TEACHERS' AND PRINCIPALS' PERCEPTIONS OF CITIZENSHIP DEVELOPMENT

OF ABORIGINAL HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

IN THE PROVINCE OF MANITOBA:

AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

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This study sought to investigate the congruence between Aboriginal student citizenship development and the prescribed outcomes of citizenship development in secondary schools in Manitoba. The perceptions of 106 high school teachers and principals in the province of Manitoba were acquired through survey distribution and interviews. This study found that Aboriginal students from Manitoba high schools frequently behave in a manner that is congruent with the values of citizenship development. Participants in this study described a need for the development of curricula that is congruent with traditional Aboriginal ways of learning, the provision of opportunities for practical experiences in the area of citizenship development, and increased research into schools on First Nations communities in the area of citizenship development. Such developments may facilitate citizenship development for Aboriginal students through the provision of education that is sensitive to Aboriginal perspectives and circumstances.

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to investigate the congruence between Aboriginal student citizenship development, as manifested in behaviour, and the prescribed outcomes of Canadian citizenship in secondary schools in Manitoba. The values of Canadian citizenship that were used in this study were derived from a set of civic values used in the development of Manitoba's most recent citizenship education curriculum and guided the development of the study's instruments. Through the employment of a mixed methodology, this study intended to identify any perceived

discrepancies between Aboriginal student behaviour and the values of Canadian citizenship on the part of school teachers and principals.

Aboriginal people have experienced problems with colonizers in many parts of the world, including Canada (Simpson, 2004). In contemporary times, the struggles that exist between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples can be characterized as a struggle for identity as well as a quest for self-determination (Whall, 2004), a struggle that is prevalent in Canadian schools (Strong-Boag, 2002). In a study of citizenship education practices by administrators in Manitoba, Li (2002) suggested that research in the area of citizenship education should be conducted with a focus on the "attainment of the goal of preparing students for citizenship" (p. 116). In some jurisdictions, research may be necessary in order to establish the effectiveness of citizenship education programs (Kerr, Chaux, Silva, & Varas, 2004), especially for Aboriginal students (Deer, 2008). Canadian citizenship education may be regarded as a neo-colonial enterprise when employed with Aboriginal students (Battiste & Semaganis, 2002); such an enterprise represents a phenomenon that may merit research. In this study, the researcher sought to learn the perceptions of how Aboriginal students are performing in the attainment of citizenship education. In order to address this purpose, this study sought to survey the perceptions of school teachers and principals, through survey distribution and the conducting of interviews, in Manitoba high schools where Aboriginal students are served.

Background

Educating children for citizenship, a perennial area of concern for primary and secondary education in Canada, was a focus of educational reform in the province of Manitoba in the mid 1990s (Young & Graham, 2000). Citizenship education was part of a school improvement initiative introduced in 1994 that identified citizenship development as one of its principal goals

(Manitoba Education and Training, 1994). School improvement initiatives related to preparing students for citizenship were not limited to the province of Manitoba, but were introduced in provincial jurisdictions across Canada in the 1990s (Sears, Clarke, & Hughes, 1998). In the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia, as well as the Yukon, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut, these efforts were, in part, a collaborative effort through the Western Canadian Protocol for Collaboration in Education, an organization that would eventually be known as the Western and Northern Canadian Protocol for Collaboration in Education (WNCPE). This collaboration was intended to identify shared educational goals and to develop high quality educational standards. Western Canadian Protocol for Collaboration in Basic Education's (2002) most recent guidelines document for Social Studies education, *The Common Curriculum Framework for Social Studies*, was intended to address the needs of modern students as well as the issues of citizenship and Canadian identity:

> It is reflective of the diverse cultural perspectives, including Aboriginal and Francophone, that contribute to Canada's evolving realities. The Framework will ultimately contribute to a Canadian spirit – a spirit that will be fundamental in creating a sense of belonging for each one of our students as he or she engages in active and responsible citizenship locally, nationally, and globally. (p. 3)

In addition to the new developments for citizenship education, Manitoba's school reform movement of the mid 1990s also prompted much needed developments in the area of Aboriginal[*] education (Young & Graham, 2000).

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[*] The term *Aboriginal* is used in this article to refer to the Status Indian, Métis, and Inuit peoples of Canada. Use of this term is intended to correspond with its use by Manitoba Education, Citizenship and Youth.

Citizenship and Aboriginal Education in Manitoba

WNCPE, as well as other government agencies responsible for education, developed policy and curriculum documents related to Aboriginal schooling. Manitoba education authorities have continued to take steps toward education reform and improvement in this area. Many of the policy and subsequent curricular developments in Manitoba outlined priorities and strategies for numerous aspects of schooling in Manitoba, including Aboriginal education. For example, Manitoba Education, Training and Youth's *Agenda for School Success* (2002) stated that "information on successful strategies to increase success for Aboriginal learners is being shared…the department works with many partners creating opportunities to share appropriate practice related to the education of Aboriginal Children" (p. 12). In this document, Manitoba's commitment to the success of Aboriginal students is put forth as a response to broader social issues: "In the absence of academic success, students lack the skills needed to secure relevant training and employment, and to participate fully as citizens. As a consequence, the costs to the individual and society as a whole are significant" (p. 11). The goals related to Aboriginal student development are reflected in Manitoba Advanced Education and Training/ Manitoba Education, Citizenship and Youth's (2004) document *Aboriginal Education Action Plan*, which identified graduation, access to and completion of post-secondary education, career preparation, and relevant research as its principal objectives.

