodgetts observes that Canadian students are future citizens without deep roots, lacking in historical perspective and only dimly aware of Canadian traditions that have by no means outlived their usefulness. Contrary to stated national educational goals that look so good on paper, the students have a built-in apathy toward Canadian history which tends to influence adversely their feelings toward modern Canada; they hold comparatively strong provincial attitudes; they are poorly informed about the functioning of the federal government; and they are unreasonably distrustful of politicians and political life. (p. 85)

Another work, a critique of social studies content in provincial curricula, raises concerns with respect to the treatment of cultural and social ways of life as 'givens' from a dominant cultural perspective (Werner, Connors, Aoki, & Dahlie, 1977). In a survey of social studies curricula, Lorimer (1984) concludes that although Canadian content has become more a focus of social studies programs, the educational view of Canada and Canadians lacks sensitivity that is rooted in a distinctly Canadian perspective.

The most recent provincial survey of social studies curricula across Canada identifies a trend toward broadening the scope and interpretation of social studies programs. Continuous review and revisions, the elimination of bias and prejudice through appropriate materials and course supplements, better
evaluation techniques and sharing of materials emerge as major directions. The survey concludes:

The major goal of the social studies programs of all the provinces appears to be to provide students with the knowledge, skills, values and thought processes which will enable them to participate effectively and responsibly in the ever-changing environment of their community, their country and their world. The approach stresses inquiry and discovery by students, rather than passive reception of knowledge or memorization of facts. (Council of Ministers of Education, Canada, 1982, p. 4)

Concurrent with increasing debate over the content of social studies education is a growing number of assessments and discussion guides related to the use of instructional materials in classrooms. It is apparent that resources are of major importance to what is taught in social studies classrooms (Aoki, Langford, Williams, & Wilson, 1977) and that textbooks continue to be the dominant mode of instruction in the social studies (Hodgetts, 1968; Wiley, 1977; Stake & Easley, 1978; Weiss, 1978; Anderson & Tomkins, 1983). Conscious attempts to inculcate specific knowledge, skills and values are likely to occur through the structuring of curricular experiences. This makes prescribed texts a major socializing influence in the school lives of young people (Pratt, 1975). The quality and direction of Canadian social education is largely affected by how the findings of these assessments are treated.

Revision of British Columbia social studies curricula has led to the adoption of two textbook series prescribed for the
study of Canada in intermediate grades. In some instances, teachers have a choice as to the texts that they may use. Content within each series has been screened according to selection procedures which examine appropriateness, readability, physical features, curriculum match and bias (Curriculum Development Branch, 1979). Instances of bias involving race, religion, sex, age and physical and mental capacities are primary concerns.

Textbook analyses concerned with omissions of content (Lorimer, 1984; Reck, Reck, & Keefe, 1986), with cultural perspective (Werner, et al., 1977) and with aspects of bias (Asfar, 1984) are being addressed in social education. However, there are few textbook analyses that have been conducted in terms of the social values and ideologies that are consciously or unconsciously manifest in social studies content (Taxel, 1978-79; Osborne, 1984). This raises a number of questions regarding the nature of content in textbooks, particularly with reference to tensions in Canadian society.

Problem of the Study

Given that two series of social studies texts have been commissioned for intermediate study of Canada, a question to be addressed concerns the view of Canadian society that is being presented to students. The assumptions contained in textbooks
reflect a filtering system of values and beliefs which form an ideology of content. These assumptions form impressions about individuals and society and direct expectations concerning social organization and responsibility. If textbooks are regarded as the primary medium of instruction, then the social understandings and attitudes implied in content deserve careful analysis. Without such analysis, the orientation contained in social studies content may strengthen the ideology and social values which students tacitly experience and internalize (Apple, 1979). The study suggests that an educational purpose should be to question taken for granted assumptions and to work creatively with social conflicts and tensions.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to examine the ideology of content in five prescribed social studies texts. The study employs a framework of questions and criteria derived from conceptions rooted in the tradition of critical inquiry. This tradition critiques assumptions underlying a consensus ideology and offers another way of looking at content concerned with societal understanding.

The study makes specific reference to citizenship education as an ideological concern in the relationship of school and society. Participation of individuals in society is rooted in
assumptions concerning the ways that cultural, political and economic processes operate within social organizations. These assumptions are reflected in social studies content.

The study addresses three questions:

1. To what extent does social tension characterize Canadian society?
2. What does critical inquiry reveal about the ideology of social studies content?
3. Does a consensus view of society dominate social studies content that is presented to students?

Method of the Study

1. Conceptions

The study argues that proliferating social concerns in Canada require educators to pose different questions regarding the relationship of school and society. The study contends that these questions must be framed in terms of conflicting values and interests, referred to as pluralism, rather than in terms of social ideals associated with a consensus ideology.

A basis for forming these questions is rooted in the tradition of critical inquiry, which is derived from European social theory and the sociology of knowledge. The term "critical" refers to the human potential for self-reflection,
self-determination and the questioning of principles that organize social activity (van Manen, 1975). A central feature of this inquiry is to encourage awareness of the kinds of human and social life that are produced and reproduced through schooling (Soltis, 1984). Moreover, Anyon (1981), Apple (1981), Giroux (1984), Popkewitz (1984) and Cherryholmes (1985) have extended this critique to analyze the explicit and implicit messages of schooling. This inquiry posits a belief in active citizenship and social change through education.

Consensus and pluralism are conceptual tools of critical inquiry that describe different views of society. Apple (1979) contends that the notion of a consensus ideology is drawn from a systems view of science which excludes the significant role of intellectual, interpersonal and conceptual conflict in social progress and achievement. On the other hand, pluralism represents an alternate view of society which recognizes competing interests and value positions and suggests a different approach to addressing tensions (Hamilton, 1979).

2. Development of the Framework

The framework consists of questions and criteria drawn from the literature of critical inquiry. It addresses three dimensions of content referred to as the treatment of social
conflict, the nature of social discourse and the organization of social knowledge.

The framework makes reference to the ends-means model of decision making. This metaphor of social action is patterned after the model of the physical sciences in which a goal is identified and the means for achieving that goal become the research problem. The model assumes that accurate prediction of social goals, as with those of the natural sciences, can be arrived at through scientific methods of analysis.

As an approach to organizing content, the ends-means model is termed reconstructed logic. This planning model relies on the engineering of means to realize specific educational ends. On the other hand, logic-in-use refers to the questioning of structures or principles achieved by focusing on situations or conditions that are followed through their natural progression.

3. Textbook Selection

Analysis of the study is based on two series of social studies texts prescribed for use in intermediate British Columbia classrooms. The series consist of five texts which provide a choice for social studies instruction. The study offers a descriptive analysis of social orientation in textbooks that can provide additional information for audiences concerned with the nature of social studies content.
4. Limitations of the Study

The study is limited to prescribed texts for intermediate classrooms. It includes all questions, descriptions, conversations, explanations and activities in the student texts. It does not address teacher guides or other authorized materials.

The study focuses on the ways in which social studies content reflects and shapes assumptions about Canadian society. It does not necessarily extend to other subject areas.

Methodological and pedagogical techniques have received a great deal of attention in studies concerning the purposes and effectiveness of schooling. The intent of this study is to examine the nature of content which is directly prescribed for conveying social knowledge, skills and values to intermediate students. It does not include observations of, or interviews with, teachers.

The study is exploratory in nature. As such, the dimensions of content are not intended to be mutually exclusive. Their purpose is to provide a framework for analyzing ideology of content. The study offers a descriptive understanding of each of the texts, however no judgements are made of the textbook series.

The following chapter begins with an examination of tensions in Canadian society. Chapter two articulates a set of continuing concerns that citizens are expected to deal with in their social
responsibilities. It presents commission and task force reports, literary observations and constitutional perspectives on the nature of Canadian society. It also sets out the degree to which conflicting values and interests precipitate social concerns and policy actions. Chapter three considers the relationship of school and society from a critical perspective. Alternatives for curriculum content that identifies society as a source of educational direction are examined. Three dimensions of content, which form the basis for the analytical framework of the study, are then presented. Chapter four addresses the analysis of textbooks. Chapter five presents conclusions and implications of the study.
Chapter Two

TENSIONS IN CANADIAN SOCIETY

This chapter argues that tensions in Canadian society are a function of the way the country is organized physically, economically and politically. It also considers conceptual tensions which are a manifestation of this organization. The issues generated by these tensions are magnified due to increasing polarity and questioning of social values. Over time, issues become continuing social concerns that are addressed through interest groups and policy action. The response of education to the concerns of society is considered at the end of the chapter.

Sources of Social Tension

Values underlying Canadian society are solidly rooted in competing interests. They are an outgrowth of different views of society and conflicting priorities concerning social goals. Social tensions, therefore, are defined as sustained conflict between particular interests and value positions which create issues of continuing concern to society.

Canada is a relatively "new" nation that has only recently acquired independence in the form of a patriated constitution. Social historians contend that the struggle to articulate a
unique cultural and national identity is greatly magnified in a society that has been largely influenced by the choices and feelings of migration (Conway, 1974; Bacchus, 1981). Canadian consciousness and social structures are infused with diverse outlooks which demand recognition. They provide a constant source of social pressure to adapt to changing needs and interests. Monet (1982) describes it this way:

Canada is probably unique among major peoples of the world today because we have evolved a type of citizenship based neither on a homogeneous nationality nor a revolutionary ideal . . . it is a nationality in which no one point of view or way of life has a monopoly over the others. (p. 7)

Tension between a political sense of unity and an imaginative sense of locality perhaps best describes the essence of what it means to be Canadian (Frye, 1982). It is a conceptual tension particularly applicable to the relationship between individual and society in Canada.

The democratic ideal is one of equality, where everyone has the same rights before the law, but not, except indirectly, one of freedom. It tries to provide the conditions of freedom, but freedom itself is an experience, not a condition, and only the individual can experience it. So for freedom there has to be some tension between society and the individual. (Frye, 1982, p. 188)

Democracies maintain this tension, in effect spurring social movement towards localities which cohere around distinct traditions. As communities become more articulate, the tension grows. National consciousness is pulled between notions of "unity," that are referenced to a national and political
description of the country, and "identity," which are associated
with regional, local and cultural concerns. This tension within
Canadian society fosters a national consciousness built upon
diverse local and regional perspectives rather than a single
nationalistic outlook.

