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**FACULTÉ DES ÉTUDES SUPÉRIEURES
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**FACULTY OF GRADUATE AND
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GRADE / DEGREE

Faculty of Education

FACULTÉ, ÉCOLE, DÉPARTEMENT / FACULTY, SCHOOL, DEPARTMENT

**Geographies of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis Peoples in a Contemporary Grade-nine Applied-level
Ontario Geography Textbook**

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Geographies of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis Peoples in a Contemporary Grade-nine Applied-
level Ontario Geography Textbook

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts in
Education

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395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
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Your file *Votre référence*
ISBN: 978-0-494-73878-8
Our file *Notre référence*
ISBN: 978-0-494-73878-8

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Abstract

This study examines the representations of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis geographies within a contemporary grade-nine Canadian geography textbook. Although First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples have lived on the territory now known as Canada for thousands of years, in the past two hundred years, with the exception of some place names, colonialism has worked to largely remove evidence of their presence from the landscape and to exclude them from the dominant narratives of Canadian geography. In this study, I conduct a critical discourse analysis of a textbook currently approved by the Ontario Ministry of Education's Trillium List for the compulsory grade-nine applied-level Canadian geography course: *Canadian Geography: A Sense of Place*.

First, I consider how the textbook creates knowledge of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples and their geographies. Next, I examine how this creation compares to the textbook's representation of Canadians. Finally, I explore what an Aboriginal geography might look like and how Aboriginal perspectives could be incorporated into the text. The grade-nine Canadian geography course is the only mandatory geography course for students in the applied stream. If students do not continue with geography, the text they use in this course or used by the teacher to organize this course will be their last exposure to geography texts and formal discussions of Aboriginal geographies. This textbook is important because for many students, it will be the only time in their lives that they are systematically exposed to knowledge about First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples. While there are attempts at inclusion, old misrepresentations appear again in new forms within this textbook. A major task of this textbook is constructing the nation and presenting a nationalized geography.

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Introduction

Although First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples have lived on the territory now known as Canada since time immemorial, in the past two hundred years, with the exception of some place names, colonialism has worked to erase evidence of their presence from the landscape and to exclude their geographies from the dominant narratives of Canadian geography (Stanley, 2009). In this study, I explore how these erasures and exclusions have translated into a contemporary geography textbook. I conducted a critical discourse analysis (van Dijk, 2004) of a textbook currently approved by the Ontario Ministry of Education's Trillium List for the compulsory grade-nine applied-level Canadian geography course: *Canadian Geography: A Sense of Place* (Wallace et al, 2006). The grade-nine applied-level Canadian geography course is the only geography course required for all students in the applied stream. If students do not continue with geography, the texts they use in this course or used by the teacher to organize this course will be their last exposure to the systematic study of Aboriginal peoples (Francis, 1997). My study investigates how Aboriginal geographies are excluded, ignored, or included in this geography textbook. In order to understand how Aboriginal geographies are represented in the geography textbook, I also examine how the textbook creates knowledge of Canadian people and objects and how it represents Canada.

Many events in Canada's history have shown that First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples have and continue to resist, challenge, and reshape the geographies which have been assigned to them (Peters, 2000). Members of the Stó:lō Nation, a First Nation indigenous to the lower Fraser River, for example, have created *A Stó:lō Coast Salish Historical Atlas* with the intent of documenting and interpreting historical and geographical Stó:lō relationships with the landscape, the metaphysical world, and various Stó:lō people and communities (Carlson, 2001). The Stó:lō

atlas is considered to be a groundbreaking publication in both Canada and the United States. I am not aware of a comparable atlas. This comprehensive document includes 86 maps, 46 plates, archival photographs, and text. It is an example of how decolonized geographies can be presented. I use the Stó:lō atlas to consider how Aboriginal geographies may look and be presented within textbooks.

The establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, as well as growing public awareness and discussion of the residential schools during the past two years are examples of an important shift in Canada towards an increased understanding of the role that education has had and continues to have in the colonization and marginalization of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples (Sykes, 2008). It is important to critically examine all classroom resources because a meaningful education for all students, including those who have historically been marginalized and silenced, cannot be the same education that has been developed in the context of their exclusion (Minnick, 1990). Current textbooks cannot contain stereotypical or racist representations. For hundreds of years, First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples have been “marginalized spatially and imaginatively through the material practices of colonialism and biased modes of representation” (Peters, 2000, p. 45). Determining contemporary exclusions and possible sites of inclusion within geography textbooks and understanding negative representations are essential to the reconceptualization of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples and their geographies.

Research Questions

While a great deal of work has been done on the representations of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples in Canadian history books (Francis, 1992; Francis, 1997; Lupul, 1976; Manitoba Indian Cultural Education Centre, 1977; O’Neill, 1987; Montgomery, 1999), in

contrast not much work has been done with respect to geography textbooks (Peters, 2001).

Within Canadian history textbooks, Aboriginal histories have been ignored or reduced to a handful of experiences, mostly involving contact with Europeans (Francis, 1997; Lupul, 1976; Manitoba Indian Cultural Education Centre, 1977; O'Neill, 1987). Tomkins (1986) reported that within social studies textbooks, they disappear soon after the Europeans arrive only to reappear during the Riel rebellion and the opening of the Prairies. There have been some steps towards inclusion in the last 20 years, but the extent to which Aboriginal content is incorporated is limited (Montgomery, 2005b).

My study aims to understand how one Canadian geography textbook creates notions of Aboriginal geographies in relation to Canadians and Canada and identify current and possible sites of inclusion. An examination of these concepts may shed light on potential limitations of Canadian textbooks' conception of geography and the consequences of this conception. In order to examine how this grade-nine geography text constructs and represents Aboriginal geographies, I will consider:

- 1) What are the representations of Aboriginal geographies in the text?
- 2) How does the text construct knowledge of Canadian people and cultural objects and Canada as a nation?
- 3) How do these representations relate to the knowledge the text creates of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples and cultural objects?
- 4) What would an Aboriginal geography look like and what of this geography is missing from the text?

Based on the results of prior studies, I expected to find very different types of geographies and representations (see Lupul, 1976; Manitoba Indian Cultural Education Centre,

1977; Clark, 2007). It was my assumption that Métis peoples would barely be represented within the text if at all as was the case in these other textbook studies. I expected that Inuit people would be represented only as northern people because this is a common misconception. These studies did not examine nationalizing geographies within textbooks and I myself did not expect to find one in this textbook. Thinking back to my own schooling and experiences with geography textbooks, I do not remember encountering a nationalizing geography, but I do recognize a lack of representation of Aboriginal geographies. In *Canadian Geography: A Sense of Place* (2006) there were 82 out of 270 pages with content that contributes to nationalizing messages compared with 37 pages with references to Aboriginal geographies. The text spent a great deal of time creating a nationalized geography of Canadian and Canadians.