Among the numerous documents related to school curriculum that have been developed by Manitoba's educational authorities to address the mandate for success amongst Aboriginal students, Manitoba Education, Citizenship and Youth's (2003) document offers coherent direction specifically for this mandate. Developed as part of Manitoba's agenda for school success, this document provides teachers and curriculum developers with the direction and strategies necessary for the integration of Aboriginal subject matter into Manitoba's school

curricula. Integrating Aboriginal subject matter into provincial curricula serves a number of specific goals, such as the development of self-concept, the development of effective learning environments, and the understanding of Aboriginal values, beliefs and history by non-Aboriginal peoples. *Integrating Aboriginal Perspectives into Curricula* was developed with the view that Aboriginal people represent an important part of Manitoba and Canadian life: "All students are denied a quality education if they are not exposed to the contributions made by all people in the development of the country in which they live" (p. 1).

Aboriginal peoples' status as Canadian citizens with distinct rights and histories have a problematic relationship with Canadian citizenship and identity (Kymlicka, 1998; Varadharajan, 2000). Canada's current ethnic landscape, the result of decades of immigration, social evolution, and political progress, is so diverse that it is difficult to conceptualize what being Canadian is all about (Hebert & Wilkinson, 2002). Aboriginal peoples, themselves a diverse population representing numerous traditional nations (Dickason, 2006), represents a portion of Canada's ethnic landscape. As a result of colonization and post-colonial relations between Canada's First Peoples and their colonizers, the prospect of "being Canadian" may not be commensurate with the traditional identity of Aboriginal peoples in Canada (Battiste & Semaganis, 2002).

However divergent they may be, Aboriginal perspectives are crucial to the identity of Aboriginal peoples across Canada. Important aspects of those identities are not only traditional cultural practices and observances, but languages as well. Cardinal (1977) used the issue of language to demonstrate how Aboriginal peoples in Canada are "strangers in the classroom" (p. 72). Cardinal's discourse on educational shortcomings for Aboriginal peoples focused on two general areas of concern that are related to Aboriginal estrangement in education: the lack of suitable educational environments for Aboriginal peoples, and community involvement in Aboriginal schooling.

In regard to the lack of suitable educational environments, Cardinal referred to many problems and areas of change. For instance, Cardinal demonstrated that schooling for Aboriginal Canadians was not sensitive to Aboriginal cultural realities and did not help those Aboriginal students or their families develop a sense of value or trust in the school system. Within this statement lies some of the problems that Cardinal outlined, such as a need for Aboriginal staff for Aboriginal schools, appropriate programming culturally sensitive to the Canadian Aboriginal experience, and a safe, respectable environment that does not persecute or defame aspects of Aboriginal culture or the people of the Aboriginal community. In regard to community involvement in Aboriginal schooling, Cardinal echoed the call of the National Indian Brotherhood to encourage more parental and community involvement for Aboriginal schooling, because it was felt that such involvement was crucial to the revitalization of Aboriginal identity:

> As such time as Bands assume total responsibility for schools, there must be full consultation with the Band Education Authority regarding the appointment of teachers and counsellors. As part of its involvement, the community should also take the initiative in helping the teachers and counsellors to learn the culture, language, and history of the local community. (p. 76)

Cardinal asserted the importance of using resources in the community that already exist, but were not being taken advantage of due to the insensitive nature of the existing educational system. For instance, because English and French were (and still are) the principal languages of instruction in Canada, language barriers were built between the Aboriginal youth and the Elders of the community who do not speak English or French. Contemporary educational systems in Canada were not designed to support the transmission of oral traditions and the practice of experiential learning that has characterized traditional learning for Aboriginal peoples.

Fettes and Norton (2000) asserted that the Aboriginal languages of Canada, a resource that connects Aboriginal people with the land and embodies the beliefs and ideals that they

value, are being "heedlessly squandered or deliberately destroyed" (p. 30). For Canada's

Aboriginal peoples, language is an important aspect of Aboriginal identity and culture:

> Aboriginal languages are spiritually interconnected with the land….they embody
> values and relationships; that survival and forgiveness, love and laughter, are all
> intertwined with the authentic language of a place and people….these facts are
> recognized by First Nations and other Aboriginal peoples around the world, who
> throughout the centuries of colonization have tenaciously clung to language as
> one of their most precious resources. (pp. 30 – 31)

The notion that language is an important aspect of Aboriginal identity and culture, and how it has

been stifled in Canada's educational system, provides an example of how Aboriginal people have

experienced oppression and disfranchisement through Canadian governmental authority and,

consequently, in Canada's educational system (Chamberlin, 2000).

Brown (1998) illustrated the cultural differences that exist between Canadian Aboriginals

and non-Aboriginal peoples in order to show how different political traditions and perspectives

were the catalyst for misunderstanding and struggle that exists today. Brown suggested that non-

Aboriginal peoples in Canada conceive society as "an aggregate of individuals who are governed

by self interest…the individual is considered paramount to any particular group, and in relation

to the state, individuals are seen as interacting individually not as a part of a group" (p. 5). To

illustrate the other side of this cultural dichotomy, Brown discussed political traditions of

Canadian Aboriginal peoples in relation to how they see their places in society and the universe

and how they address the decision making process:

> Traditional Aboriginal society…is not centered on the individual but sees the
> individual as one part of the cosmos. In fact the individual is subordinate to the
> whole. There is an understanding of the interconnectedness of all life: animal,
> plant, things. Because of this interconnectedness, there is a harmony, or peaceful
> cooperation. This cooperative notion was modeled in traditional forms of
> governance, where communities engaged in an extensive consultative process in
> order to achieve consensus. (p. 6)

Brown also asserted that, as opposed to those who see power and authority to be vested in the government under whom they may operate, Aboriginal Canadians traditionally view authority to be vested in the Creator.