Armour (1981) argues that a crisis of community exists in
Canada. He contends that public acceptance, which legitimizes
social institutions, is reaching its limits of tolerance and
approaching a familiarity with disorder that is more common than
uncommon. He states:

All this is there on the surface for everyone to see. But our tendency to authorize conflicting institutions
goes a good deal deeper than the mere creation of
provincial legislatures. And our own crisis of
community cannot be grasped if we do not dig a little
deeper. Essentially, our problem has to do with the
way in which the community is associated with a central
culture and variety of sub-cultures. (p. 17)

Armour suggests that to create a context of sharing, in
which all lives and visions retain their distinct qualities,
requires that political power and possessiveness simply not be
priorities in social organization.

But one must not imagine that such a shared culture
needs to be homogeneous. Indeed, it is precisely in
the acceptance of variance that one develops a culture
in which power is not a value. For the acceptance of
variance entails that the power to press others to
conformity is not acceptable.

In a pluralistic society, in a society which
recognizes both communities and individuals, there is
never an end to the tensions. But that should surprise
no one. (Armour, 1981, p. 142)
Strong regional identifications in Canadian society revolve around differences of language, ethnicity, employment, resource management and income distribution. Social issues are continually evolving as a result of these differences, with every group preferring to have their own values reflected in social policy and action. However, recognition of some concerns inevitably circumscribes the freedom of choice expected by those who ascribe to different social goals. A social cleavage perspective is advanced as being the most meaningful interpretation of the "normal" state of Canadian social realities (Zureik & Pike, 1975). The frequency with which individuals advance their own interests and concerns, as being the greatest challenges facing the whole country, indicates the variance in points of view that are brought to bear on societal concerns.

The Task Force on Canadian Unity (1979) was commissioned to examine and report upon problems relating to disunity in Canadian society. They were astonished by the array of grievances and isolated points of view that they discovered. They report:

Sometimes the country seemed to us to be composed of a multiplicity of solitudes, islands of self-contained activity and discourse disconnected from their neighbours and tragically unaware of the whole which contained them all. When one spoke, the others did not listen; indeed, they barely seemed to hear. (p. 6)

The realities of size, relatively small population and geographical boundaries create physical tensions within Canadian society that support continuing social, economic and cultural
concerns. They reinforce locally shared agreement rather than national consensus.

Policy Response to Social Tension

Cultural tensions have long been a divisive factor in the conflicting objectives of Ottawa and Quebec over sovereignty and language rights. The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1965) is official federal policy declaring Canadian society to be two official languages and no single official culture. Political tensions further exacerbate regional disparities within a system of federal and provincial decision making that lends itself to confrontations regarding issues of responsibility, liability and accountability. Canadian society is experiencing deep transformations as a result of the social issues and continuing concerns generated by these tensions.

Every social issue has multiple interpretations that form conflicting points of view. A common concern for the protection of the Canadian environment deteriorates into heated discussions concerning financial management of public resources. While the causes and effects of acid rain are well documented, solutions remain evasive due to differing interests of environmental groups and industries that have a stake in the issue. A recent federal government study recommends that Ottawa surrender the enforcement of environmental protection measures to the provinces
("Environment Changes," 1986). This would reduce the influence of national standards and enforcement of environmental quality. The environmental debate fuels public controversy concerning political relations between federal, provincial and international responsibilities. It strongly illustrates a priority of interests.

Recognition of aboriginal land claims raises many of the same difficulties in resolving cultural tensions. It is another source of aggravation between levels of government. Land settlement and compensation is constitutionally a federal responsibility but is also a matter for negotiation between native populations and their respective provincial governments where actual management of resources is at stake. It is a contentious dispute from the points of view of fisherman, loggers and non-native residents who share an interest in the same resource. While all groups recognize the need for collective management, they are at odds over the form that such management should take. The 1978 James Bay Settlement in Quebec inspires other native claims to exclusive hunting and fishing rights. The 1987 constitutional conference on native rights holds serious implications for the entrenchment of native land claims in Canada.

A similar scenario is occurring in proposals for the establishment of wilderness preserves, particularly South Moresby
Island. The area concurrently involves the interests of mining, fishing, logging, and native land claims. The Wilderness Advisory Committee (1986) recommends protection of the South Moresby, giving approval only to logging outside national park boundaries proposed by the committee. The Haida Indians are opposed to any such compromise involving their ancestral lands.

The Canadian Constitution (1981) is a national policy statement guaranteeing that every individual is equal before the law. It legislates against discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability. It recognizes the right of every person in Canada to take up residence or seek employment in any part of the country they choose. This effort on the part of the federal government to extend mobility and freedom to all individuals is official recognition of rights and differences. In some ways it compounds the pressures of increasing urbanization, scarcity of employment and regional economic disparity. The social implications are ethnically and regionally specific, as detailed in the report of the Special Parliamentary Committee on Visible Minorities in Canadian Society (1984) entitled Equality Now!

Federal response to the eighty recommendations of that report clearly supports a persuasive, rather than coercive, policy approach. It is particularly cautious with respect to those items which touch on matters "within provincial jurisdiction," or
which "address the private sector" (Canada, House of Commons, 1984). Justice for all members of Canadian society is a fundamental concern underlying the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The fundamental freedoms of all Canadian citizens are:

1. freedom of conscience and religion;
2. freedom of thought, belief, opinion and expression, including freedom of the press and other media of communication;
3. freedom of peaceful assembly; and
4. freedom of association.

(Canada, House of Commons, 1981, p. 3)

Fairness of employment opportunities is the focus of one recent royal commission report (Abella, 1984). The report openly criticizes the ineptness of voluntary measures in assuring equitable hiring practices. It proposes a form of enforcement agency in the workplace.

A major challenge facing Canadian society in the 1980s is whether the economy will survive as a single entity or whether it will splinter under the pressures of conflicting regional priorities. One issue of pressing societal concern is free trade between Canada and the United States. Recent moves toward protectionism by American lobbyists, and subsequent tariff reprisals by the Canadian federal government, illustrate the complexity of relations in these economic negotiations. The Macdonald commission on the economy (1985), as it is commonly known, strongly endorses a major restructuring of economic and provincial systems. This includes the gradual reduction of trade barriers between provinces and nations. Integrating the Canadian
education with that of the United States poses serious considerations for job prospects, standard of living, regional relations and cultural integrity in Canadian society. Growing opposition from resource and cultural industries, unionists and nationalists, represents considerable conflict between interests and value positions.

Educational Response to Societal Concerns

Two recent social studies assessments bring into focus the efforts of education to deal with the concerns of Canadian society. The Social Studies in Alberta Assessment (1975) notes that it is reasonable for programs to advance the historical, geographical and social bases of the homeland to young citizens. It also points out that the tendency towards a nationalistic, chauvinistic and "encyclopedic knowledge" emphasis is incompatible with the fundamental goals of social education. A concluding thought of the study is that recognition of a plurality of positions and values must not be left to chance in either methodology or content.

The British Columbia Social Studies Assessment (1977) incorporates descriptive and statistical information from diverse sources. It offers an interpretive analysis of social learnings in school programs and instruction. It also recognizes that concern to have students become better Canadians by acquiring
knowledge about their country appears a worthy consideration. However:

The lack of a focus in school programs on the ethnic diversity of the local community could be viewed as an attempt by schools to socialize students into Canadian life without sufficient consideration for the often espoused ideals of a pluralistic society. (Aoki et al., 1977, p. 25)

Recommendations arising from these assessments have been variously incorporated into educational policy. The Alberta Social Studies Curriculum (1981) is primarily based upon investigation of competing values underlying social issues. It examines all aspects of political, economic and socio-political life. The British Columbia Social Studies Curriculum (1983) clearly acknowledges the need for greater Canadian content and inquiry into issues, which it defines as significant disagreements involving matters of fact, meaning or values.

**Intents of Social Education**

Education and curriculum have always been expected to serve the moral and cultural purposes of the society at large (Tomkins, 1986). It is schooling, and particularly the social studies, that is primarily responsible for imparting social responsibility which enhances cultural and national understanding.

Social concerns within Canadian society are constantly evolving. Federal and provincial governments are clearly attempting to address the tensions underlying Canadian society.
The role of education is problematic due to lack of agreement over whose culture, whose interests, which issues and what image of society to transmit to young citizens. Some view Canadian society as a political community sustained through constructive participation of citizens in public life (Hodgetts & Gallagher, 1978). Others view it as a struggle between dominant and minority perspectives and the striving of citizens to interpret the influences that shape their own and others' value positions (Werner, et al., 1977). It is seen as a network of societal issues that emerges from human interests and expectations (Wilson, 1982). It is described as a social order in which the selection and distribution of knowledge, through schooling, may operate to maintain dominant interests (Fisher, 1983). In order to make the role of schooling proactive, rather than reactive, its content must reflect a critical interest in the principles which organize social activity.
Chapter Three

EDUCATION AND CRITICAL INQUIRY

Issues in society inevitably raise questions of purpose regarding the role and content of schooling. This chapter argues that education is an interpretive enterprise that reflects assumptions about the nature and needs of society. It offers a critique of positivist assumptions, the foundation of a consensus ideology, and provides the basis for an analytical framework of critical inquiry.

Relationship of School and Society

Society is a major source for the direction of education, particularly social education which has effective citizenship as its central purpose. The notion that the aims of education are separate from those of other social institutions appears to separate education and politics in Western industrialized democracies (Fisher, 1983). There exists a faith in the ability of schooling to repair problems in the wider society, as though it were an impartial conduit for widely shared agreement. A number of scholars contend that education is set within a complex web of forces which categorize and stratify the knowledge and experiences to which students are exposed. They contend that schooling provides a central mechanism for the sorting of members
of different social classes (Apple, 1979; Anyon, 1981; Fisher, 1983). Two views of social organization which have a strong bearing on this discussion are referred to as consensus and pluralism. Inherent in the notion of pluralism is the networking of autonomous associations organized according to mutual needs, values and interests which change over time. A central feature of consensus is systems-oriented, institutional associations organized according to majority rule and centralized procedures that are maintained over time. These views of society are alternate approaches to political activity, citizenship education and the premises and content of schooling.

Views of Social Organization

A consensus view of society rests on the assumption that goals and criteria can be agreed upon and that the welfare of society can be represented by surrogate interest groups composed of experts who are knowledgeable in their respective fields (Hamilton, 1979). The role of expert is essential to a consensus view. It relies heavily on the elements of rationality and objectivity which form the fundamental fact/value distinction of the positivist tradition. A consensus ideology is strong on technology and social engineering patterned after the natural sciences, that is, "the demonstration of empirical/logical connections between what is and what (we all agree) ought to be"
(Hamilton, 1979, p. 342). It assumes that shared values are more significant than discrepant values. It further assumes that areas of social antagonism are pragmatically resolvable through the system of representative democracy.