My research questions have emerged from demands for a better understanding of how schooling continues to colonize and marginalize First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples of Canada. My study will identify potential sites for inclusive and decolonized Aboriginal geographies.

I have chosen the textbook of a grade-nine course, *Canadian Geography: A Sense of Place* (Wallace, 2006), because this Canadian geography course is the only compulsory geography course offered at this grade level (Ministry of Education, 2005). I chose an applied-level text since advanced-level textbooks are studied more often or the textbook level is not mentioned at all (Clark, 2007; Francis, 1997; Lerner et al, 1992; Lupul, 1976; Mallam, 1973; O'Neill, 1987). All applied-level high school students must take this geography course in order to complete grade nine; therefore, it is likely that a large number of students may have been exposed to this text or that their teachers used this text to help organized their teaching. If students do not continue with the subject of geography after grade-nine, then it is safe to assume

these textbooks will be the only geography text these students will encounter for the remainder of their high school career, further education, and lives (Francis, 1997).

It is important to critically analyze textbooks since the information within these texts is presented to teachers and students as truth, fact, and taken-for-granted knowledge operating within a seemingly common-sense framework (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991). As a form of educational discourse and through both explicit and implicit designs, textbooks have the ability to reproduce social norms, values, and dominant notions of race and gender (van Dijk, 2004). Because the content of textbooks is considered standard knowledge for all students to acquire, it is important to study how textbooks present information to students (van Dijk, 2004). Textbooks are carefully planned and selectively constructed official documents that have the potential to exclude the geographies, histories, and experiences of some people or groups while legitimizing the experiences of others (Montgomery, 2005b). My research determines how one geography textbook legitimizes and denies the geographies of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples.

Chapter One: Literature Review

This thesis revolves around three key concepts: geography, representation, and Aboriginality. My review of the literature first examines what is considered a 'geography' by looking at theories of feminist geography, the history of geography as a curricular subject and other textbook studies, as well as Aboriginal geographies. The next section explores the literature on the representations of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples. The final section examines the concept of Aboriginality and the idea that First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples have unique geographies and relationships with the land.

In order to limit my own bias and opinions in my research, I have explored and defined important key concepts as they appear in the literature rather than as how I think they should be defined. Admittedly, even the choice of these terms is selective and representative of my own perspective. Within my literature review, I will review the key concepts that organize my thesis, such as: geographies, feminist geography, Aboriginality, and representation.

What is a geography?

Geographies are the pluralising of the conception of geography (Clayton, 2003). It is the recognition that geography cannot be separated from the conditions in which it was made in various political, social, cultural, and economic times and places. Clayton (2003) states that geography is no longer just a way of finding order in the world, but it is now connected with the creation of order and the instruction of it. Geographies are the multiple ways of imagining and constructing knowledge of the physical landscape and the occupation of it (Frankenburg, 1993). Just as there is no one correct or true history, but rather multiple, diverse, and contradictory histories, there is not one singular geography, but instead numerous and varied geographies.

The field of geography is concerned with the study of the role of space in the creation of

social categories such as those of race (Frankenberg, 1993). The social construction of race and racialized meanings can be studied by examining the physical occupation of space (Anderson, 1994). Urban cultural geographers have increasingly begun working to deconstruct the contradictory and conflicting representations of racialized places and events (Bonnett and Nayak, 2003). In a study of the connections between local and national racialized space in Sweden, Pred (2000) concluded that race becomes fixed in a space and landscape making it appear real. Anderson's (1993) study of Australia's 'Aboriginal Redfern' suburb revealed that the consequence of a struggle between the competing discourses of Aboriginal activists and local officials and politicians was at the root of the persistent idea of a negatively racialized area. Aboriginal activists viewed Redfern as the heart of the Aboriginal community and a site of unity. This discourse contrasted with the white and racist constructions of Redfern and Aboriginality. Local officials and politicians relied on stereotypical and racist images of Aboriginality to gain the support of white residents in the struggle (Anderson, 1993).

Historically, analyses of race in geography dealt primarily with settlement and residential spatial segregation of minority people from majority populations (Bonnett & Nayak, 2003). More recently the debate has turned to the increasing association of urban with 'multicultural', 'multiracial', and immigration populations that has resulted in the study of race being linked to the study of the city (Bonnett & Nayak, 2003; Pred, 2000). Geography, along with anthropology, is thought to be a racialized academic field which should concern itself with the critique of racialization (Bonnett & Nayak, 2003). Yet historically, despite geography's ability to maintain and normalize colonial boundaries, geography in school curricula has not gotten a great deal of attention. Bonnett and Nayak (2003) believe that geography's examinations and discussions of race "can and should be based, not on racism, but on the ability to understand and challenge

stereotype and prejudice” (p.300). In 2003 in the United States, there was a call to ‘decolonize the discipline’ from the American Association of Geographers (Shaw, Herman & Dobbs, 2006). There has been a tremendous response and geographers are working to “recenter and reclaim space within the discipline for distinctively indigenous concerns” (Shaw, Herman & Dobbs, 2006, p.267). Shaw, Herman & Dobbs (2006) have encouraged geographers to actively engage with postcolonial indigenous geographies.

Geographies and their representations contribute to processes of racializations. Racialization is the social process of making race and signifying imagined racial or cultural difference (Stanley, 2008). Racializations involve attributing race to specific social practices or discourses (Tator, 2006). Racializations are relational, for example, one group is racialized as X in comparison to the group racialized as Y. These categories exclude people and include only some (Montgomery, 2005b). Racializations essentialize and categories attempt to fix people in one category or another instead of allowing people to belong to both or neither category (James, 2007). Racializations do not necessarily have anything to do with how people self-identify, but instead indicate the racial categor(ies) they are put into by others (Stanley, 2008). Racialization applies to my study especially with respect to images. I have no way of knowing how people whose images are in the texts self-identify; therefore, I speak about people who are racialized First Nations or racialized Inuit to acknowledge this is how that person is racialized rather than how they self-identify. I relied on the captions of images to tell me whether the person or people in the images were identified as racialized First Nation, Inuit, or Métis. I do not examine images of people who are not identified as such. Within the geography textbook, I document how Aboriginal geographies are constructed in comparison to the geographies of Canada and Canadians.

Feminist Geography

If geography is not only about the material systems that occupy space, but about the meanings that human beings attach to these spaces, it is also subject to broader relations of power that shape how meanings get enacted and distributed. Although I am not looking at gendered representations, I use feminist geography to trouble received meanings. For this thesis, feminist geography provides an important critique of the power relations at work within geographic representation, a critique that enables me to also ask questions about how relations of power are enacted through representations of Aboriginal geographies.