Brown's work is substantiated by Boldt and Long (1985) who, while discussing Aboriginal views of authority, stated that "custom carries authority of a moral kind; that is, it obliges individuals, by conscience, to obey" (p. 338). These elements of Aboriginal cultural perspectives provide a holistic framework for such activities as decision making, spirituality, child-rearing, and interpersonal relationships. Brown also illustrated differences between how knowledge is addressed between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples. In non-Aboriginal Western traditions, knowledge is acquired and disseminated by individuals in the interest of progress and preserved in a tactile, usually written format that acknowledges the individual who was the "producer" of the knowledge. In Aboriginal traditions, the system of knowledge is related to the interconnectedness of all creatures, the land, and the Creator. From this perspective, knowledge is not measurable as it is in the Western tradition. As Brown (1998) stated, "knowledge is not measurable but based on one's experience, thus there could be many versions of knowledge" (p. 7). In the oral transmission of such knowledge, a mode of instruction and cultivation that can be associated with Aboriginal people, knowledge thus becomes based not only on the individual's own experience, but also of the experience of those who have passed it on.

Academic literature in the area of Native studies and Aboriginal Education is replete with stories and examples of how Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal culture, socio-political structures, and ways of life are divergent and how such divergences have had a negative impact upon Aboriginal people and their education, given the position of dominance and power that non-Aboriginal peoples (Frideres & Gadacz, 2008). In Canada, the issue of citizenship can be

contentious when one considers the large and diverse cultural landscape that exists. The issue of citizenship for Canadian Aboriginal peoples may be illustrated by outlining the differences in culture and world views. Scott (1998) examined the differences between assimilation and differentiated citizenship for Canada's Aboriginal peoples. Scott's discourse explored the historical developments of how Aboriginal people have, and still are, struggling for cultural recognition and how that struggle impacts upon the Canadian Government's attempts to solidify a notion of citizenship that can be applicable to all Canadians. Scott suggested that expectations of Canada's Aboriginal people of the Canadian government's ability to deal with Aboriginal affairs in a just and equitable way are very low and have been for some time.

In spite of these low expectations, and the resultant level of scepticism that may exist on the part of Aboriginal peoples toward any further attempts by the Canadian Government to solidify citizenship, Scott acknowledged that a measure of promise does exist in Canada's historical efforts to unify all Canadians under a shared vision of citizenship that is legitimized by government legislation, although Scott admitted that a form of assimilation is prevalent in such documents as the 1969 Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, also known as the White Paper.

One of the most significant proposals that the Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy put forth was the discontinuation of legislation that was, and still is, related to the relationship between Canada and its Aboriginal people (Scott, 1998). In effect, such documents as the *Indian Act* would have been put aside over time. Although Scott presented possible dimensions of differentiated citizenship as an answer to Aboriginal Canadian's objection to these attempts at citizenship development, one of the principal issues of his discourse is that some of these attempts by the Canadian Government to enact constitutional legislation have been

grounded in good intentions: intentions that have been developed in the interest of democracy, equality, multiculturalism, and peace.

Any discussion on citizenship education for Aboriginal students in Canada should perhaps be accompanied by the notion that citizenship education is a form of assimilation (Battiste & Semaganis, 2002; Hebert & Wilkinson, 2002). Citizenship education is a mandated educational program that is contained in the Manitoba Social Studies curriculum (Manitoba Education, Citizenship and Youth , 2006). Research in the area of citizenship education for Aboriginal students may provide a better understanding of their ability to be engaged in citizenship development and, more broadly, their relationship with other Canadians and their potential to lend to community, regional, and national social betterment.

The Study

The following is a report of a study that sought to describe the congruence between Aboriginal student citizenship development, as manifested in behaviour, and the prescribed outcomes of citizenship development in secondary schools in the province of Manitoba. The study's research questions were:

1. From the perspective of school principals and teachers, what sort of congruence exists between Aboriginal high school student behaviour in the province of Manitoba and the values related to citizenship development?

2. Are there differences between school-related demographic categories in regard to Aboriginal student behaviour in Manitoba high schools?

3. What, if any, differences exist amongst school principals and teachers, regarding their conception of citizenship and the effectiveness of citizenship education in their schools?

The study's research questions were developed to address the purpose of this study – to describe the congruence between Aboriginal student citizenship development, as manifested in behaviour,

and the prescribed outcomes of Canadian citizenship in secondary schools in Manitoba. Student

outcomes related to citizenship development embody values for citizenship development. This

study made use of these values for citizenship development, which were:

1. *Equality* - The value for the recognition and affirmation of everyone's rights.

2. *Respect for Cultural Differences* - The value for understanding and appreciation of the cultures, customs and traditions of all Canadians.

3. *Freedom* - The value for basic freedoms, such as freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of religion and freedom of peaceful assembly.

4. *Peace* - The value for a non-violent society.

5. *Law and Order* - The value for democratic decision making and the "rule of law."

6. *Environmental Stewardship* - The value for establishing and maintaining a suitable, ecologically sound environment for present and future generations.

These values, derived from WNCPE (2002) and Manitoba Education, Citizenship and Youth

(2006; 2007) were a constituent part of a conceptual framework that was used to guide

development of study's survey instrument as well as the progression of the study's interviews.

This study organized the survey items and quantitative data with the use of six *value sets* – one

for each of the citizenship values reflected in the framework. The mixed methodology employed

in this study reflected a process is inquiry advocated by Berger and Luckmann (1966) and

Bogdan and Biklen (2007) that involved both qualitative and quantitative data collection.