A pluralist view of society recognizes the competitive nature of diverse value systems and interest groups. It assumes that different standards are likely to be held by different groups. It makes problematic the consensus view that a uniformity of standards is attainable, or even desirable, in social situations (Hamilton, 1979). A pluralist view of society assumes that facts and values are inseparable elements in the unique mix of information, experience and interests which shape attitudes and influence choices.

MacDonald (1976) argues that educational models are tied to ideology and assumptions about society. He contends they are "ideological models harnessed to a political vision" (p. 130). MacDonald suggests that objectives models which assume goal consensus to be simply a matter of "clarification rather than reconciliation" are incompatible with pluralist societies that inherently value diversity and conflicting perspectives. He states:

In a society such as ours, educational power and accountability are widely dispersed, and situational diversity is a significant factor in educational action. It is also quite clear that our society contains groups and individuals who entertain different, even conflicting, notions of what constitutes educational excellence. (p. 129)
Hamilton (1979) extends this linkage between educational practice, ideology and interpretations of socio-political life. He argues that the emergence of pluralist theories in education reflects a general crisis in the realm of social values which motivates greater concern for issues, rather than solutions and information, rather than confirmation. Pluralist approaches, therefore, are strong on "conflicting interpretations, value differences and incomplete closure" (p. 342). This is a result of their 'reading' of how society does or ought to proceed.

Curriculum as a Vehicle for Conceptions of Society

Conflicting interpretations of social needs generate different guidelines for educational decision making. Two curriculum orientations that locate society as a source, but reflect different premises for schooling, are identified as Social Adaptation and Social Reconstruction (Eisner, 1979).

An adaptive orientation to curriculum derives its content from a perceived societal need for an organized labour force that furthers the existing social order. The expectation placed on education is that the systematic setting, testing and resolving of social problems will occur through the relatively neutral agencies of schooling. The intention is to raise the consciousness level of students to the world of work as it exists, rather than encourage students "to consider alternatives
to work as it is now generally defined or to seriously question the premises and values that give work such a central place in our lives" (Eisner, 1979, p. 63).

In considering the importance of education in society, Tyler (1978) observes:

As our society continues to utilize science and technology, and as the nation continues to raise its expectations, the educational requirements for most people to participate constructively, to remain socially mobile, and to fulfill themselves are higher. (p. 122)

A social reconstructionist orientation to curriculum assumes that critical consciousness among students is of major concern to building a healthier and more just social order. It focuses on social and structural change and the use and distribution of power as a major element in that change. Content is drawn from controversial issues related to the impact and consequences of technology, changing relations in the workplace and socially defined issues. The purpose of schooling is to inquire into consequences, diverse value commitments, the form and constraints of knowledge and the tools of criticism.

On the responsibility of education in a rapidly changing society, Duguid (1985) argues that critical thinking is a political act which values the human potential to shape history. He contends:

For the next generation to have a chance to realize that potential, it must be given the critical, ethical, and substantive tools essential for appropriating technology from the technocrats, and the will to
believe that individuals, not machines or the forces behind machines, determine our future. (p. 23)

An extension of the reconstructive orientation is critical inquiry, the heart of which is social criticism. This inquiry poses broader questions for social and educational study by focusing on the ways in which assumptions about society direct educational attention toward particular ends, without sufficient consideration for whose interests or beliefs are being reproduced. The practice of social criticism assumes:

The language and intent of such (critical) theory is political—to consider the moments of domination, ideology, hegemony and emancipation in social life and social change. The purpose of social criticism is not solely one of opposition to social economic structure. Making problematic the nature of words, customs and tradition in our everyday life is to increase the possibility of human agency in providing for a social transformation that creates new social structures and emancipatory conditions. (Popkewitz, 1984, p. 17)

Fundamental to the tradition of critical inquiry is the belief that ideologies are socially constructed and historically situated. Furthermore, ideologies are most likely to be reflected through aspects of schooling which are directed toward societal understanding. Gilbert (1985) emphasizes the point that an active understanding of the human condition requires critical inquiry into the knowledge, the explanations, the choices and alternatives that people encounter with reference to social goals, problems and conflicts. To this end, there are three aspects of societal understanding which critical theorists identify as essential to the analysis of ideology in content.
These are described as: the treatment of social conflict, the nature of social discourse and the organization of social knowledge.

Treatment of Social Conflict

Ideology is described as "a dynamic construct that refers to the ways in which meanings are produced, mediated, and embodied in knowledge forms, social practices, and cultural experiences" (Giroux, 1984, p. 35). It is a filtering system of values and beliefs that forms conceptual lenses which mediate human and social conduct. Over time, these impressions permeate educational language and practice to form commonsense assumptions about the social world.

The notion that the social sciences are similar to the physical sciences is ideological in nature (Popkewitz, 1984). It assumes a science of human conduct that requires schooling to implement technologies, rather than consider the moral implications involved in the use and distribution of power. A specific feature of consensus ideology is the focus on a well-ordered world which values common social goals and rejects social conflict as dysfunctional. The tension between institutional history and personal biography is ignored where such logic dominates.
The hidden curriculum is a powerful tool for the implicit teaching of norms and values related to the world of work, race, class and gender. Treatment of conflict in the school curriculum posits a network of assumptions which reinforce basic rules concerning legitimate behaviour. How social problems are addressed and how structures of authority are regarded may be implicitly transmitted. This is accomplished not so much by explicit instances showing the negative value of conflict, but through the virtual absence of instances showing the importance of intellectual and normative conflict in social and scientific growth (Apple, 1971). In an examination of the social studies field, Apple suggests that schools both mirror and foster an ideology that is oriented to a static perspective concerning the organization of society and the functions of social conflict. The tacit rules conveyed to students establish attitudes toward authority and legitimate boundaries of questioning and activity. They are explicitly tied to a notion of trust that implicitly organizes social activity around certain social procedures. Where instances of social conflict are consistently ignored, or not presented as having a positive function, the view of society that is generalized may reinforce quiescent attitudes toward social activity. Apple makes very clear that depicting society as an essentially cooperative system is not an empirical statement—it is a value orientation that determines which
questions are asked and which channels are selected for student consideration.

The attitude exhibited toward the creation of new values and customs and the value placed on an orderly, nonconflicting world seems to be indicative of a more constitutive set of assumptions concerning consensus and social life. (Apple, 1971, p. 34)

Identification of conflict as a basic dimension of societal understanding requires that certain assumptions be made about the value of continuous change in the elements and structural form of social systems. It must be assumed that men and women are creators, not recipients, of values and institutions. It must be assumed that conflict between disparate value frameworks tends to lead to progress. It needs to be acknowledged that this type of conflict has utility in stimulating awareness of the basic rules and hidden imperatives which govern the human condition. Acceptance of these possibilities seeks to reveal more appropriate structures which perhaps strengthen both participation and the bonds of social membership through the redefining of needs and interests within a group or community.

In order to examine the treatment of conflict in social studies texts, three questions are addressed:
(a) How are social problems presented and resolved?
(b) What reference is made to value frameworks in descriptions of progress and social change?
(c) In what ways is social membership defined?
Nature of Social Discourse

Discourse refers to the formal discussion of a subject in either speech or writing. In this case, it is the means by which knowledge of society is transmitted through description, conversation or explanation in social studies content.

Giroux (1984) contends that the traditional language of schooling reflects a mechanistic world view which assumes a scientific logic of ends and means. This form of discourse focuses on issues of efficiency and control. It directs schools to meet the projected needs of industrial and economic productivity. It also fosters modes of thinking that emphasize technical learning rather than critical literacy and active citizenship.

The point is expanded by Cherryholmes (1983) who suggests that particular power relations structure social studies discourse to determine what is said, what is not said, and upon what authority. He argues that knowledge claims and power relations interpenetrate. This is readily comprehended when it is considered that knowledge claims are products of discourse and discourse is structured by rules and power relations. Furthermore, what we claim to know is often used in attempts to legitimize or contest existing power relationships. (p. 345)

Apple (1975) points out that the language of schooling is permeated with the logic of clinical, psychological and therapeutic processes. Such language brings with it assumptions
about the human condition that develop out of specific institutional frameworks and situations. Applied in an educational context, categories of institutional logic operate to sort, classify and label behaviours that operate outside of accepted norms. Apple criticizes modes of discourse that are manipulative and deterministic in their approach to social and educational problems. He contends that such modes of discourse eliminate elements of surprise and diverse points of view which encourage new perspectives. Rather, they are aimed at bringing student action into line with sedimented social expectations. He suggests that the problem is not with attempts to foster creativity in the schools:

Indeed, educators have noted this issue for years. Rather the problem lies behind this—in a fundamental ethic that all important modes of human action can be known in advance by educators and social scientists; that certainty in interaction among people is of primary import; and, underlying all of these, that the primary aspects of thought and sentiment of students should be brought under institutionalized control. (Apple, 1975, p. 120)

The prescriptive qualities of forms of communication are rarely considered. Cherryholmes (1985) questions why it is that the underlying rules of social studies discourse remain largely unexamined in terms of why we speak of the things that we do rather than something else entirely. He proposes that if "human interests and human knowledge go together" (p. 398), then language is an interpretive expression of values and commitments
which represent particular views of the social world. Of the social studies, he claims:

What is found are selective descriptive and explanatory accounts of social phenomena--historical and current, about our society and that of others--that are "appropriate" in terms of dominant views of society. Labor, minority and feminist history and politics . . . are excluded. (p. 397)

Human beings make sense of the world through their interactions with it. To a large extent, these interactions are structured by a conceptual system of metaphors derived from individual experiences with social situations. Knowledge of social life cannot exist without language or speech. The assumption that language and speech are neutral tools that exist independently of a social context is associated with a consensus ideology. Discourse is considered a form of action displaying particular power arrangements which Cherryholmes (1985) describes as a "material social practice" (p. 396).