Feminist geography incorporates the theories and critiques of feminism into geography. It has developed from the geography of women to feminist geography (Bowlby, 1992). It focuses on gender in the study of society, lived experiences, landscape, the environment, and geographical space (Peters, 2004). Bowlby (1992) lists three important areas of study which have developed, “analyses of cultural representation; work on sexuality, subjectivity, and social relations; and new developments in studies of the interrelationship of race, class, and gender” (p.169). MacKenzie (1989) explains that because the geographies of women depart from the assumed male norm, adding women to geography and geographic analysis change the way things are conceptualized and need to be talked about (as cited in Peters, 2004, p.254). Similarly, adding Aboriginal geographies depart from the assumed Anglo-European norm and change the way things are conceptualized as well.

Feminist geographers have been instrumental in positioning the politics of research and researchers in geography (e.g. McDowell, 1996; Peters, 2001; Peters, 2004). Geographers now acknowledge spatial patterns as the result of social processes at local, national, and international levels and therefore reflecting social processes of racism, sexism, and discrimination (McDowell,

1996). For example, through the analysis of many case studies, feminist geographers, such as McDowell (1996), have discovered that it is usually women who have the most spatially restricted lives. Women take up less space, travel less, and have access to fewer resources (Peters, 2004). The study of feminist geography can play an important part in exposing forms of institutionalized and systemic discrimination while at the same time providing an opportunity for presenting the geographies of groups which have historically been silenced or marginalized, such as women and First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples.

Peters (2000) argues that the dominant geography framework cannot accurately explain or incorporate Aboriginal geographies. She suggests that the absence of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples in geography textbook is evidence that “the geographic imagination in Canada is not generally organized by a recognition of underlying maps of Aboriginal title and territories” (Peters, 2000, p. 45). For example, in order for students to understand geography textbooks’ traditional versions of Canada’s early settlement and eventual urbanization, students are required to imagine the land being settled was unoccupied at the time. In actuality, First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples were displaced from their land and moved to reserves regulated by the federal government so that their traditional territories could then become the sites of modern urban areas. These geographies are often not included in the ‘official knowledge’ of textbooks (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991).

Aboriginal geographies depart from the assumed white Anglo-European male norm. Feminist geographers examine how the current geography framework does not account for Aboriginal geographies. They also work to develop a possible entry point for presenting and including their geographies. Peters believes feminist geography can work to make geography more inclusive of not just women, but also First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples (2004). She is

well aware of the challenges this task brings to feminist geography and has called for other scholars to share their opinions on these issues. It is her belief that these challenges would only serve to further enrich feminist research and scholarship (Peters, 2004). Peters has been actively exploring feminist geography as a means to increase the representation of Aboriginal geographies. Grounding my work in the theory of feminist geography and using it as a lens to view the textbook and its representations allow me to speak to the exclusion of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples and their geographies. It also allows me to ask whether current geography frameworks can incorporate Aboriginal geographies. Feminist geography is concerned with how power is involved in the creation of particular geographies and I apply this concept of power to my study of the geographies of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples within one textbook.

Geography as a Curricular Subject and Textbook Studies

At the beginning of the 20th century in Canada, geography was considered primarily an elementary subject. A lack of trained teachers and the absence of a human geography element resulted in physical geography eventually becoming an aspect of general science. It survived at the secondary level, only in Ontario, in the form of the textbook *Ontario High School Physical Geography* until 1937 when it was incorporated into social studies. Only in 1950 did geography slowly begin returning to high school curricula in a new light. Canadian teachers began to recognize geography as a subject matter and geography textbooks as educational resources for their potential to teach about the social construction of race and racial difference. At an international UNESCO seminar held in Canada at Macdonald College of McGill University in July 1950, teachers from across Canada and 39 other member countries gathered to discuss how the teaching of geography could be used as an aid to teach international understanding at the

primary and secondary levels (Library and Archives Canada, 2008). Neville Scarfe was coordinator of the UNESCO International Seminar on the Teaching of Geography. Two years later he was appointed as chairman of the International Geographical Unions' Commission on the Teaching of Geography. He became the Dean of the College of Education at the University of British Columbia. Scarfe (1956) promoted the subject of geography as a developing theme or point of view instead of "a collection of masses of heterogeneous unrelated facts about the various countries of the world" (p.32). Scarfe (1956) believed that geography could be used to help "future citizens think sensibly about political and social problems in the world around" (p. 30) and promote international understanding by presenting them with accurate detailed information about everyday life and conditions in other countries.

Using geography to teach international understanding and debunk the myth of race proved to be a difficult challenge. According to Peters (2000), geographers and geography textbooks have contributed significantly to the erasure of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples from Canadian geography. Peters (2000) argues that cartography played a major role in the process of dispossession and erasing evidence of Aboriginal territories and their rights to land and resources. Even today, cartography reinforces a colonial understanding of land and normalizes imposed boundaries (Shaw, Herman, & Dobbs, 2006). Geographers now realize the potential for geography to support and contribute to First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples' efforts to negotiate unsettled land claims and achieve self-determination (Peters, 2000). Some geographers have been working to do so (see Usher, 1982).

I consider both geography and history textbooks within my literature review because of the lack of studies on geography textbooks and the abundance of history textbook studies. Pratt (1975) explains that after 1971, multiculturalism began replacing bilingualism and biculturalism

as official school policy. He claims the multitude of textbook studies followed this shift.

McDiarmid and Pratt's (1971) examination of 143 textbooks for bias and prejudice, conducted on behalf of the Ontario Human Rights Commission, concluded that both were markedly persistent throughout the texts. In 1974, the Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission suggested that biased texts be discontinued from use and replaced with texts which contain more accurate and positive content about minority populations, specifically First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples (McDiarmid and Pratt, 1971). Pratt's (1975) study of social studies textbooks revealed a homogeneous representation of Canadian society with a bias towards Anglo-Saxon middle-class values. Other groups were portrayed negatively while discussions of class and other differences were omitted. Werner et al. (1977) conducted a survey of ethnicity in social studies curricula. Bias by omission was prevalent throughout the texts. Although First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples were represented, they were portrayed as exotic. Throughout the 1970s, textbooks became less biased, more scholarly, and more likely to include content about minorities (Tomkins, 1986).

Pratt's (1984) comparative analysis of Ontario texts published before 1967 and between 1977 and 1980 supports this claim that textbooks became less biased and more likely to contain content about minorities during the 1970s. In the latter texts, seven of the ten most commonly used terms to describe First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples were positive, compared with seven of the ten terms in the earlier texts being negative references (Pratt, 1984). By 1980 countering prejudice, discrimination, and racism became of growing importance to the practice of multicultural education (Tomkins, 1986). Unfortunately, textbook authors were wary about discussing issues related to racism and the treatment of women and minorities. This content tended to be ignored or barely covered at all within texts in order to avoid criticism for being

biased or for passing judgment on other cultures (Tomkins, 1986). In his examination of the development of geography education in Canada, Wolforth (1986) found that Canadian geography courses emphasized factual content and skills but, he believed that geography could lend itself to a more hypothetical-deductive approach (1986). Van Dijk (2004), in his study of racism and immigration in Spanish textbooks, argues that geography students should be required to learn about immigration and racism as well as other phenomenon of geography such as natural resources, climate zones, etc. He concludes that the major problem lies within the curriculum and a restricted conception of geography (van Dijk, 2004).