Sample and Procedures

The participant sample for the first phase of this study consisted of school principals and

teachers from Manitoba high schools. All school divisions and authorities were sent a request to

conduct research in their jurisdiction. Fourteen school divisions granted permission for the study,

and thirty-four schools participated. School administrators were instructed to complete one of the

surveys provided and to distribute the remaining surveys to appropriate school staff. One hundred and six participants, thirty-four administrators and seventy-one teachers, responded to the survey. After receiving the completed surveys, the researcher selected three different schools for whom permission to conduct research had been acquired, from which school staff were solicited to take part in the interview. Two teachers and one principal were interviewed, each interview lasting a maximum of 90 minutes.

Analysis of the Likert-scale data was done through statistical treatment with the use of SPSS for Windows, which was used to develop a quantitative database. The researcher ran chi square tests using the data that was acquired both in an aggregate form (all of the scores analyzed together) and in a categorized form (data analyzed by demographic variable). Cronbach's Alpha was used to establish the internal consistency of the instrument. The aggregate alpha was .9. Alpha for the Likert-scale items in value sets 1 through 6 were .7, .7, .7, .8, .8, and .8 respectively.

Mean scores and standard deviation scores were also calculated to offer insight into how the scores were distributed for the aggregated data. Data from the chi square tests were presented to reflect frequently occurring responses and, in the case of categorized chi squares, responses that have significant residuals. Effect sizes were calculated for all aggregated and categorized chi squares in order to illustrate how influential any significant response may have been on the chi square score. ANOVA testing was employed to discern any significant differences between responses to the Likert-scale items by principals and teachers.

Analysis of the data acquired from the instrument's open-ended questions and the interviews were done through comparative analysis in an effort to identify themes – classifications of data that reflect similar responses, points of views, and statements from participants of the study. Upon acquisition of the completed surveys, the responses to the open-

ended questions were coded to identify information related to the conceptions of citizenship held by participants as well as the effectiveness of citizenship education in their schools. A similar method was used to analyze data from the interviews. Using the methods of analysis derived from the work of Wallen and Fraenkel (2001) and Glaser and Strauss (1967), establishment of themes were guided by the study's research questions: comparative analysis of the data took place in three stages – once for each of the study's three research questions. Since analysis of the qualitative data was guided by the study's research questions, reporting of findings related to these data is organized by these research questions. On a small number of occasions, established themes were integrated with one another due to their similarities: this was particularly prevalent with the data acquired from interviews.

The survey items contained in the study's survey are shown in appendix A. The aggregate chi square results for each of the six value sets are shown in appendix B.

Findings

The data acquired from this study, through the survey instrument and interviews, represent a set of school administrators and teachers from a variety of public schools from across the province of Manitoba. This study found that, for the most part, Aboriginal students of Manitoba high schools do behave in a manner congruent with the values of Canadian Citizenship. There were some differences in the way principals and teachers perceived Aboriginal student behaviour, that Aboriginal students' family backgrounds presented challenges to educational attainment, and that citizenship education was a subject that could be dealt with in numerous curricular and extra-curricular forums. The findings of this study, presented in the following three sections, focused on each of the study research questions listed earlier.

Student Behaviour and Citizenship Development

This section will explore the findings associated with research question #1 – "from the perspective of school principals and teachers, what sort of congruence exists between Aboriginal high school student behaviour in the province of Manitoba and the values related to citizenship development?" In considering the response frequencies in the Likert-scale data and some of the anecdotal evidence found in the qualitative data, the congruence between Aboriginal student behaviour and the values related to citizenship development can be characterized as, for the most part, positive. That is to say, Aboriginal students frequently behave in ways that demonstrate acknowledgement of the values associated with citizenship development. To a significant extent, this occurrence was also prevalent in the qualitative data that was acquired in the open-ended questions in the survey as well as in the interviews.

In regard to the Likert-scale data, responses to the 30 items contained in the survey were situated, for the most part, within the responses "sometimes" and "most of the time." These two responses represented the two most frequently occurring responses for 27 of the 30 items in the survey. The only exception was with item 12 in the survey (acknowledging impact of mismanaged refuse) for which the most frequently occurring responses were "sometimes" and "rarely."

Of the 30 Likert-scale items in the survey, the response "most of the time" was the most frequent response for 19 items; each of these 19 items had the response "sometimes" as the second most frequent response. In ten instances, the response "sometimes" was the most frequent response; in eight of these ten instances where "sometimes" was the most frequent response, the response "most of the time" was the second most frequent response.

Of the six value sets represented among the surveys Likert-scale items, each of which related to five items in the survey, only the fourth set representing the value of peace had the

response "most of the time" as the most frequent for all five items. Value set three, related to the value of freedom, and value set five, related to the value of law and order, both had four of its five items show the response "most of the time" as the most frequent response.

The qualitative data acquired through the survey's open-ended questions as well as the interviews lend credence to the notion that Aboriginal student behaviour was congruent with the values associated with citizenship development. Many of the participants asserted that the sort of academic and non-academic activities that occurred in their schools encouraged students to demonstrate behaviour that was harmonious with these values. The existence of various classroom-based activities, extra-curricular activities and other endeavours that represented practical application of citizenship skills have resulted in a forum where Aboriginal students demonstrated the desired behaviours associated with citizenship. Additionally, there is evidence in the data suggesting that Aboriginal students sometimes demonstrate initiative in activities where they exhibit such desired behaviours. As one participant stated:

> [Aboriginal] students are involved in a variety of programs that demonstrate citizenship. Some examples include an environmental program, a group dedicated towards promoting student voice, and a human rights group. We have many athletic teams as well; this demonstrates students taking an active role in recreation.

The qualitative data in this study also suggested that Aboriginal students in the participants' schools sometimes demonstrated appreciation for, and worked harmoniously with, their fellow students of differing backgrounds.