Achieving understanding is a normative concept. The purpose of critical discourse is to question the values that permeate language and to encourage an openness toward challenging statements about social activity. The intent of this approach is to achieve what Cherryholmes (1980) defines as a rational consensus. It is distinguished from traditional consensus in that it questions the methods and content of discourse used to transmit particular knowledge, skills and values to students. The question posed by Cherryholmes (1985) is "what and whose
values are embedded in social studies education?" (p. 396). By way of answering the question, he contends:

The argumentation determines when a rational consensus has been achieved. There are no decision rules to indicate when a consensus is reached; there are only procedural rules, norms that specify open, symmetrical communication permitting the discourse to proceed. (p. 133)

A critical approach to social discourse requires that:

1) individual interests be represented with equal status and power; 2) all assertions are open to question and argument; and 3) discourse does not become strategic through contest or judgements of winning and losing which act to circumvent the emergence of the best argument (Cherryholmes, 1985).

The nature of discourse in social studies texts is applied to descriptions and explanations of human and social activity. Questions to be addressed regarding this dimension of content are:

(a) How are the interests of characters portrayed?
(b) Are descriptions of social activity openly discussed?
(c) What conclusions is the reader directed to regarding explanations of human and social phenomena?

**Organization of Social Knowledge**

In social studies curriculum, the expanding horizons model is frequently used to organize knowledge for elementary social studies programs. It offers a convenient framework for
sequencing a given body of knowledge, in spite of the lack of "empirical support or normative justification" for use of such a model (Cherryholmes, 1985, p. 396). Scholars who contend that world views are transmitted through knowledge claims which predispose students toward particular explanations of society and social institutions, tend to reject a sequential approach to achieving good citizenship. To assume that the way things are can be objectively determined to direct the way social studies should be arranged represents a false consciousness that may lead to conformity, obedience and compliant behaviour on the part of students.

Knowledge is considered to have properties similar to other forms of capital. Its selection and distribution benefits certain cultural interests to the exclusion of others. The traditional practice of studying a predetermined body of knowledge leads Giroux (1984) to conclude:

Steeped in the logic of technical rationality, the problematic of traditional curriculum theory and schooling centers on questions about the most thorough or most efficient way to learn specific kinds of knowledge, to create moral consensus, and to provide modes of schooling that reproduce the existing society. (p. 36)

Knowledge and the application of skills and values to "the way life really is" plays an essential role in shaping awareness of human and social conditions. Questioning of why and how certain aspects of the collective culture are included in the content of schooling raises the point that educational knowledge
represents symbolic property favouring some social interests and
discriminating against others. Apple (1979) contends that:

The knowledge that gets into school—those 'legitimate
principles, ideas, and categories'—grows out of a
particular history and a particular economic and
political reality. It needs to be understood by
situating it back into that socio-economic context.
(p. 157)

Information about society and social institutions is
initially decided from a wide field of choices regarding what is,
or is not, considered to be important knowledge. On this basis,
truth claims rooted in the fact/value distinction cannot be
advanced as plausible criteria for presenting a particular view
of society (Apple, 1971). Instead, decisions are made with
reference to a particular criteria and knowledge is shaped within
a framework of social values and interests. A critical approach
to social knowledge suggests that human and social phenomena must
be interpreted for understanding rather than objectified for
prediction. Distinctions between fact and value must be linked
with a critical examination of how knowledge is socially
constructed.

Knowledge is initially a social construct that is filtered
through the interests and experiences of receivers. Once the
subjective dimension of knowing is lost, the purpose of knowledge
becomes one of accumulation and categorization (Giroux, 1979).
The skills with which information is processed can teach social
inquiry as it is constructed through theories and concepts of the
disciplines, or they can encourage questions as to why a particular form of social collectivity exists, how it is maintained and who benefits from it (Apple, 1979).

The relationship between social knowledge and citizenship education raises a central question concerning what decision-making skills students need in order to increase individual and social effectiveness in a democratic society. Cherryholmes (1980) argues:

The ends-means analysis, the fragmentation of social phenomena, the objectification of society, and the fact/value distinction—all are furthered by linear models of decision making and citizenship education. Citizenship education from a critical theoretical perspective would be much more holistic, political, interpretive, and fundamentally critical. (p. 138)

Englund (1986) contends that school knowledge is a manifestation of ideology which is sustained through social studies content. His analysis of the forms that citizenship education takes, with regard to particular conceptions of society and knowledge, focuses on the power relations implied in that content. He concludes that the alternative to a scientific-rational conception lies in a truly democratic conception of citizenship education. He states:

The democratic conception entails explicit criticism of the criteria formerly applied regarding the selection and nature of school knowledge, based on a narrow interpretation of objectivity, a one-sided view of science, "value-freedom," a suppression of conflict in descriptions of reality, and so on. (p. 328)
Active citizenship is a commitment to a more just society. It is a commitment to questioning the origins and functions of knowledge. It requires a willingness to critique those principles which guide and constrain social organization in terms of the quality of life and consequences that result from choices.

Four questions will be addressed regarding organization of knowledge in social studies texts:

(a) How is the content of the texts structured?
(b) What is considered legitimate social knowledge?
(c) On what basis are truth claims advanced?
(d) What kinds of decision-making processes are identified in the texts?

This discussion of education and critical inquiry has proceeded in terms of three dimensions of social studies content. They are referred to as Treatment of Social Conflict, Nature of Social Discourse and Organization of Social Knowledge. The discussion provides a foundation for the criteria described in Appendix A and the analysis of textbooks which follows in Chapter four. Sub-headings which appear within each dimension identify the central focus of each of the probing questions. For example, within the dimension of content referred to as Treatment of Social Conflict, the sub-heading "Social problems" refers to the
probing question, "How are social problems presented and resolved?".
Chapter Four

ANALYSIS OF TEXTS

Procedures

This chapter reports the analysis of content in five social studies textbooks. In order to determine the nature of content, it was necessary to design a framework that was sensitive to different views of society from a critical perspective. The tasks undertaken by the study are:

1. To identify criteria that will guide the analysis of social studies textbooks. Specific points of the criteria used in the study are derived from discussion of the dimensions of content in chapter three. The criteria are outlined as three tables in Appendix A.

2. To formulate key questions that address specific concerns within the criteria. The focus of each question appears as a sub-heading which organizes major considerations within each dimension of content. Questions used for analysis are outlined in Appendix B.

3. To conduct a preliminary analysis of each textbook in its entirety, proceeding from grade four to grade five in each series. Notes are made throughout the first reading in all areas where concerns of the criteria appear to be addressed.
4. To conduct a detailed analysis of each textbook through a second reading. Notations of the preliminary analysis are expanded to include page numbers, relevant quotations from content and observations as to the way in which that area of the criteria is addressed. Individual notations for every textbook are then collated by sub-heading to provide descriptions of each area within the three dimensions of content.

5. To synthesize the analyses of all textbooks into concluding interpretations based on similarities and differences within the content of the texts. The synthesis is reported according to the sequence of questions used in Appendix B. Together, they comprise an exploratory analysis of social studies textbooks.
The Analysis

Text: The Haida and the Inuit: People of the Seasons
Author: Heather Smith Siska
Publisher: Douglas & McIntyre (Educational) Ltd.
Series: Explorations., A Canadian Social Studies Program for Elementary Schools.
Publication Date: 1984
Grade: 4
Pages: 174

Treatment of Social Conflict

Three instances of social conflict appear in the text. In two of these instances, the problem of warfare between neighbouring tribes appears as an unavoidable concern that occurs between groups of people who live in close proximity and are trading partners.

Like people everywhere, the Haida and their neighbours did not always get along. Sometimes they disagreed about things that were owned or things that were said and done. (p. 23)

An instance of conflict that is resolved within a social group involves an act of stealing within the Inuit culture. The mention of this seems to illustrate a moral concerning the importance of honesty. It directs students to evaluate the appropriateness of the punishment received by the thief ("Why was stealing a serious crime in the north of long ago? Do you think the people's way of punishing the young man was a good one?" (p. 147)).

The text touches upon ways in which social change may occur through unexpected transformations in group life. For example,
the devastating impact that occurs on Inuit life when their regular patterns of hunting are interrupted is very clearly portrayed.

The caribou had not come to that crossing. The families had no meat. They grew weak and the old people died. No one had energy to build snow houses. Hunters went out searching for food, but they had no strength. When their dogs were gone, the hunters died too. The people left behind at the river crossing could not survive. There was no food. There was no fat for lamps. The people could not keep warm and they could not melt snow to drink. Only hunger, cold and death remained. (p. 125)

There are frequent references to ways of life which portray established cultural activities. The text seems to display a primary interest in knowledge about a social world consisting of well defined roles and expectations.

They were people of the potlatch. Their lives would go on, following the seasons of the year. Many chiefs would give many celebrations. One day, in the way of his people, Sgundii would have his turn. (p. 80)

Nature of Social Discourse

The text presents several characters who represent members of the culture under study. These characters appear to typify the social roles of their culture. They share similar aspirations and a desire to emulate their heroes and leaders. The hypothetical thought processes and consistent nature of the characters appears to remove them from their particular locations by inviting the reader to speculate upon and predict their thoughts and future activities.
Descriptions of social activity in the text are directed toward definitive choices. Use of the word "like," in reference to parallels across different cultural and social settings, suggests common social goals which may override the imperatives operating within diverse value frameworks.

The text emphasizes that all native cultures are part of a special Canadian family. It reflects an attitude that the sum of the country's strength lies in the bridging of its individual parts. It reinforces an appreciation of desirable characteristics and talents by identifying the experiences of other cultures as interwoven with similar experiences and feelings of the reader.

The history of the native people is the foundation of our Canadian heritage. The Indians and the Inuit were the first to live in Canada. The cultures of those early people set an example for all of us. Their lives were not easy. It took great strength and courage to survive. (p. 11)

The text indicates that differences between people are largely a function of where they live and the materials they have at their disposal, rather than an innate discrepancy in world views. The message appears to be that all Canadians have the same needs underneath and that social harmony can be achieved through proper understanding and communication.
Organization of Social Knowledge

The content of the text is structured sequentially through an introduction, a portrayal of events throughout consecutive seasons as they are lived by the Haida and the Inuit and a conclusion summing up what has been discovered. The events are narrated from the point of view of two young children learning the ways of their people, as interpreted by the author of the text. Each section opens with a question about social activity that is subsequently answered in the text. Chapters conclude with brief comparisons between past and modern ways of life.

References to preserving the skills and craftsmanship of cultural heritage appear to indicate that knowledge is a commodity which can be "lost." History seems to be a body of information, with definable boundaries, to be collected and added to over time. The cultures are described as homogeneous entities. Statements about them appear to be empirical constructions rather than value commitments. For example, "Haida people have always been artists," (p. 22) and of the Inuit, "They were a happy, friendly people," (p. 95). Use of "we" and "they" tends toward an observer stance that assigns responsibility for accuracy in external observation.