As for history textbooks, Montgomery (2005a), in his analysis of historical and contemporary Canadian history textbooks used in Ontario determined there is a problem with the conceptualization of “race” in these texts. He explains how over the years historical racisms appeared in textbooks to a greater extent and with increasing importance, yet the notion of “race” continues to be conceptualized as a natural category of division between distinctive types of people instead of as a social construction (Montgomery, 2005a). In another study, Montgomery (2005b) found that within Canadian history textbooks, racism was portrayed as being a problem of the past and that present-day examples of racism exists only outside of Canada. Likewise, Rezai-Rashti and McCarthy’s (2008) analysis of a grade 12 social sciences textbook revealed that race and anti-racism discourses within the text did not adequately examine the complexities and controversies of racism and anti-racism.

It is important for my research to develop a sense of geography as a subject matter today with respect to the social and historical constructions of race, place, and space as well as the seemingly scientific authority that geography can portray.

Representation

Representation is a social process of creating meaning through the use of imagery and discourse (Tator, 2006). It is a way of giving meaning to objects or ideas through what is said about it and how people think or feel about it (Hall, 1997c). These meanings are constructed from specific points of view (Tator, 2006). Representation is the process by which a “constructed text stands for, symbolizes, describes, or represents people, places, events or ideas that are real and have an existence outside the text” (Hall, 1997c, p.3). The images and text within the textbook that are signalled as being related to First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples will constitute representations of them and their geographies in my research. My research, as informed by the Stó:lō atlas, will only speak to the representations of Aboriginal geographies as they appear in this geography textbook.

Representation of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples

Much of the literature I found about representation is concerned with images, art, photographs, pictures, symbols, logos, icons, and illustrations and other forms of visual representation instead of solely textual forms. In the United States, for example, Berkhofer’s (1978) study of the representations of American Indians described three persistent invented images. The ‘Noble Savage’ was portrayed as physical strong, stoic, modest, and calm. In contrast, the negative representations depicted the ‘Ignoble Savage’ as uncivilized, bloodthirsty, and cruel. The third category of the white man’s Indians was the ‘Degraded’. Images of the degraded portrayed a drunken, poor, and broken people who had given into the vices of colonizers but not the virtues. Berkhofer’s (1978) interrogation of images of American Indians from contact to the late 1970s concluded that the images were derived from white perceptions and served to justify white racist attitudes and policies towards American Indians. Raibmon’s

Authentic Indians (2005) deals with the conflicting public displays of the idealized traditional Indian and objectives of assimilation.

The literature that does deal exclusively with text considers the representations of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples within textbooks and literature. Representations of Aboriginal geographies within texts have been projected upon First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples for decades. In Canada, Francis' studies (1992; 1997) of Canadian textbooks describe the racist images within texts as the 'Textbook Indian'. The 'Textbook Indian' was a figure of the past incapable of adapting to change and disappeared from Canadian history textbooks after the war of 1812 (Francis, 1992). Before 1960, images of 'Textbook Indians' portrayed a vicious uncivilized people who were a part of the landscape to be tamed (Francis, 1997).

Penney Clark (2007), in her study of textbooks used in British Columbia, Yukon, Manitoba, Ontario, and Nova Scotia over three time periods, examines the representations of 'Aboriginal people' in English Canadian history textbooks. Clark (2007) first examines eighteen English Canadian history textbooks from 1911 to 1931. She found two prevalent attitudes towards Aboriginal people: paternalism and repugnance. The second time period she examines is from the mid 1960s to mid 1980s in which there were numerous textbook inquiries which considered the representation of marginalized groups, especially the representation of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples. These studies were supported by organizations such as Aboriginal organizations, human rights commissions, and provincial departments of education among others. Her investigation reviews the conclusions of these fourteen textbook studies and concluded that the representations of Aboriginal people in textbooks contained errors, negative stereotypes, and omissions. For the third period, the mid 1980s to 2007, there is a lack of relevant published textbook studies so Clark (2007) examines twenty-six texts. Included in those

twenty-six texts are all the texts authorized by the Ontario Ministry of Education during this period. For these textbooks, Clark (2007) focused her research on representations in images. She found five persistent representations in the images throughout the texts: exotic, problem, uniquely spiritual, protestor, and invisible (Clark, 2007). In contrast to the texts of the previous period, Clark (2007) found that they contained discussions of land claims, self-government, and life on reserves among other topics. Clark's work is useful for me in understanding how representations of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples have been studied and represented in past and current textbooks.

There is a great deal of scholarly work on the representations of American Indians in American social studies and history textbooks (Lerner, Nagai, & Rothman, 1992; Mallam, 1973; O'Neill, 1984; O'Neill, 1987). In a study of the representations of American Indians in textbooks and other library literature, Mallam (1973) found that representations were biased and inaccurate. The American Indian was a romanticized figure of the past with little to no attention paid to the role of the American Indian in contemporary society (Mallam, 1973). In a later quantitative study of American history textbooks from the 1940s through the 1980s, Lerner, Nagai, & Rothman (1992) examined the representation of African Americans and American Indians. They found that the number of American Indians represented in photos and large portions of text increased drastically over the decades from only three in the 1940s to thirty-nine in the 1980s. The quantitative nature of this study limits the results to strictly numbers. There is no further discussion of the types of representations within these images or in relation to the rest of the text. This study concluded that there has been an increase in the representation of the American Indian over the past decades. Yet, both these American studies suggest the need for more accurate and inclusive representations.

This finding is similar to what comes out of the Canadian literature (O'Neill, 1984; O'Neill, 1987; Peters, 2004; Clark, 2007). In his quantitative study of Ontario intermediate history textbooks, O'Neill (1984) states that even though textbooks contained less discriminatory terms than previous texts, textbooks should have more diverse representations (1984). In a later study, O'Neill (1987) reviews ten studies of the representations of "the North American Indian". The studies review elementary, secondary and post-secondary texts spanning from the 1950s through the 1980s. The methodologies of these studies were either quantitative or qualitative. He found that although the biased language of the earlier texts was no longer present in the latter texts, representations of "the North American Indian" were simplistic and stereotypical throughout the entire period. His review concluded that the representations of "the North American Indian" in textbooks had not improved over the 30 years studied. In her book, *Defeathering the Indian*, Emma LaRoque (1975) highlights an important distinction between heritage and present culture. She believes that Aboriginal peoples' heritage and past is often confused for their culture and present. It is this past and heritage which is more often represented in textbooks. In a more recent example, an elementary textbook called *Let's Visit Nunavut* was banned from Nunavut classrooms in 2003, but may still be in use in other provinces and territories. The textbook contained offensive stereotypes, describing Inuit peoples as lacking job skills, uneducated, and reliant on welfare (Waldie, 2003). Clark's (2007) study of English Canadian history textbooks published and used in Ontario from the mid 1980s to present day concluded that representations of Aboriginal people were more numerous and positive than they had been in previous decades, although the images still presented limited representations. My study will reveal how First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples' geographies are represented within a current geography textbook.