In offering their insights in this study, participants provided evidence that Aboriginal students in Manitoba high schools demonstrated skills that were, in varying levels of frequency, compatible with the values related to citizenship development. There were a number of notable exceptions to this characterization. In considering the response frequencies in the Likert-scale data and some of the anecdotal evidence found in the qualitative data, discrepancies between

Aboriginal student behaviour and the prescribed student outcomes for citizenship education emerged. These discrepancies were not as prevalent in the aggregated Likert-scale data, but were manifested in some of the anecdotal evidence that were acquired.

There were a small number of instances in the aggregate Likert-scale data to suggest that a number of participants believed that Aboriginal students in their schools did not behave in a way that was congruent with the values of citizenship development. As the quantitative data showed, there were two instances with items related to the value for equality where approximately a quarter to a third of the participants offered the response "rarely" to items related to the solicitation of assistance and seeking consensus in collaborative problem solving. Similar instances occurred in items related to the value of environmental stewardship, particularly in items related to ecological awareness and responsibilities toward environmental stewardship. In one instance related to the value of environmental stewardship, the second most frequent response was "rarely" for an item related to the impact of mismanaged refuse. One may posit that these developments occurred in problematic educational environments where Eurocentric values and authority may be of influence on such behaviour; environments that were cited by Redwing Saunders and Hill (2007) as those that impede Aboriginal student success.

The discrepancies between Aboriginal student behaviour and desired behaviours that emerged from the quantitative data were not necessarily similar to those found in the qualitative data. A number of participants did note that some Aboriginal students did not always behave in a manner that suggested that they were tolerant with respect to diversity. As one participant commented:

> There is a real frustration in that the [respect for diversity] aspect is a real challenge and that I think that in the school, there are people who are frustrated at putting in far more effort than families and students while trying to ensure academic success. Attendance is a prime example.

Although some participants cited such deficits, there was frequent reference to the notion that this lack of tolerance may be the result of Aboriginal students not having the opportunity to be a part of a diverse school community, particularly Aboriginal students who were raised on First Nations reserves. Urion (1993) suggested that schools that were not locally-controlled may find that Aboriginal students may struggle with issues related to diversity, a suggestion that is particularly relevant to a study such as this because of the number of provincially-controlled schools involved.

Although the quantitative data did not provide substantial evidence of their prevalence, the issues of violence, lack of control, and inability to follow rules emerged from the qualitative data. On a number of occasions, participants stated that bullying, racism, apathy towards school and community involvement, and lack of respect towards others were problems with Aboriginal students in their school. Additionally, some participants suggested the possibility that some Aboriginal students failed to meet school expectations regarding behaviour because they did not recognize or understand the importance of skills related to citizenship. It was also found that a small number of participants felt that the family circumstances of Aboriginal students may have an impact on how students behaved at school. For example, some participants in the interviews stated that Aboriginal students do not participate to the same degree in extra-curricular activities compared to non-Aboriginal students.

There was evidence in the data that suggested that these discrepancies were more prevalent in particular demographic categories addressed in this study. These discrepancies will be explored in the following section.

Perceptions Associated with School-Related Demographic Categories

This section will explore the findings associated with research question #2 – "are there differences between school-related demographic categories in regard to Aboriginal student behaviour in Manitoba high schools?" In considering the response frequencies in the Likert-scale data, differences between school-related demographic variables in regard to Aboriginal student behaviour were evident. These demographic variables consisted of a number of possible categories; this section addresses those categories that deviated from the most frequent aggregate response. This section explores those categories where such deviance from the aggregate response rate represented a lack of a construct related to that particular item.

A number of categories had a significant number of frequent responses that deviated from the most frequent aggregate response. The category of 51-75%, related to the variable of *percentage of Aboriginal students*, showed the most deviance from the aggregate response rate. This category's most frequent response deviated from the most frequent aggregate response in 29 of the 30 items in the survey. Furthermore, in 21 of those 29 occurrences, the most frequent response for this category demonstrated a lack of a construct compared to that of the most frequent aggregate response for the respective items. For example, of the 30 Likert-scale items, the most frequent aggregate response to these items was either "sometimes" or "most of the time," thus demonstrating that, for these items, a construct existed in some measure related to the behaviour in the question. For each of these 30 questions, participants in the "51-75%" category responded in a way that showed less of a construct where the response "rarely" were frequent. The participating schools in this study had student populations that were diverse: no school in this study had ethnically homogenous student populations. The findings related to schools where 51-75% of their student population was Aboriginal (therefore, schools with less diversity) may suggest that such populations had difficulty with school expectations for behaviour. As Urion

(1993) suggested, contemporary provincial schools may not serve the needs of Aboriginal students in terms of socialization.

The category of K-S4, related to the variable of the *grade level*, showed some deviance from the aggregate response rates. This category's most frequent response deviated from the most frequent aggregate response in 12 of the 30 items in the survey. In 4 of those 12 occurrences, the most frequent response for this category demonstrated a lack of a construct compared to that of the most frequent aggregate response for the respective items. Unlike the category of 51-75% student population, this category had more frequent responses for particular items that showed more of a construct than corresponding aggregate responses. For example, in an item where the most frequent aggregate response was "sometimes," the most frequent response for participants in this category was "most of the time." It may be important to note that in categories such as K-S4 sometimes have their most frequent responses in more than one response category; in other words, the responses "rarely" and "sometimes" may have emerged an equal amount of times for a particular item. This was the case in a number of the items for this category; for example, items 7 through 9 had the same number of responses for "rarely," "sometimes," and "most of the time." The responses from participants of these schools may reflect a multitude of student age groups and experiences with citizenship, and thus affected the sort or responses that participants provided.