The text clearly emphasizes similarities between peoples. It presents the strengths, wisdom and ingenuity of other cultures in a highly positive, possibly idealized, light. It appears to
suggest that to emulate the best values and characteristics of other cultures would be socially beneficial to the lives of Canadians today and in the future.

Those who first lived in this land were people of strength and spirit. They struggled and suffered, but they survived. They were proud people who depended upon themselves and upon each other. Together they found ways to be happy with very little. They shared with one another and celebrated together the important events in their lives.

There is much that we can learn from Canada's native people. Think about what you have learned about the Haida and the Inuit. Think about the feelings they had towards the land, the animals and each other. Are the beliefs they held long ago important for us to remember in our lives today?

Some day in the future, students in another classroom may be studying how we live. Do you think they will be pleased with what they discover? (p. 164)

The text recognizes that Haida and Inuit people have a fluid means of recording their own history through storytelling, songs, games, dances and symbolic representations. It indicates that this method is valid for native people and highly valuable, though not verified through documented history.

No one knows for sure how long native people have lived here. We do know that it has been for thousands of years. The native people speak of it as "forever". (p. 7)

The text indicates that truth is in some ways relative to values and interests but does not appear to extend the inquiry. It tends towards an acceptance of the fact/value distinction of empirical evidence.

Decision making that is identified in the text touches many levels of thinking skills that involve predicting, speculating,
pretending and applying of feelings. Some questions contain a predisposition toward a correct answer (e.g., "Why do you think it's important for native people to keep the old ways?" (p. 10)). A number of questions invite students to place themselves in the position of the characters, replicating their values or transferring personal ones, to arrive at conclusions regarding feelings, philosophies or situations. For instance, having rushed his construction of bow and arrows and experienced failure, a young Inuit hunter learns the lesson of patience and practise: "How do you think Ootek will care for his bow and his arrows? Why will he treat them that way?" (p. 141). Many of the questions seem directly linked to the information of the text, using thought processes which retrieve and apply a body of information.
Treatment of Social Conflict

Instances of social conflict in the text are initially alluded to with reference to battles between the Vikings and Indians. They are subsequently presented in terms of conflicting interests between the Indians and explorers, primarily as a result of naivete and misunderstandings which are resolved through proper translation and interpretation. The text does not appear to concentrate on European-Native conflict as being connected to issues of power or social control. The issue of fairness is raised in relation to lands which Cartier claimed for France that had previously been occupied by native peoples. The text seems to focus on communication as a resolution to social problems.

Descriptions of progress and social change are considered in the text. Reference is made, subtly, to ways in which value positions or interests may have influenced the settlement of Canada.

The Hudson's Bay Company did not want to travel a long way to trade with the Indians. The company liked the Indians to come to the forts. As a result, it was many
years before another explorer journeyed from Hudson Bay to the prairies. (p. 57)

Interdependence and cooperation surface as strong themes of the text. The helping relationship between Indians and explorers, particularly to the benefit of the explorers, is consistently stressed. The values of dependability and reliability are often highlighted. Groups are depicted as sharing common goals and valuing a unity of efforts.

Mr. Mackenzie has an amazing effect on us. How does he do it? Maybe he makes us feel we are twice as big and strong as we really are. That's why the voyageurs admire him. They respect people who have the strength and courage to try the impossible. They are like that themselves. (p. 170)

The implication seems to be that social membership is a cooperative venture between people who specialize well in their own particular areas, especially where leadership is concerned.

Nature of Social Discourse

Much of the content of the text includes fictional diary and journal accounts of individuals who in some way assisted the paths of early explorers. Some of the accounts seem to display assumptions about the characters and aspirations of early adventurers. A young interpreter for Champlain apparently cites:

I enjoyed exploring most of all. After that I liked feasting and dancing. I decided I could get along without fighting battles. Perhaps the Indians felt that way, too. (p. 35)
The text focuses on excitement, adventure and knowledge of new lands as motivation for early explorers. The ways in which bonds are formed as a result of alignment between vested interests does not appear to be highlighted. For instance, the need that Champlain had for the help of certain Indian groups in exploiting new areas of fur resources is alluded to. However, Champlain's primary motive for supporting these particular groups against their enemies seems to be presented in terms of the ties of friendship.

Each chapter concludes with vignettes that deal with different points of view. These passages offer interpretive insights into the unique mix of values and experiences which different people assign to the animals, the land, to travel or customs.

The Blackfoot lived on the prairies for a long time. They depended on the prairie animals. Then the fur traders came. They saw the same animals, but they didn't feel the same way the Blackfoot felt about them. The Blackfoot and the fur traders looked at the animals from different points of view. (p. 84)

A parallel is drawn between the way early explorers looked at the ocean and the way that space is viewed today. Several other descriptions of social activity, or world views, appear less open to discussion. Students are invited to put closure on aspects of early exploration by ranking the desirability of particular jobs and activities.
Use of comparative analyses in the text tends to compartmentalize world views into smaller segments that can be studied more efficiently and objectively. A question asking how the customs of Indians and Englishmen were the same or different, for example, encourages human and social phenomena to be reduced to common denominators. The qualities of bravery, courage, patience and understanding are frequently presented as requirements for sound leadership. Students are directed to admire and respect rather than analyze and debate. The tendency appears to reinforce generalizations concerning a common base of virtues or skills which people need to be successful, particular in categories of work.

What makes a person a good leader on a journey? (p. 47)

What kind of person makes the best explorer? (p. 98)

Do you think Peter Puget would be a good commander of the Chatham? (p. 132)

Organization of Social Knowledge

The content of the text builds upon the previous text in the series. Each chapter is structured around several questions which comprise "what lies ahead" and "what have we learned." Review is a consistent feature, within each chapter and as a cumulative evaluation at the end of each chapter. The overall scheme of the text reflects a geographical organization, moving
from East to West along exploration routes of Canadian regions. Each section opens with photographs and a brief description of the area under study. It then moves back in time to when the area was first being settled and explored.

Frequent connections between events and the feelings that events evoke in people indicates an interest in uncovering the personal meanings that explorers and native peoples experienced. For the most part, the text appears to legitimize knowledge that is socially useful. History is presented as a series of cumulative stepping stones conceived in a linear fashion (time line) moving from past to present time frames.

As the explorers moved across the country, they learned about its many different regions. Each explorer added a new region to the map of Canada. (p. 16)

Truth claims appear to be advanced on the basis of history documented through journals and diaries or fictional interpretations of such. The text indicates that truth claims can be decided and verified through correspondence to external evidence. Two examples are:

Later he wrote a book about his explorations in Canada, and that is how we know what happened. (p. 31)

Henday kept a journal telling of his travels, and that is how we know what happened. (p. 63)

Decision making seems to concentrate on imagining, conjecturing and predicting based upon information about characters and situations as they are presented in the text. Factual recall of knowledge is apparent to a lesser extent.
There is a strong emphasis in the text on bringing history to life, putting students in the place of early explorers and emphasizing desirable traits of character. Traditional values are apparent in the concentration on interdependence between peoples to achieve common goals. Conflict is minimized but points of view are highlighted.
Treatment of Social Conflict

The text probes different value bases from which people operate in their approaches to social problems. It acknowledges that continuing social problems in Canada have resulted from conflicting interests and value positions. Resolution of social problems appears to reside largely in the ability of an elected or appointed representative to listen to several views and choose the best solution for the majority good. Conflicting points of view are probed to the extent that areas of agreement can be determined and worked towards. In one such instance:

The people in Spruceville had different opinions about the forest. Yet they all agreed on one thing. They all thought the forest was valuable, for one reason or another. (p. 63)

The emphasis seems to be on agreement through majority approval and resolution through a final decision. Deciding what is best for the majority is a key concept in the social message of the text. The difficulties of forming one country from several colonies entertaining different needs, ideas and interests is clearly explicated. However, these needs are
portrayed as being resolved through better communication, better
government and improved communications systems.

Eventually all the colonists joined together in one
country so that they could help each other. Together,
they could do things they couldn't easily do alone.
Confederation gave the people one government for the
whole country. (p. 229)

The text opens with reference to changes that are occurring
in the lives of individuals and countries. Students are asked to
consider how personal circumstances have changed in their
lifetime and how they will change in the future. They are also
directed to consider how and why social changes take place.

A country such as Canada is also changing a bit every
year. For instance, somebody builds a fast-food
restaurant where there was once an empty lot. A new
family moves into your neighbourhood. A new mine opens
and hires many workers. In small ways, these things
change Canada. (p. 7)

The physical circumstances affecting resource-based towns
seem to be addressed to a greater extent than personal and social
implications. Limited explanations of cause and effects appear
to suggest that people are the recipients of events that happen
to them, almost beyond their control. A conversation between an
elderly woman and a young girl reveals:

The French, the English and other Europeans first came
to Canada for the resources. They came because they
heard that the country was rich in natural resources.
Some bought furs from the Indians; some came to catch
fish. Some came to cut the tall trees, and others went
looking for minerals, like gold. Some settlers began
farming. Towns started to grow up near the resources.
(p. 21)

During the gold rush thousands of people went to
British Columbia to look for gold. Boom towns were
quickly built for the miners and their families. There
were stores, banks, restaurants, schools--just like any town. Then the gold ran out and everyone moved away. Now there is nothing left but empty buildings. Those are ghost towns. (p. 22)

Effective social progress is largely attributed to scientific achievements and increased efficiency due to technological advance. It appears that people primarily have to pursue competence in a changing workplace by accumulating necessary training and skills. Maintaining order in social change seems of considerable importance in the text, particularly where the responsibilities of good citizenship are concerned.

If people want good government, they must be good citizens. People must always choose their representatives carefully and watch government actions closely. They must always support the actions they agree with and speak against the actions they don't. (p. 276)

The impact of technology is recognized in terms of fears that people have concerning the effects of television and computers on lifestyles. The text acknowledges that:

Whether this new technology will actually improve our lives depends on how we use it. The messages we communicate are as important as how far, how fast or how easily we can send them. (p. 184)

Several methods of changing government decisions are outlined, including protest groups which are described in terms of citizens joining together to protest a public issue or government decision through systematic means. Protest groups are described as an alternate form of social action which people must
collectively engage in to precipitate change in central authority decisions.