For the purposes of my study I will focus on the Canadian literature. Studies of representation within Canadian textbooks typically examine history or social studies textbooks (Francis, 1997; Lupul, 1976; Montgomery, 2005a; Montgomery, 2005b; O'Neill, 1984; Clark, 2007). In history and social studies textbooks from 1960 to 1975, Lupul (1976) found that Canada's 'other' people, "the Native peoples, the Métis..., the Orientals, and the Continental immigrants (especially the southeastern Europeans)" (p.1), were not adequately represented. Research of social studies texts do not focus on geography specifically or with much depth (Lupul, 1976; O'Neill, 1984; O'Neill, 1987). In a study of geography texts, Peters (2004) claims that First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples are rarely mentioned in undergraduate geography textbooks and barely acknowledged in most of geography's subdisciplines. It is telling that none of these studies examine gendered representations.

There is a general consensus within the literature that historically First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples as well as American Indians have not been accurately or positively represented within history and social studies texts if they are represented at all. In 1999, LaCroix and Lundy (2004) examined the integration of 'Aboriginal content' in grade 9 and 10 English and history courses at three band-operated and three provincially run schools in Northern Ontario. The English teachers at the provincially run schools relied primarily on textbook content because of a lack of available resources. The history teachers at the same schools reported that student and teacher resources lacked 'Aboriginal history'. The band-controlled schools did research to become familiar with First Nations, Inuit, and Métis authors, poets and playwrights. The history teachers relied on local Elders to enhance the history curriculum. Although the literature suggests that negative representations of First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples as well as American

Indians have significantly decreased over time, the literature also speaks to the need for more varied positive representations and the inclusion of Aboriginal content.

Aboriginality

The concept of Aboriginality is also important to this thesis. The textbook itself states that, “Aboriginal peoples of Canada are actually many distinct groups with unique histories, languages, cultural practices, and spiritual beliefs” (p. 92). It follows that Aboriginal peoples of Canada have unique geographies as well. As descendants of the original inhabitants of the territory now known as Canada, First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples have a unique relationship to the land not only in the legal sense of land claims and underlying title and rights (Shaw, Herman, & Dobbs, 2006), but also a deep interconnection to the land as suggested by geographies such as *A Stó:lō-Coast Salish Historical Atlas* (Carlson, 2001) and a continuous occupation of the land despite colonialism and its consequences, such as reserves. If a geography is the meanings that people make with the land, then the geography of one First Nation will be different from the geography of another First Nation, even if they speak the same language, because of the specificity and sense of hereness of each group resulting from deep geographic roots in an area (Peters, 2004).

First Nation, Inuit, and Métis peoples’ continuous occupation of different territories and traditional lands are the real versions of Anderson’s (1991a) imagined communities. In some cases, there exists continuous lineage and an occupation of land that is not in question; it is not a myth or an imagined occupation such as that of modern states. Their occupation is real and connected to the specificity of place; these connections make it what modern nationalism aspires to. This is important to my thesis as First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples have unique relationships with the land and therefore unique geographies. My study considers how these

geographies are represented within one textbook that is marked specifically as a Canadian geography in the title: *Canadian Geography: A Sense of Place* (Wallace, 2006).

Geographies of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples

Just as Aboriginality is a special concept, so too there must be Aboriginal geographies. Canada's First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples are legally recognized collectively as Aboriginal people according to the Canadian Constitution. 'Aboriginal people' is a legal all-encompassing term that has been mistakenly used interchangeably with First Nations. I wish to make a clear distinction between First Nations peoples and Aboriginal peoples as an effort to better reflect the diversity of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples. Within my thesis, I will not use the term 'Aboriginal people' when speaking in my own voice in order to avoid any legal connotations that it may carry. I use 'First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples' because it seems to be preferred by people who self-identify. It is not a perfect term and I welcome a decolonized alternative. I use 'Aboriginal geography' to refer to the geographies of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples. I will use the term 'Aboriginal peoples' only as it appears elsewhere and as other authors have used it to more accurately represent their research. I will use 'First Nations', 'Inuit', and 'Métis' peoples with an awareness of the difference and diversity of the people that these terms incorporate. My thesis is in no way intended as a definitive representation of these peoples or their geographies. It is the result of my systematic critical analysis of the geographies presented in one grade-nine geography textbook which was informed by the Stó:lō-Coast Salish Historical Atlas.

The number of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples living in urban areas is increasing and these rising populations will continue to impact both rural and urban geographies of Canada (Peters, 2001). In fact, their populations continue to increase at a greater rate than any other

population group in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2006). This is not to say that they were not the fastest growing population, then they would not deserve geographies. First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples are making their presence known and presenting new definitions of their space and place in Canadian society (Peters, 2000).

Indigenous geographies appeared as a subdiscipline in the mid to late 1960s (Shaw, Herman, & Dobbs, 2006). During the 1990s, the radical research of previous decades became commonly accepted viewpoints in Canada and the United States. There was an increasing theoretical engagement and more relevant connections made to contemporary issues evident in the research of the time. More recently, colonial geographies have begun to turn to their attention from representations of 'the Other' (Said, 1978) towards critical geographies of 'majority' groups and whiteness (see Clayton, 2003). Peters (2001) examines the geographical representations of Aboriginal peoples within colonial discourse. She goes beyond these representations in order to understand the ways which colonial perceptions of Aboriginal peoples were realized in settlement patterns and government policies (Peters, 2001). She calls for not only a contemporary Aboriginal geographies, but also an understanding within geography of the historical and colonial factors which created and sustain contemporary Aboriginal geographies (2001).

The discourse of environmental movements have allowed geographers to represent landscapes and natural resources in terms of physical geography and ecology, effectively disconnecting them from human involvement and allowing for the exclusion of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples in decision-making regarding natural resources (Willems-Braun, 1997). Similar discourses have historically served to represent landscapes and natural resources as scientific phenomenon belonging to nature and separate from cultural histories, rights, and

territories (Willems-Braun, 1996-7). Both of these examples are important for understanding discrimination towards First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples and their geographies.