The category of >1000, related to the variable of the *number of students* that were in the participants' schools, showed some deviance from the aggregate response rates. This category's most frequent response deviated from the most frequent aggregate response in 11 of the 30 items in the survey. In only one of those 11 occurrences, the most frequent response for this category demonstrated a lack of a construct compared to that of the most frequent aggregate response for

the respective items. Similar to the category of K-S4, the majority of occurrences of deviance reflected more of an existence of a construct compared to their aggregate counterparts.

The differences in regard to how participants viewed student behaviour were significant in a small number of demographic categories. For the most part, participants offered information that suggested that, as a whole, Aboriginal students do behave in a way that was, for the most part, congruent with the values related to citizenship development. Many of the most frequent responses for separate demographic categories were represented by the responses "sometimes" and "most of the time."

Conceptions of Citizenship Education

This section will explore the findings associated with research question #3 – "what, if any, differences exist amongst school staff, principals and teachers, regarding their conception of citizenship and the effectiveness of citizenship education in their schools?" In order to address this question, the following section focuses on the two categories of the variable *role*, administrators and teachers, and how participants in these respective roles addressed citizenship and its effectiveness in their school. The data used to address this question was from the Likert-scale survey data, the qualitative data from the open-ended questions, and the interviews. The themes that were developed through the process of constant comparison will be used to answer this question as well. This question will be addressed in two sections. The first will explore the differences in the conception of citizenship, and the second will explore effectiveness of citizenship education in the participants' schools.

Differences in the conception of citizenship. The differences between administrators and teachers regarding their respective conceptions of citizenship were, in large part, negligible. A one-way ANOVA was performed with the Likert-scale data to determine differences between the

study's two types of participants: principals and teachers. This ANOVA revealed two of the Likert-scale items in which there were significant differences between the responses of principals and teachers: item 4 (Aboriginal students do not engage in fighting) and item 16 (Aboriginal students do not engage in violent behaviour). The F scores for these items were 7.0 and 4.8 for item 4 and item 16 respectively; both of these items were contained in value set 4 titled *peace*. The variances between principals and teachers regarding these two items may be attributed to the fact that a higher percentage of teachers provided the responses "rarely" and "sometimes" to these two items: "most of the time" was the most frequent response for both items amongst both principals and teachers. No other significant variances were found amongst the other 28 Likert-scale items.

The themes that were developed through the analysis of the qualitative data acquired in this study were, in most cases, represented by equitable amounts of responses by both administrators and teachers. Participants tended to describe their conception of citizenship with the use of examples from their experiences and values/imperatives that are cited in isolation. Thus, it may be important to note that participants tended to focus on a small number of elements of their conception of citizenship that they considered important.

There were a few exceptions that were limited to a small number of the themes related to the participants' conception of citizenship. The theme of *belonging* was one that was more prevalent in the responses regarding the conception for citizenship for teachers. Belonging, which can be regarded as the degree to which one feels fidelity with something such as a place or group of people, was cited as an important element to the conception of citizenship because belonging, among other things, lends to more effective relationships amongst students and school staff.

Environmental stewardship was another theme that was more frequently found within the conception of citizenship for teachers compared to that of administrators. Environmental stewardship, the value for establishing and maintaining a suitable, ecologically sound environment for present and future generations, was frequently cited by teachers in relation to their schools' encouragement for student participation in clubs and activities that were congruent with this value. The importance of environmental stewardship for Aboriginal peoples is an important issue for Aboriginal peoples in Canada (Friesen & Friesen, 2002; Fettes & Norton, 2000).

Another prevalent theme frequently found in teachers' conceptions of citizenship was the theme of *community*, which referred to the desire or need for students to establish and/or maintain a role in a social institution, such as a school, that was localized and was intended to encourage, amongst other things, harmony and cooperation. Although participants frequently referred to the school as the community they alluded to, others referred to community in terms of the neighbourhood in which that school existed. One participant described the classroom community need thusly:

> Citizenship means building a community within your classroom and school…a
> community where each student feels as though they belong and have an important
> role to play in the learning process. It means learning how to work with others
> collaboratively to solve problems.

While another participant elected to describe "community" in a more broad manner by stating that "in a broader sense, [citizenship] is the set of responsibilities we have to educate ourselves about current events and become involved in our communities, large or small." The researcher did not anticipate the frequency in which participants would cite the importance of community.

Although there were some themes that were represented by teachers more frequently than the 67.6% of teachers represented as participants in the study, the differences among themes

were negligible. In the three themes discussed above where teachers' responses were found to be more representative, these themes, belonging, environmental stewardship and community, had an equally notable absence of representation of administrators, suggesting that the important elements of citizenship, as a concept, were manifest in other themes. As noted earlier, most of the themes that were found in the data related to the conceptions of citizenship held by participants had more or less equitable representation of administrator and teachers. In regard to themes that had a significant number of responses by administrators, the theme of *collaboration*, the act of working jointly with others to realize a common goal or address a common interest, was an important element of citizenship. Administrators who cited this element did so by emphasizing the importance of school staff and students working together toward a desired end. In regard to the developed themes regarding participant's conception of citizenship, the theme of collaboration was the only theme in which administrators were represented notably higher.

Discussion

The findings of this study suggest that Manitoba teachers and principals do perceive that their Aboriginal students do, for the most part, behave in a way that is congruent with the values associated with citizenship development. There was evidence that some Aboriginal students have difficulty in behaving in a prescribed way; these instances were associated with schools with comparatively large Aboriginal student populations and schools that cater to the grade levels of Kindergarten through Grade 12.