Public protests are usually more successful if they involve lots of people. The government cannot please everybody. If it is going to make changes, it must feel that many people want them. (p. 260)

Technology appears to compensate for human error and lack of foresight in the exhaustion of natural resources. Background as to why this depletion occurs is openly discussed but the emphasis appears to be on artificially recreating products for which there is continued demand. Descriptions of better and faster methodology suggest a smooth cause and effect relationship that relies on accumulation of data to remedy societal concerns.

Social membership is clearly defined in terms of the needs and well-being of all Canadians. The content of the text focuses on benefits that the whole society collectively receives from forestry, communications, government services and the contributions of cultural groups who immigrate to Canada. Social responsibility and peaceful co-existence are stressed.

Your future in Canada will be shared with many other Canadians. Some of them will have always lived here. Others will be new immigrants to Canada. Working together, you will shape the multicultural country you share. The immigrants of the future, like the immigrants of the past, will benefit all Canadians. It is your responsibility to help them make Canada their home. (p. 366)

The merits of belonging to the Canadian system of government and order are emphasized. The importance of observing laws and rules are justified on the basis that Canadians share the
services provided by government and, like a family, must comply with what is best for the common good.

Laws are rules made by governments. Laws help you get along with other Canadians. In a family, rules about mealtimes and chores help people live together. Governments make laws for the same reason. Laws help you get along with other Canadians. Laws both limit and protect your freedom. Laws are for everybody. Even the most important or powerful people in Canada must obey the laws. (p. 200)

Communication, friendship and working together through elected representation appears to provide the basis for social membership. Venturing into the web of human differences proceeds only so far as to identify common goals, values and areas of agreement.

Nature of Social Discourse

Unit themes are initially presented through the eyes of young people who are later re-introduced as successful citizens in the public community. The practice of typifying interests occurs frequently, as the actions of a few stand for the actions of many.

Everybody in Canada is represented by an M.P., so a sitting of the House of Commons really involves all Canadians. (p. 239)

Government services are depicted as benevolent, protective and necessary. Visual displays support this premise, as does the notion of trust that is conveyed through explanations regarding
the relationship between individuals and the system of government. For instance:

When you grow up, the government will likely provide you with some of the same services it does now. Just as it has in the past, the government will also change some services and provide new ones. The government provides services to meet your changing needs. (p. 252)

The language of the text directs readers to conclude that the human condition has considerably improved over time and that technology is largely responsible for this. Working together is a consistent theme throughout the text, advancing the premise that the welfare of all Canadians relies on the actions of young people in assuming their social responsibilities in later adult life.

The government provides you with many services that you cannot easily provide yourself. But good services cannot happen without good citizens. Canadians must be prepared to pay taxes and tell the government what they need. (p. 263)

There is a direct cause and effect relationship drawn between fluctuations in large industry and the happiness or sadness of people who desire certain benefits in their lives. Furthermore, it is suggested that we are all part of a global village, all wishing to avoid loneliness and isolation and appreciative of communications technology for enhancing understandings between people over great distances.

Communication is important to all people, whether they can hear or not. Communication is what makes human beings special. No other animals use language for speaking and writing like we do. Only people can share
so many thoughts, feelings and ideas. Communication links us together in this world. (p. 174)

The text appears to suggest that communications technology inherently promotes sharing and unity of ideas, thoughts, information and feelings.

Organization of Social Knowledge

The text is organized around four themes that are advanced as central to the past, present and future growth and development of Canada: the forest resource, communications, government and immigration. Each theme is explored as a unit of study divided into five chapters. Each chapter presents a story, from a child's point of view, as well as the past, present and future of each topic. Each chapter opens with a question which is subsequently answered in the content of the chapter and then reviewed in a chapter checkup. Growth rings on a tree represent a linear portrayal of the forest industry.

Legitimate social knowledge appears to be rooted primarily in documented sources and, to a lesser extent, in values and interests.

Where do you get all this information you need? Some of it comes from your teacher. Some information is written in textbooks. You probably also receive information from books in the library, from maps, from films, from television, from newspapers, from field trips, from guest speakers and even from computer programs. Your information comes from many sources. (p. 167)
There is a strong emphasis on knowledge that is socially useful, particularly in comparison to what is seen as a lack of information in the past due to inferior technology.

New methods of communication make it easier to receive information. Schools need lots of information. For instance, in your school you use information that explains how to add and subtract fractions. You use information that describes how people lived in the past. Information like this helps you learn new things. (p. 167)

Knowledge of the past, building on the experience of others and applying that knowledge to current concerns is a very strong theme of the text. For example:

When you understand your country's past, you will be better prepared to meet the challenges Canada faces in the future. As you head off on your voyage of exploration, you can build on the experience of the people who went before you. (p. 10)

The clues to future success seem to lie in the past. An important assumption in the text appears to be that if Canadians use the knowledge of the past and apply it properly, then waste and mismanagement will be avoided.

The text seems to concentrate primarily on truth claims that are substantiated in terms of what is occurring in society and what has happened in the past. The text does acknowledge that alternate points of view will likely direct people to attach different importance to certain items of information. It links "reporting" the facts with "creating" interesting news and suggests that consumers have a responsibility to sort through
messages for themselves. Truth claims in this instance appear to be shaped by the interests of social actors.

Each unit contains specific decision-making sections. They proceed through a process whereby the teacher poses a problem, encourages discussion by the students and concludes with a group decision regarding a common course of action. These activities appear to generate awareness of particular values such as conservation of resources, use of spare time, participating in public decisions and extending courteous attitudes towards new immigrants. All of the decision-making processes involve choices with reference to personal values. However, they are initiated and concluded by a central authority figure and they rely on a common course of action. The text allows for contention between points of view but appears to indicate that decisions are made when all the information is assembled. Moreover, decisions appear to be based on the common social good.
Native People and Explorers of Canada

Daniel C. G. Conner and Doreen Bethune-Johnson
Prentice-Hall Canada Inc.
Identity Social Studies Series
1984
4
339

Treatment of Social Conflict

The text portrays social problems in terms of a blend of economic and cultural influences. Resolutions to social problems appear to be internal to the values, interests and needs of the people involved. A young Inuit girl observes:

Annanak says we need to go out on the land because when we live in town all year we can lose touch with nature. (p. 12)

We can hunt and fish for only a few days because the adults have to go back to their jobs. We cannot wait too long at Locker Point and when the ice floes do not move we start for home. (p. 16)

Our hunting trip helps us to lower food costs. We pay about four times as much as people in the south for fresh meat and chicken because these foods have to be shipped to us by plane. (p. 17)

Father usually goes hunting on weekends. After work on a Friday night he checks over his snowmobile and packs his equipment on his sled called an alliak. (p. 24)

The text appears to lay the groundwork for further exploration of cultural tensions. The manner in which it describes social conflict seems to focus on points of view that comprise different ideas of the world. For example, of the British, the Nootka said:

Our songs said that this is our land and sea as far west as the horizon and as far east as the mountains.
We said that they were welcome to our land as our guests. (p. 199)

Of the Nootka, the British said:

We went to gather grass for the few goats and sheep we had on board. Twelve people said that the grass was theirs so I paid them with pieces of metal. It seemed that there was a separate owner for every blade of grass. Very soon my pockets were empty. I have never met people who believe so strongly that they own everything around them. (p. 233)

There is a constant interplay between past and present in the text. The River of Canada is now the St. Lawrence and Mt. Royal is now Montreal. Social changes are often reflected through memories that older characters have of their youth. The notion that past and present overlap to form new directions is a very strong theme of the text. A Copper Inuit girl observes:

We make up new contests for our Nattik Days. First we look at the way our people lived in the past to see if we can make up contests to test the skill, strength, and stamina we would have needed long ago. Then we add modern contests that we think of ourselves. Sometimes we try to use a modern object like a pillow, pop can, or bicycle tire to make new contests. (p. 65)

It is clearly illustrated in the text that ways evolve through exchange of goods and ideas and that experiences and values shape world views. A village elder observes:

We have given them things that they want, especially furs. In return they have brought us wealth. We now have many metal tools, guns, and ornaments. We do not need these things for we can find all we need on the land and in the sea. But they are useful to us and it is always good to make new friends. (p. 246)

Interchange between two sons of an Iroquois chief and the French explorers and the Canadian Arctic Expedition and the Inuit
are further instances illustrating how a sharing of knowledge and belief structures affects all participants.

Social membership is consistently defined in terms of a multiplicity of needs and uses for particular articles or materials. Linkage between human knowledge and human interests appears to be emphasized. What is important in one particular time and place, be it buffalo, cedar, berries or deer, is relative to the needs and interests of people who consider that knowledge most valuable.

Nature of Social Discourse

The story of the text is related from points of view of characters who lived the experience. It is primarily in the present tense or through the memories of living people. The text illustrates different ways that a similar custom or article can be viewed from different value positions. Something that is invaluable in one context may be relatively worthless in another. On the relative merits of either a gun or a bow and arrow, two Cree hunters alternately suggest:

A gun is very useful. I can shoot farther with my gun than with my bow and arrow. My gun is also more accurate. When my gun is old I can turn the metal into handles for my scraper and chisel. (p. 160)

You cannot rely on a gun. If your powder is wet, or if you run out of shot, or lose your flint, the gun is useless. Guns make you depend on the fur trader for
gunpowder, shot, and spare parts. I prefer to trade my furs for other items. (p. 160)

Descriptions of social activity appear to be open ended, situated in the present and reflecting on the past. Students are frequently asked to observe pictures and photographs as though they provide initial experience from their own point of view or the initial experience of another group.

The text directs reader attention to a family album interpretation of social life. It reflects an impression of history that is directed by human concerns. There is a strong theme in the text that the forces of the past reformulate to become directions of the present. Old and new are constantly blended with reference to human and social conditions and ancient and modern customs. The content of the text appears to suggest that dilemma is a necessary condition of human and social phenomena. Conflicts and consequences are discussed in terms of choices that individuals face when priorities come into question. The text also addresses persuasion and negotiation as tools of resolution and acknowledges that issues often change to become other than what they originally were.

Organization of Social Knowledge

The content of the text begins and ends in present tense and is sequenced chronologically through five units divided into
several sections of sub-headings. Each section concludes with vocabulary words, content recall and application of ideas. The content reflects continuous interaction of characters through approximately 300 years of European-Native contact.

The text concentrates on ways in which present experience is an interpretation and continuation of the past. History is presented as living in modern ways of life, in place names and customs that have their roots in a different context but their practice in the present. History is presented as personal biography set within unique norms and belief structures.