First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples have cultural, ancestral, and/or spiritual connections to the land, which prior to European colonization, belonged to their ancestors and which still remains contained within imposed colonial boundaries (Shaw, Herman, & Dobbs, 2006). As the first inhabitants of the lands which became Canada and who have been struggling to settle land claims ever since, they have unique and significant relationships to Canadian geography. My study is concerned with how these unique relationships are dealt with in one geography textbook.

Chapter Two: Methodology

My study relies on critical discourse analysis as a way of conceptualizing and operationalizing my research question. I build on questions of power, privilege, and geographical space developed and drawn from feminist geography (see above) and use critical discourse analysis to provide the framework for my analysis of a current geography textbook.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis is the analysis of language usage and communication in sites of cultural production that are concerned with how social power, dominance, oppression, and inequality are produced, enacted, and resisted through text and talk in the social, cultural, and political arenas (van Dijk, 2001; Tator & Henry, 2006). I use critical discourse analysis as a tool for reading the textbook. It enables me to identify the discourses within the text and how those discourses attempt to “enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of *power* and *dominance* in society” (van Dijk, 2001, p. 353, italics original). Discourse, according to Hall (1997b), is a set of statements and representations which define and produce knowledge of something through language. It is through representations that discourse produces knowledge and has the effect of influencing practices and experiences (Hall, 1997b). As a result, it is important to examine the discourses produced and enacted within geography textbooks about Aboriginal geographies. Even my own research and how I present it in this thesis is presented from my own perspective and could be analyzed.

Methodology

Examining the construction of Canadian and Aboriginal geographies in grade-nine Canadian geography texts is an important task since the information within these texts is presented to teachers and students as descriptive truth, fact, and taken-for-granted knowledge

operating within a seemingly common-sense framework (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991). As a form of educational discourse and through both explicit and implicit designs, textbooks have the ability to reproduce social norms, values, and dominant notions of race, culture, gender, space, and belonging (van Dijk, 2004). Because the content of textbooks is considered standard knowledge for all students to acquire, it is important to study how textbooks attempt to achieve both their overt and hidden agendas (van Dijk, 2004).

Billig's (1995) theory of banal nationalism calls attention to the performances which make the nation within a British newspaper. There are other theories of nationalism, such as Searle-White's *Psychology of Nationalism*, that come from many perspectives. Billig, a cultural psychologist, and this theory is useful for my purposes because of his tools such as flagging and deixis which I use to examine the textual performances of nation within a Canadian geography textbook. He considers nationalism to include the "ideological means by which nation-states are reproduced" (Billig, 1995, p. 6). He differentiates between extremist and more subtle everyday forms of nationalism. His term banal nationalism refers to the latter. Billig says that "Nationalism, far from being an intermittent mood in established nations, is the endemic condition" (p. 6). To Billig, nationalism does not just belong to the peripheries and nationalists trying to create new states (p. 5). It does not happen to some nation-states at certain times; but rather it also happens to "us" daily. For Billig, there is no pre-existing reality to the nation outside of its representation (p. 98). There are two meanings of representation which Billig refers to. The first is 'standing in' or 'speaking for' in which politicians speak for 'the nation' or 'the people' (Billig, 1995). The second is 'depiction' and is related to the first sense. He explains that "In order to claim to speak *for* [original emphasis] the nation/people, the politician must also speak *to* [original emphasis] that nation/people. The nation, in being addressed in the business of being represented ('stood

for’), will also be represented (‘depicted’) in the business of being addressed” (p. 98). The nation is an ongoing performance. The nation is those flags on coffee cups and police uniforms. He argues that there is no nation outside of its representation. The nation is continuously coming into existence. If there was an external reality of the nation then citizens would not need daily reminders of the nation-state and nationhood. Billig (1995) describes four strategies for banally constructing and reminding people of their nation and nationness: flagging, deixis, maps, and the universality of nations.

1. Flagging: According to Billig (1995), inconspicuous flaggings are a tool of established Western nations for reproducing the nation on a daily basis. Billig explains that unlike consciously waved and celebrated flags, these routine flags provide banal reminders of nationhood. They are mindless flags “[o]n their flagpoles by the street and stitched on to the uniform of public officials, they are unwaved, unsaluted and unnoticed” (p. 40). These flags fly in the background on a daily basis without a second glance. Flags could include literal flags or national symbols like the maple leaf or the beaver in the Canadian content. For example, the symbols on coins, bills, coffee cups, or the shoulders of law enforcement uniforms and police cars. Flaggings include the national anthem sung daily in schools and at sporting events. These banal flaggings act as daily reminders of membership of the nation.

2. Deixis: Another way in which banal nationalism functions is through small pointing words, such as “we” and “us”, which Billig refers to as deixis. He argues that,

Banal nationalism operates within prosaic, routine words, which take nations for granted, and which, in so doing, enhabit them. Small words, rather than grand memorable phrases, offer constant, but barely conscious, reminders of the homeland, making ‘our’ national identity unforgettable (Billig, 1995; p. 93).

He adds, “these familiar and unassuming words often go unnoticed; yet, at the same time create and “address” ‘us’ as a national first person plural” (p. 174). For Billig, it is these little words, the deixis of homeland, which construct the nation and allow “us” to imagine it. Deixis is evident in the introductory pages of the textbook, *Canadian Geography: A Sense of Place* (Wallace, 2006), which speaks to *our* Canadian way of life in asking students to consider “the **sustainability** [original emphasis] of *our*¹ [my emphasis] Canadian way of life” (p. ix). These small reminding words are why “we” do not forget “our” national identity. In another form of deixis, known as ellipsis, the nation does not need to be named because it is implied through the use of the definite article ‘the’ (p. 107). In this usage, “*the* nation” is assumed to be “*our*” nation. This includes references to “*the* Prime Minister” rather than to “*the* Prime Minister of Canada Stephen Harper”, where the specific prime minister of the specific context is assumed. The nation is known without being explicitly stated. With the tools listed above indicating the nation daily, people hardly forget which nation they belong to. It is through absence and the use of the definite article “*the*” that people are reminded of nationness.

3. Mapping: Maps are a tool for constructing the nation. A nation is not only an imagined community of people, but it is also an imagined national space. Billig states that “The imagining of a ‘country’ involves the imagining of a bounded totality beyond immediate experience of place” (p. 74). While citizens might have only visited a small portion of the nation and in fact be tourists in parts, the entirety of the nation it is still considered “their” land. In this understanding of nations, “one national territory does not shade into another. Nations stop and start abruptly at demarcated borders” (Billig, 1995; p. 74). Maps flag the nation and the clearly marked borders as well as other nations and their borders, reinforcing the organization of the world into nation-

¹ To highlight performances of deixis I used italics. Throughout the text unless otherwise stated, deixis in italics, such as “*we*”, “*our*”, “*they*”, and “*some*”, is my own emphasis.

states. Weather forecast maps, for example, present the nation as the natural way of organizing the weather. In an example from the Canadian context, the Environment Canada's website (2009, Canadian Weather) presents a map of Canada alone in 'Current Conditions & Forecasts', yet the 'Radar & Satellite' section shows maps of North America. While northeastern United States weather may be more relevant to southern Ontario weather than British Columbia, weather maps are often of Canada standing alone as an isolated nation. Weather maps present a clear distinction between national and international weather. Maps fix the boundaries of nation-states as a natural way of organizing the world. They naturalize the nation-state and remind people daily of the nation.