Beyond the principal findings of this study, the narrative data acquired from this study's survey and interviews suggest that increased emphasis should be placed upon:

- Integration of relevant Aboriginal perspectives in curricula and school activities,

- Acknowledgement of Aboriginal students' personal circumstances on the part of teachers and principals,

- Increased provision of opportunities for Aboriginal students to gain practical experience in regard to citizenship development, and

- Long term commitment to individual student development in the area of citizenship.

Further research may be required that focuses on Aboriginal students on First Nations as well as consideration of *community* as an important element of Aboriginal citizenship development.

The values associated with citizenship development that were employed in this study were essential to its development because the Manitoba Social Studies curriculum's content on citizenship education correspond to these values. These values, which reflect Canadian society's values for citizenship, also inform educational activities with the intention of influencing student behaviour to fulfill curricular outcomes. The way in which citizenship development is addressed by Manitoba's social studies curriculum suggests that this aspect of educational programming may be best employed by its integration across multiple aspects of school activities. Beyond in-class academic work, citizenship development is a process that may be enhanced by appropriate out-of-class educational activities, extra-curricular programming, and modeling by school staff. This study found that participants valued citizenship development not only as a curricular imperative, but also as an experiential process. The notion of citizenship development as an experiential process suggests that such programming requires the provision of genuine opportunities for students to demonstrate behaviour that is congruent with the values associated with citizenship. Since these values are closely aligned with curricular outcomes, such experiential opportunities may facilitate the assessment of student performance.

Although the principal finding of this study suggest that Manitoba teachers and principals do perceive that their Aboriginal students do, for the most part, behave in a way that is congruent

with the values associated with citizenship development, which further suggests that Aboriginal students have the ability to be positive contributors to their classrooms, schools, and communities, these findings have a number of implications for the field of educational administration.

Acknowledgement and Integration of Aboriginal Perspectives

Citizenship development may represent a sensitive subject for some Aboriginal students in Canada. Some writers (Battiste & Semaganis, 2002; Nicholas, 1996) have explored how citizenship can be viewed by Aboriginal peoples in Canada as a offshoot of colonialism and a constituent aspect of post-colonial control – these discussions suggest that citizenship education should be delivered in a manner that is sensitive to the contexts and experiences of students and their respective communities. Incorporating regional culture and languages in a way that addresses the curricular imperatives associated with citizenship development may allow teachers and schools to not only attend to the provincial curriculum, but also allow students to explore and celebrate aspects of their own localized identity.

The development of skills and outcomes for Canadian citizenship that are harmonious with Aboriginal conceptions of citizenship would require that curriculum documents containing those skills and outcomes emphasize elements of traditional Aboriginal identity, including lifestyles, spirituality, and means for communication. These elements of Aboriginal identity can have the ability to provide a frame of reference with which Aboriginal students and teachers can use to establish localized conceptions of citizenship that are congruent with the values of Canadian citizenship. Cardinal (1977), Battiste and Semaganis (2002), and Schissel and Wotherspoon (2003) have asserted this point by suggesting that localized manifestations of one's self-concept are important toward the affirmation of personal and community identity in a

pluralistic or multicultural society. Although current skills and outcomes found in the Manitoba curriculum are useful for the general delivery of a citizenship education programme, the mediums and means with which is delivered may not be entirely appropriate for Aboriginal classrooms.

Opportunities to Experience Citizenship Development

     Citizenship education is a program where outcomes can and should be assessed by student behaviour not only in the classroom, but in all aspects of school operations and extra-curricular activities. Although citizenship education in Manitoba is found, as a subject area, in the Social Studies curriculum, Manitoba's stated priority is to help students to become active and responsible citizens (Manitoba Education, Training and Youth, 2002), thus student development in this area should be facilitated and assessed not only in the Social Studies classroom, but in all classroom settings as well as in practical, real-life situations throughout the school and beyond school hours. As opposed to scholarly subjects that lend themselves more to direct instruction such as mathematics, citizenship education is not necessarily one that is best explored through theory alone, but through observation, reflection and replication in a way that tacitly communicates the importance of behaving in a way that is congruent with the values associated with citizenship development. As Levin (1998) suggested, education should be something one does, not something that should be done to someone. There were a variety of different forums that the participants in this study suggested as appropriate settings where students can practice the behaviours and learn the values associated with citizenship development. From environmental groups to student government activities to sport teams, such extra-curricular and class-based activities have the potential to allow students to explore citizenship development. When exposed to teachers, mentors or highly regarded peers in such activities, students have the

opportunity to observe how such behaviour looks like and how it can be rewarding to behave in a desired way.

Long-Term Commitment

Citizenship development should not be regarded as a process that can take place within the temporal boundaries associated with other courses. Expecting students to meet the behavioural outcomes of the citizenship education curriculum within a unit or a term may not be practical. Citizenship education is a long term process and, as one participant stated, the results may not be observed until long after graduation.

Currently, Aboriginal students are often exposed to curricular content that does little to facilitate the development of an identity that is informed by their traditional cultures. Contemporary educational programming, particularly that which can be associated with the public school system, may provide Aboriginal students the opportunity to acquire the skills necessary to develop into good citizens, but such programming is frequently delivered with an omission of Aboriginal content that is localized and culturally relevant to the students in question. Development of community relationships, language recovery and retention , and use of traditional knowledge are activities that can provide opportunities to engage in citizenship development that are congruent with traditional concepts of Aboriginal identity.