Considerations of social history are evident, as in the following passage:

To collect more furs, The Hudson's Bay Company hired workers to build forts on Hudson Bay and to trade there all year round. They even offered jobs to children. Children worked on the ships that picked up furs from the forts. They also worked at the forts to learn about the fur trade. (p. 141)

Legitimate social knowledge in the text appears to be the values, interests, motivations and beliefs of people within their own time and social context. The text explores the processes that influence meaning.

Truth claims appear to be advanced in terms of the world views that individuals assemble from their own constructs of reality. Reality appears to be interpreted from expectations and experience, again reinforcing the idea that things are not always
as they appear. What is appropriate or true is relative to needs and interests. Jacques Cartier observes:

These people are called Iroquois and their name for this region is Honguedo which means sea of fish. At first we thought the Iroquois were poor and had no homes because they lived under their overturned canoes. Later we learned that this was just their fishing camp. They come here each year to fish for mackerel. (p. 88)

Decision-making processes identified in the text are largely with reference to personal dilemmas experienced by the characters. They illustrate a range of priorities, responsibilities, relationships and consequences which influence people in the choices that they make.
Treatment of Social Conflict

Issues of power and control appear to be a focal point of the text. Fear of attack on B.C. by the United States results in New Westminster becoming the capital of British Columbia, rather than Fort Langley. The consequences of that decision for merchants are considered. Several instances are cited of native/white disputes over rights and ownership, which seem to lay further groundwork for issues that have since evolved and are of continuing concern in Canadian society. Social problems between miners and Fraser River Indian bands raise issues concerning claims to lands and fishing rights. The issue regarding the route of the railway across Blackfoot territory results in a treaty with the Canadian government. It is initially described:

The Blackfoot had come to talk about a treaty because they could no longer hunt enough buffalo to feed their families. Hunters with rifles had killed so many buffalo that the large herds were almost gone. The government promised to pay the Blackfoot food, supplies and money if they would give some of their land to settlers to build farms. (p. 241)

Disagreements between the Blackfoot and the Canadian government proceed through a description of the problem, a
compromise, a misunderstanding and a restating of the problem. They illustrate intervention, persuasion, negotiation and ultimately the sustaining of the larger power's decision. However, the issue surfaces again with Chief Crowfoot approaching Sir John A. Macdonald regarding fires caused by train sparks burning crops growing near the track. Similarly, the issue of strike on the railway is approached from the perspectives of workers, an engineer observing the process, a railway inspector and the manager of the CPR. This approach to social problems seems to emphasize that many parties have stakes in an issue which reflect their vested interests and the values that influence their decision making.

Value frameworks appear to play a role in the development of social change and progress. Transportation and communications seem to be initially portrayed as responses to, rather than products of, technology. The text imparts a sense that Canada was built from the changing needs and interests of people.

New railways were built in each province so that settlers could reach areas to the north of the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Most Ukrainian immigrants chose homesteads in the parklands. They chose this hilly, well-watered region because it was much more like the land in Western Ukraine than the dry, treeless prairie further south. (p. 307)

The text emphasizes ways in which events interconnect, often unexpectedly, to produce success or failure, a booming business or a bust. The element of surprise plays an important part in the text's descriptions of social change. For instance, the
first British steamship introduced on the northwest coast of North America effectively turns around power arrangements between British and American interests in New Caledonia:

Fewer and fewer American ships returned to trade for furs along the coast of New Caledonia. Without competition the fur traders at Fort Langley were able to raise the prices of their trade goods and profits began to increase once more. (p. 10)

Personal motivations and interests are a strong theme of the text. The text explores the concept of partnership from different angles, such as between eight strangers forming a mining company and the risks they might assume, between provinces joining confederation though separated by great distances and between people working together to benefit their own needs.

The text explores individual hardships, experiences and diverse ways that people have met their needs throughout the development and exploration of Canada. In the larger social picture, the text seems to indicate that cooperation through levels of services ultimately best meets the needs of all Canadians. Two young Vietnamese refugees observe:

Chi Tac and Thuy Chan tried to count how many ways each different level of government helps them each day. As they walked home from Citizenship class, they made a list of all the government services they could see. (p. 402)
Nature of Social Discourse

The text anchors its storyline in the personal experiences of people involved in the events of a particular time. Primary sources, personal reflection and case study are used.

Most descriptions of social activity are approached from multiple perspectives and apply several points of view to a single topic. There are several considerations of people in their relationships to working conditions, wages, fellow workers, company or government policy and family life. These relationships are openly discussed. Some instances appear less open to question as they require that the behaviour or characteristics of particular individuals be commented upon from an outsider perspective. Students are directed to consider what would be expected of people occupying particular social roles (i.e., a survey engineer, a colonel, a prospector, the wives of a pioneer doctor and a prime minister, a paddlewheeler captain, an inspector of railway patrol, early immigrants to Canada, a governor general, a political candidate and two judges from different eras in Canadian history).

A strong theme of the text is that people face challenges in different ways—by running, battling, conceding or winning. In this regard, conclusions regarding human and social phenomena seem to be that circumstances, values, beliefs, interests and information must be interpreted within their own social context.
Organization of Social Knowledge

The content of the text is organized chronologically through 19th and 20th century exploration and settlement of Canada. The text is comprised of five units involving the fur trade, gold rush, railway expansion, early settlers and immigration. Chapters within each unit are identified by sub-headings and conclude by recalling the past, investigating the present and predicting the future. The style of the text is biographical, through oral or written accounts.

The text relays history through the narrative technique of storytelling. It appears to suggest that legitimate social knowledge is that which is personally meaningful. The text reads like a novel with an introduction, foreshadowing, climax and conclusion. Unexpected events and elements of surprise are frequently alluded to as operative influences in a turn of events. The text often appears to suggest that history cannot be separated from the experience of those who live it. The case history of one Ukrainian family from the Spring of 1898 to the Fall of 1901 is a case in point.

Following the lives of individuals and families reflects a strong interest in making sense of human relations. There are, however, instances where transferring or assuming values across social settings seems to suggest an organizing, observer stance. In addition, immigrant groups could be interpreted as deserving
preferred consideration because they value Canadian freedom and deliberately pursue knowledge of the country to gain citizenship status. Parallels drawn between interconnecting levels of government and the collective benefit that they represent for all citizens seem to encourage acceptance of the way society is currently organized.

Decision-making processes appear to stress competing values and interests where personal dilemmas involving confusion, uncertainty and disillusionment are concerned. However, sections of the text emphasize a linear procedure of recalling the past, investigating the present and predicting the future. This seems to be patterned on a social science approach that leans toward objectivity and deductions drawn from premises established in the text. Several "Predicting the Future" sections appear to suggest that generalizing is a logical outcome of a scientific approach to problem solving. The text is concerned with point of view, conflicting values and interests, individual and unique cases within the social history of Canada and the socio-economic contexts that shape world views. In some instances it also appears to direct students toward accumulating, applying and predicting information concerning human and social phenomena.
Concluding Interpretations

Treatment of Social Conflict

All of the texts address some form of conflict within or between members of social groups. Three of the texts portray conflict more as a by-product of human relations that is resolved through policy, democratic representation or proper communication and information concerning sources of disagreements. They tend to focus on areas of common agreement. Two of the texts recognize social problems as issues of power and control. They acknowledge partial resolution through persuasion and negotiation, recognizing that issues change and emerge to become new social concerns.

All of the texts address the impact of change on a way of life. Two of the texts particularly view progress and social change from multiple perspectives and in terms of the consequences that result from exchange between goods, services and belief structures. Three of the texts portray technology and scientific advance as leading the direction of progress through an accumulation of data. They seem to concentrate on an accumulation of past and present information for future growth. The place of normative and intellectual conflict in initiating social change does not appear to be explicitly advanced. While conflicting interests and value positions are recognized in the
growth of Canadian society, and concerns regarding the impact of technology are advanced, there is a suggestion that underlying forces of progress and social change operate independently from human activity.

Four of the texts consider points of view as sources of disparate attitudes and examine these in terms of influences that shape those views. All of the texts appear to reflect themes of interdependence, responsibility and peaceful co-existence. They seem to highlight government services and responsible citizenship for the collective benefit of all members of society.

Nature of Social Discourse

Three of the texts select members of social groups to represent particular behaviours upon which social or cultural generalizations are drawn. In all cases these characters portray positive role models who become successful within the legitimate boundaries of their social organizations. Two of the texts tend to portray characters from insider perspectives in specific social contexts.

All of the texts seem to draw out specific qualities of character, or work-related skills, to illustrate the qualifications and attitudes required for successful placement within society. Two of the texts tend toward more relative, descriptive interpretations of social activity but all appear to
be oriented toward an acceptance of the organizing principles of society.

Two of the texts focus on ways in which people in unique situations face challenges and respond to change in their personal and social lives. They suggest that human and social phenomena are influenced by interaction between social customs, values and conflicting ends and purposes. Three of the texts particularly appear to orient reader attention toward acceptance of other ways of life and respect for these as valuable contributions to all of Canadian society. Each of the texts suggests generic citizenship characteristics that form the basis for a peaceful, cooperative society.

Organization of Social Knowledge

All of the texts in some way structure content to reflect the influence of the past upon practices of the present. The structure of the texts generally reflects a linear or sequential framework of themes, geography and chronology. Two texts make reference to unique situations that are followed through the oral and written accounts of people who lived the history being described. Three texts employ interpretive accounts of personal experience. References to cause and effect are evident in sequential building between events of the past, present and future.
All of the texts reflect a degree of interest in social knowledge that is personally meaningful. Three texts interpret history as a body of information to be preserved, transmitted and applied. Two texts treat history as symbolic property set within unique norms and beliefs that make sense of how knowledge evolves into new information and social concerns.

Four texts appear to suggest that truth or reality is in some ways constructed from personal interests, value positions and experience. Two of the texts particularly acknowledge the diverse influences that shape personal constructions of reality. Each of the texts ultimately seem to rely on the premise that truth corresponds to what is documented as occurring in society.

All of the texts encourage empathy for the situations of characters who are introduced to the reader. One text seems to concentrate on methods of mediating conflicting points of view in order to arrive at common solutions for the majority good. Three texts illustrate how conflicting loyalties, priorities and interests influence personal choices. All of the texts appear to rely on a scientific approach to decision making where the individual in a wider societal context is concerned.
Chapter Five

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This study has developed and applied a framework, rooted in conceptions of critical inquiry, to examine the content of five social studies textbooks. The intent of the study is to identify a set of questions that address the relationship of school and society as it is manifested in the content of textbooks. This study generates additional information and awareness about societal understandings contained in textbooks, as opposed to accepting or rejecting educational products.