4. The Universality of Nations: Nations are understood in the context that the nation exists within a world of other nations. Billig (1995) argues that general forms of nationalist thinking "include ways of conceiving of 'us, the nation', which is said to have its unique destiny (or identity); it also involves conceiving of 'them, the foreigners', from which 'we' identify 'ourselves' as different" (p. 61). The assumption is that everyone is part of a nation and nations are the natural way of being in the world. For example, the organization of newspapers into sections of Local, National, and International recreate the nation and the idea of a nation within a world of nations. They take for granted "ideas about nationhood and the link between people and homelands; and about the naturalness of the world of nations, divided into separate homelands" (p. 62). In the discussion of the three points of view of *Canadian Geography: A Sense of Place* (2006), specifically the point of view 'A Sense of Place', the universal organization of nations is apparent as Canada is assumed to be "a special place" compared to other nations.

These tools build the rhetoric of nationhood in which every person is constantly reminded that they belong to a particular nation and the nation-state becomes the natural way of organizing

the world. In fact, according to Billig (1995) nationhood would not exist without these reminders as it is these reminders which daily construct the nation and therefore the rhetoric of nationhood. As part of this rhetoric, nations becoming reified as actors capable of acting within the world so that nations appear as entities which are worthy of using resources and sacrificing lives to protect. As such, Billig describes these reminders of nationalism as banal, in the sense of being common and also banal in Hannah Arendt's sense of the banality of evil, because Billig believes that through them people can be mobilized to great violence against each other (p. 7). The tools of banal nationalism serve to construct and reinforce the nation-state within a world of nation-states.

These tools also provide a useful repertoire for analyzing discourse about Aboriginal people as well. By drawing attention to banal representations, they make it possible to ask whether First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples are positioned differently or similarly to other people in the nation and under what circumstances.

Data Sample

For the purposes of this research, I limited my focus to a textbook approved by the Ontario Ministry of Education's Trillium List for the grade-nine applied-level Canadian geography course. There are three textbooks approved for this course: *Canadian Geography: A Sense of Place* (Wallace et al, 2006), *Experience Canada: A Geography* (DesRivieres et al, 2003), and *Geography Now* (Draper et al, 2006). To be chosen to appear on the Trillium List, a text must be consistent with the current curriculum expectations and suitable for high school students. The assumption is that these texts support the grade-nine geography curriculum. I chose the textbook I would studied based on the number of references and where they were located. The textbook, *Canadian Geography: A Sense of Place* (Wallace et al, 2006), contains 35 pages with references and has 270 pages overall (see Appendix 1 for the table of contents of the textbook

and the pages and sections where these references appear). There are fifteen images and one map which claim to include Aboriginal content in the caption or title. After looking at all the images, it is these marked images that I analyzed in detail and discuss in my findings. The references are spread throughout 12 sections and all 4 units. *Geography Now* (Draper et al, 2006) contains 19 pages with references and has 257 pages overall. The references appear in only 4 sections (The First People in Canada, A Nation of Cities, Harvesting our Natural Resources, and Aboriginal People and the Environment) in 2 of the 4 units. I chose to focus on one of the two most recent textbooks: *Canadian Geography: A Sense of Place* (Wallace et al, 2006) because it appeared to have the most pages with references of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples spread throughout the text rather than limited to one or two separate sections as in *Geography Now* (Draper et al, 2006).

Textbooks are unique classroom resources in that they are authored by many people. *Canadian Geography: A Sense of Place* has a senior author, Kim Wallace; three authors Linda Barrett, Lew French, and Paul VanZant; a consultant, Ethel Johnson; an advisory team consisting of eight people; two Aboriginal reviews, Susan Dion and Dr. Jean-Paul Restoule; an equity reviewer, Kennard Ramphal; and eleven reviewers. Each person in this list is associated with a school and school board or a university faculty of education. Textbooks are carefully constructed social texts. They are consensus documents agreed upon by many authors and reviewers. The information within them speaks to and reflects broader cultural constructs. Textbooks are required to meet a certain percentage of the Ontario curriculum in order to be approved by the Trillium List. As a result, textbooks can be considered the application of policy. Often textbooks are presented to students as though they represent the world when in reality they are socially constructed documents. It is important to analyze the discourses within textbooks as they

produce knowledge that is not intended to be challenged. Students and teachers must instead be taught to think critically about the information within textbooks.

Data Collection and Critical Discourse Analysis Procedures

My data collection began with noting every reference to First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples' territories, languages, cultures, cultural objects, etc within text and images. I examined all units of the textbook for the construction of Aboriginal geographies. After looking at the textbook in detail, it became apparent to me that the text mainly focuses on creating knowledge of Canadians and Canada as nation, something even suggested by the title. As a result, I had to consider how knowledge of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples and cultural objects is created in relation to knowledge of a nationalized geography. I studied each section of the text to understand the context of the representations I found and did not find. Tracking each reference allowed me to better understand the text's construction of discourses surrounding Aboriginal and Canadian geographies and how these discourses then create notions of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples and Canadians. I assume that First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples are implied in the representations of Canadians. The text after all is called *Canadian Geography*, which implies that everyone included within it is "Canadian". I make this assumption unless the textbook creates a difference and excludes First Nation, Inuit, and Métis peoples from the nationalist representation. It is these exclusions that I discuss in my findings. I have included each reference in an appendix (See Appendix I) to show its location within the textbook.

I then used critical discourse analysis to see how First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples and geographies are talked about, who gets to speak for themselves and who is spoken for, what meanings are made, and what language is used to talk about different geographies. Investigating

these questions reveal how the text's discourses produce, sustain or resist social power, dominance and oppression through text and talk (Tator, 2006).

More specifically,

- 1) I analyzed the major themes of the textbook to see how the land is represented as being used and by whom and whether First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples are referenced as using it in ways that are similar or different from others;
- 2) I documented how the textbook shows people's relationships to the land, who has access to what resources, and whether the text acknowledges different relationships of people to the land;
- 3) I examined whether the textbook discusses the names and meanings assigned to geographic spaces and landscapes;
- 4) I considered who is represented as belonging in different spaces in Canada and who is excluded from these spaces.