APPENDIX A – Citizenship Values and Corresponding Survey Items

Value Set	Survey Item – "In your school, there is evidence that Aboriginal students…"
1. Equality	1. Allow others to finish what they are saying.
	7. Solicit assistance from their peers.
	13. Seek consensus in collaborative problem solving.
	19. Consider the opinions of their peers.
	25. Acknowledge a value for equality
2. Respect for Cultural Differences	2. Acknowledge the existence of cultural differences.
	8. Use language that is respectful of human diversity.
	14. Acknowledge the existence of culturally diverse perspectives.
	20. Celebrate aspects of Aboriginal culture.
	26. Acknowledge the benefits of learning about other cultures.
3. Freedom	3. Acknowledge the existence of basic freedoms that Canadians enjoy, including freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and freedom of peaceful assembly.
	9. Acknowledge that there are boundaries involved with ones right to expression (e.g. being sensitive to others).
	15. Demonstrate control over their behaviour in group settings.
	21. Demonstrate respect for the spiritual and/or religious beliefs of others.
	27. Interfere with the basic freedoms of others.
4. Peace	4. Do not engage in fighting.
	10. Do not engage in bullying.
	16. Do not engage in violent behaviour.
	22. Acknowledge the utility of a safe learning environment.
	28. Acknowledge the negative impacts that violence can have in the school.
5. Law and Order	5. Acknowledge the existence of classroom and school rules.
	11. Violate classroom and school rules.
	17. Acknowledge the existence of laws that are relevant to them and their community.
	23. Acknowledge how laws can benefit their community.
	29. Acknowledge the role that democratic decision making has in the creation and maintenance of law.
6. Environmental Stewardship	6. Make use of garbage and recycling receptacles.
	12. Acknowledge the possible impact that miss-managed refuse can have on the environment.
	18. Acknowledge the importance of an ecologically sound environment.
	24. Acknowledge their personal responsibilities toward environmental stewardship.
	30. Acknowledge the impact that environmental harm can have upon animal and plant life.

APPENDIX B – Aggregate Chi Squares for the Study's Six Value Sets

Aggregate Chi squares for Value Set 1

	Never		Rarely		Sometimes		Most		All		N	df	X^2	Effect size
1	20	3	20	9	20	18	20	60	20	10	100	4.0	105.2	1.0
7	33	0	33	23	33	52	33	24	3	0	99	2.0	16.4	0.4
13	32	0	32	27	32	41	32	28	32	0	96	2.0	3.8	0.2
19	33.7	0	33.7	0	33.7	37	33.7	63	33.7	1	101	2.0	57.6	0.8
25	25	0	25	7	25	34	25	56	25	3	100	3.0	74.0	0.9

Aggregate Chi squares for Value Set 2

	Never		Rarely		Sometimes		Most		All		N	Df	X^2	Effect size
2	25.3	0	25.3	11	25.3	37	25.3	47	25.3	6	101	3.0	46.9	0.7
8	25	0	25	5	25	37	25	55	25	3	100	3.0	77.1	0.9
14	33.3	0	33.3	12	33.3	48	33.3	40	33.3	0	100	2.0	21.4	0.5
20	19.4	1	19.4	19	19.4	47	19.4	29	19.4	1	97	4.0	78.9	0.9
26	33.3	0	33.3	13	33.3	48	33.3	39	33.3	0	100	2.0	19.8	0.4

Aggregate Chi squares for Value Set 3

Value Set 3

	Never		Rarely		Sometimes		Most		All		N	Df	X^2	Effect size
3	19.8	1	19.8	11	19.8	18	19.8	56	19.8	13	99	4.0	90.4	1.0
9	25	0	25	11	25	34	25	53	25	2	100	3.0	63.6	0.8
15	25.3	0	25.3	1	25.3	31	25.3	68	25.3	1	101	3.0	120.3	1.1
21	23.8	0	23.8	14	23.8	35	23.8	45	23.8	1	95	3.0	50.1	0.7
27	25.3	5	25.3	58	25.3	36	25.3	2	25.3	0	101	3.0	84.7	0.9

Aggregate Chi squares for Value Set 4

	Never		Rarely		Sometimes		Most		All		N	Df	X^2	Effect size
4	24.8	0	24.8	9	24.8	34	24.8	50	24.8	6	99	3.0	53.4	0.7
10	25	0	25	13	25	33	25	52	25	2	100	3.0	58.6	0.8
16	25	0	25	4	25	23	25	68	25	5	100	3.0	107.8	1.0
22	20.2	0	20.2	5	20.2	25	20.2	66	20.2	4	101	4.0	147.7	1.2
28	19.6	1	19.6	12	19.6	34	19.6	47	19.6	4	98	4.0	81.9	0.9

Aggregate Chi squares for Value Set 5

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Most	All	N	Df	X^2	Effect

	Never		Rarely		Sometimes		Most		All		N	Df	X^2	size
5	25		25		25		25		25		100	3.0	98.2	1.0
		0		2		26		65		7				
11	33		33		33		33		33		100	2.0	49.0	0.7
		0		21		66		13		0				
17	24.8		24.8		24.8		24.8		24.8		99	3.0	92.3	1.0
		0		7		29		62		1				
23	24.3		24.3		24.3		24.3		24.3		97	3.0	71.5	0.9
		1		10		31		55		0				
29	24		24		24		24		24		96	3.0	44.9	0.7
		0		16		38		41		1				

Aggregate Chi squares for Value Set 6

	Never		Rarely		Sometimes		Most		All		N	Df	X^2	Effect size
6	24.3		24.3		24.3		24.3		24.3		97	3.0	80.7	0.9
		0		6		30		58		3				
12	23.3		23.3		23.3		23.3		23.3		93	3.0	40.1	0.7
		2		25		45		21		0				
18	24		24		24		24		24		96	3.0	39.6	0.6
		0		20		42		33		1				
24	23.8		23.8		23.8		23.8		23.8		95	3.0	36.4	0.6
		2		22		43		28		0				
30	18.8		18.8		18.8		18.8		18.8		94	4.0	72.6	0.9
		1		16		45		29		3				

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