There are several ways of studying the content of texts. Most studies address particular aspects of content and seek to identify whether those aspects are implicitly or explicitly recognized. Essentially, this study argues that it is a view of society which orients the premises of schooling and the nature of content that is presented to students. Defined as citizenship education, this relationship between school and society occupies a prominent role in determining the curriculum experiences made available to Canadian students. In terms of a critical perspective, selected textbooks of the study reflect areas where the concerns of the criteria are addressed, as well as other areas within each dimension where a consensus view of society appears to be dominant.
This study reveals several encouraging features in the texts. Differing points of view are clearly being recognized, in some instances to the point where conflicting interests and value positions offer potential for examining continuing concerns in Canadian society. Issues of power and control are to some extent also being recognized. The texts are clearly making an effort to bring Canadian history to life by portraying different needs and interests that have contributed to the growth of the country. In this respect, the texts address many of the concerns of educators cited earlier in this study who called for more attention to ethnic diversity, to inspirational portrayals of Canadian experience and to a plurality of positions and values from an insider perspective.

Within the content of the texts are also areas where the study reveals an orientation toward a consensus view of society. These areas appear to support an adaptive premise for schooling by furthering ideals of shared values and assumptions concerning social progress and cooperation within a centralized network of structures. Furthermore, the texts seem to reflect assumptions underlying a consensus view of society with regard to how explanations of human and social phenomena are achieved and how sources of knowledge provide societal understandings.

Assuming that people must acquire specialized skills to achieve mobility in society and the workplace is based on an
acceptance of dominant social norms. It tends to reinforce the world of work and question the potential of individual ability rather than make the principles that organize social activity problematic. This approach tends not to question the political arrangements which underlie public institutions. Instead, the emphasis is on acceptance of public responsibilities and reliance on methods of representative authority to mediate social problems. The texts reflect acceptance of central authority decision making, suggesting that value standards can be agreed upon in social situations. They do not appear to address the contribution of normative and intellectual conflict in initiating progress and social change. They do appear to concentrate on ways in which accumulation of data provides the basis upon which future progress is built. This generates a view of society which separates technology from human activity. It tends to foster the notion that, given the proper knowledge, man can scientifically engineer his environments, manage his resources and create a network of communications to produce a highly aware, informed society.

Assuming that social standards and shared values can be agreed upon may lead to the practice of typifying positive role models and highlighting generic qualities of good character or citizenship. It suggests that a common base underlies human and social phenomena from which types and generalities can be drawn,
possibly to be applied across social contexts. The social message inherent in this assumption is that individuals who comply with expected social norms will be rewarded as successful citizens in later adult life. If taken for granted, the notion may lead to quiescent social attitudes and passive acceptance of social roles.

Investigating social problems in terms of limited cause and effect encourages the practice of prediction based upon empirical evidence. On the other hand, examinations of social problems which recognize multiple interpretations tend to encourage critical inquiry and reflection. A consensus orientation toward society relies on certainty invested in expert sources of knowledge. Portraying truth and reality as empirical constructions, rather than value commitments, reinforces the view that what is occurring in society can be objectively determined to direct what ought to be occurring in schooling. From a critical perspective, the is/ought dilemma is problematic as it ignores the complexity of human values and social tensions.

Implications

This study raises several implications for various audiences concerned with the nature of social studies content. The implications address considerations for educators, for
instructors of preservice teachers, for curriculum developers, publishers and educational researchers.

Educators need to be aware of their own taken for granted assumptions about human and social activity when choosing to adopt particular instructional materials. They need to be aware that social studies texts transmit particular social orientations, comprising a system of values and beliefs that form an ideology of content. Furthermore, educators should be encouraged to express their own views of Canadian society and articulate the implications of those views for citizenship education. Explorations of this nature are appropriate topics to be discussed through educational workshops and professional days.

A second related implication for educators concerns the use of textbooks as a dominant mode of social studies instruction. There is a need to document strengths and concerns pertaining to instructional materials in terms of the view of Canadian society and the premises of schooling that they suggest.

A second audience for whom this study has implications is those educators who work with preservice teachers. Preservice teachers who themselves are subject to taken for granted assumptions about matters concerning social goals, valuing, knowledge and the principles underlying human and social activity, may not recognize that there are alternate approaches. They may unconsciously reflect the assumptions of the dominant
culture in their own teaching of students. The task for instructors in teacher education is to consider the relationship of school and society that they are transmitting to preservice teachers through their own assumptions. They need to raise questions concerning what is important to teach about society and how to organize social knowledge, as well as how to accomplish the techniques of classroom instruction.

Implications of this study for curriculum developers are two-fold. First, descriptions and explanations about Canadian society need to be reviewed in terms of how social conflicts influence national growth. In a society that is characterized by tension on several levels, developers of educational materials have a responsibility to ensure that the content of textbooks provides a balanced view of society. They also need to consider further ways in which continuing social concerns in Canada can be portrayed through the use of case study and insider perspectives. Second, curriculum developers need to realize that the framework of content also transmits social values regarding the best way for student learning to proceed. They need to be aware of the normative principles which organize the way content is structured and encourage alternate approaches to presenting societal understandings to students. Likewise, publishers have considerable control in deciding which ideas about society, about technology, about tensions and social values to include in
textbooks. The view of society and the view of knowledge that is transmitted through social studies content entertains a political nature that is worthy of their consideration.

The implications of this study also acknowledge the socializing influence of content in textbooks and the ways in which research can inform classroom practice. Educational researchers need to address the image Canadian students are developing of themselves as citizens and of their future social roles. Further research probing this relationship, using specific dimensions, questions and criteria of societal understanding, are necessary. A further consideration for research is the extent to which discrepancies occur between social ideals transmitted through social studies content and the view of society that is gained from personal student experience. The role of educational research in this regard is vital in providing stimulus, incentive and a forum for debate among social studies educators.

Finally, there is need for further critical examination of content that is presented to students. Although this study is exploratory in nature, it reveals some underlying assumptions contained in content that deserve examination in instructional materials other than textbooks. Moreover, there is a great deal to be learned about using the tools of criticism in classrooms. The practice of social criticism requires analysis and debate.
The relationship of school and society is a valuable source for research questions of significance to curriculum inquiry. For all audiences concerned, there is a need to address the questions and concerns of critical inquiry in order that possibilities for Canadian social education be fully realized.
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Appendix A

Criteria for Analyzing Social Studies Content
Table 1: Treatment of Social Conflict

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Problems</th>
<th>Consensus Theory</th>
<th>Critical Inquiry</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Are traced to social conditions, examined in concrete terms with reference to social ideals and formal structures. Systems view, static perspective. Problems resolved through policy and representative democracy leading to cooperation and maintenance of the social order. Cause and effect reinforce the boundaries of legitimate behaviour.</td>
<td>Are traced to socio-economic, historical influences and constraints with reference to internal criteria. Dialectic view, dynamic perspective. Problems are resolved through argument, persuasion and negotiation leading to an understanding of power arrangements in society. Inherent differences generate social concerns.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Occurs through accumulation of data, building block format. Technology directs social progress. Humans are recipients of values, institutions and procedures. Oriented toward maintaining and furthering the existing social order.</td>
<td>Occurs through normative and intellectual conflict, attention to anomaly, surprise, exceptions to expected patterns. Technology is a response to human interests. Humans create and recreate values and institutions. Oriented toward new awareness leading to fundamental change.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Relies on conformity to established norms and principles through specialization and division of labour. Sustained conflict seen as dysfunctional. Majority rule protects the common social goals of a well-ordered world. Organized around the notion of trust and collective benefits.</td>
<td>Relies on differentiation, questioning the organizing principles of society. Sustained conflict is a resource to be tapped. Minority interests surface in absence of majority domination. Organized around notion of autonomy to identify diverse points of view.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Portrayal of Interests</strong></td>
<td><strong>Descriptions of Social Activity</strong></td>
<td><strong>Human and Social Phenomena</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Is selective, people or events represent the social interactions under study. Generic, outsider perspective. Eliminates disparate perspectives of society.</td>
<td>Legitimize existing power relationships, support social institutions that currently exist. Efficient, directed toward labeling and categorization. Prescriptive language leaning toward definitive statements. Social stability, generalizable solutions.</td>
<td>Share a common base that can be determined through objective study. Citizenship characteristics are a set of virtues to be attained for successful adult life.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure of Content</td>
<td>Consensus Theory</td>
<td>Critical Inquiry</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Reconstructed logic: formulation of goals, engineering of planned experiences, evaluation of outcomes. Ends specify means. Chronological sequencing of events.</td>
<td>Logic-in-use: begins with situation, follows circumstances as they naturally progress. Ends and means interact. Focus on issues, concerns, developments.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Is rooted in theories and concepts of the disciplines. Knowledge that organizes social relations is useful in application across social situations. History is a body of information documented through records of the past. The function of knowledge is to gather, generalize and predict.</td>
<td>Is rooted in personal experience. Knowledge that makes sense of human relations is useful in understanding the idiosyncracies of social contexts. History is symbolic property set within unique norms and values. The function of knowledge is to question, situate and clarify.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ontology question: What is? Knowledge and truth are questions of correspondence to an external reality validated by empirical evidence. Fact and value are separate through methodology.</td>
<td>Epistemology question: How do we come to know what is? Human interests and human knowledge go together in constructing reality. Fact and value operate in conjunction with world views.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Problems for consideration are identified and investigated according to scientific inquiry. Reliance on method, objectivity, setting of goals to achieve specified results. Prediction based on cause and effect.</td>
<td>Problems for consideration are an outgrowth of perspective and proceed according to a questioning of the interests and value positions involved. Reliance on interpretation, intuition. Probes why a condition exists, how it is maintained and who benefits. Personal values direct choices.</td>
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Appendix B

Questions Used for the Analysis of Social Studies Texts
A. **Treatment of Social Conflict:**
1. How are social problems presented and resolved?
2. What reference is made to value frameworks in descriptions of progress and social change?
3. In what ways is social membership defined?

B. **Nature of Social Discourse:**
1. How are the interests of characters portrayed?
2. Are descriptions of social activity openly discussed?
3. What conclusions is the reader directed to regarding human and social phenomena?

C. **Organization of Social Knowledge:**
1. How is the content of the texts structured?
2. What is considered legitimate social knowledge?
3. On what basis are truth claims advanced?
4. What kinds of decision-making processes are identified in the texts?