Critical discourse analysis allows me to deconstruct the ideologies and dominant discourses within the textbook's geographies (van Dijk, 2001). Examining the landscape as it is presented within the text for whose cultural power is expressed and celebrated gave me an understanding of how Aboriginal geographies are represented in relation to the nationalizing geography. Using critical discourse analysis to examine the discourses I found within this textbook has helped me understand how the texts construct Aboriginal geographies.

Chapter Three: How the Text Creates Knowledge of First Nations, Inuit and Métis Peoples and Cultural Objects

This chapter is about the knowledge that the text creates about First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples. After looking at all the references in the textbook, I noticed reoccurring representations and I pulled out twelve themes. These themes include: culture as material items and exotic, understandings and definitions, land as reserve land, reliance on the land, active in conservation efforts, invisible, protestor, representations of the past, different from Europeans, as part of ecozones, as problem, and as a threat. I argue that in many ways in this textbook, the older representations of First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples, which I discussed in my literature review, are seen again in new forms. I found that there are many efforts at inclusion in this textbook yet often these representations within the text were limited or followed by exclusions.

The content of *Canadian Geography: A Sense of Place* (2006) focuses on three major ideas “a sense of place, connections, and sustainability” (p. ii). Students are asked to keep these ideas in mind and watch for how they are covered in each lesson throughout the text. The textbook is organized into four units (see Appendix 1 for the organization and contents of the textbook). The first unit is called “Canada: All Systems GO!” and consists of three themes which all deal with the physical systems of Canada. The second unit is entitled “Living In Canada” and is made up of five themes. These themes range from topics such as what makes Canada a great place to live, who Canadians are, where Canadians live, and how Canada is changing, to how Canadians can make a difference with respect to the environment. The third unit, “Made in Canada” contains three themes about Canada’s industries and energy systems. The fourth and final unit entitled, “Connecting Canadians” is made up of five themes about Canada’s connection

to the rest of the world. These themes include Canada's trade, transportation systems, communication systems, culture, and humanity.

The grade-nine applied-level geography textbook has a two-page section, out of 302 pages, that deals specifically with "Aboriginal people in Canada" (Wallace, 2006) instead of only including Aboriginal content throughout the entire text. Perhaps there is a separate section within geography texts because of the legal and official recognition of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples within Canadian society or perhaps it is because of the incompatibility of the diverse Aboriginal geographies with the dominant narrative of Canadian geography as I discussed previously in my literature review. A separate section could also be an example of affirmative action or it could be a distancing technique. If it is affirmative action, then it is one step towards inclusion, although not as inclusive as an integrated approach would be. Either way, as the only group of Canadian people that have a separate section in these geography texts, the issue is worth further examination. In my study, I examine how this text constructs the Aboriginal geographies as well as how the text deals with the complexities of including these geographies within the dominant framework of geography.

Representations of Culture

Aboriginal Peoples Represented as Exotic

In the introduction to Unit 4: "Connecting Canadians", there are two images of Aboriginal dancers in traditional outfits. The caption reads "Our culture connects us" (p. 213). The excerpt beside the picture talks about connecting to culture through clothes, celebrations, and art forms. It says, "Cultural connections have stood the test of time. Canadian Aboriginal people continue to connect with their culture through music, dance and visual art..." (p. 213). These dancers are represented in traditional clothing and performing dances with no context

given. This representation is exotic in the logic of the text because Aboriginal peoples are represented in a way that other Canadians are not. Aboriginal peoples are the only people depicted as having traditional clothing; for example, there are no representations of Scottish Canadians in kilts. There are no examples of art or music by Aboriginal peoples in the text. The text states that Aboriginal peoples connect with their culture through music, dance and visual art allowing me to ask what other things does the text say people connect to their culture through. On page 246, the textbook explains that there are many aspects of a country's culture: national history and heritage, traditions, religions, the arts, literature, sports, and recreation. Canadians in general can connect to culture through more varied ways than Aboriginal peoples can in this representation. Aboriginal peoples connect to culture through music, dance, and visual art, but not heritage, traditions, literature, religion, etc, according to the text. While the text makes an effort to include Aboriginal peoples with the image on page 213, it then excludes them and marginalizes them in this example.

First Nations Culture Represented as Material Items

The cultures of First Nations peoples is represented by four items including the Kermode spirit bear (p. 33), two Haida memorial poles and ruins (p. 34 and 67), and a painting (p. 254), with the Haida memorial poles being mentioned twice. All of these items, except for the painting, have been around since before colonization. This limits First Nations cultures to “pre-contact” items as the text is silent about modern-day First Nations cultures in this section. Out of all of the First Nations presented in the map on page 92, the Haida First Nations and their memorial poles are overrepresented in being mentioned twice out of only four cultural items in the textbook, once with an image on page 34. The two examples of the Haida First Nations' memorial poles and houses demonstrate the representation of the Haida peoples' history and culture being

reduced to the remains of houses and memorial poles with no elaboration provided. The image of the Haida memorial pole has the caption, “The art and history of west-coast First Nations reveal their close relationship with the environment. This is a memorial pole of the Haida people” (p. 34). The memorial pole in this image is said to reveal the Haida peoples’ relationship with the environment. The Haida First Nation is mentioned again later in the discussion of an old-growth rainforest in Gwaii Haanas. The text states that “much of their history and rich culture can still be seen today in the remains of houses and carved memorial poles” (p. 67). The history and culture of the Haida First Nation is said to be seen in these remains and the memorial poles. Geography requires evidence yet this text does not provide any for the assertions in these two examples. Students are told that memorial poles reflect the Haida peoples’ history, culture, and relationship to the environment without being told how. These examples reduce First Nations cultures’ and histories to material items—ruins and memorial poles. Another example is of Emily Carr’s *Big Raven* (p. 254). In this painting First Nations’ cultures are reduced to a painting of a large carved raven. While this is not a representation of First Nations culture, it is an Anglo-European interpretation and representation of west-coast First Nations peoples from a non-Aboriginal perspective.

Earlier in the text, there is a list of ideas and symbols which are said to come to mind when thinking of Canada’s culture that lists: “the beaver, multiculturalism, maple syrup, the red maple leaf, the frozen north, hockey, the Mounties, Sir John A. Macdonald, poutine, ice skating, diversity, or Canada’s favourite snack the donut” (p. 249). Canadian culture is represented through not only items such as the donut or maple leaf, but also people such as the Mounties and Sir John A. Macdonald, activities like hockey and skating, concepts and policies such as multiculturalism and diversity, and as a place - the north. In the examples above, First Nations

culture is not represented in these ways and is reduced to a handful of material items with an overrepresentation of Haida memorial poles. In another instance which I mentioned in the previous theme, Aboriginal peoples are described as connecting to culture through music, dance, and visual art (p. 213), yet, not in ways listed on page 249 as Canada's culture such as people, activities, concepts, policies, and places. The selective nature of these representations limit First Nations peoples to connecting to culture through dance, music, and visual art while the more varied aspects of Canada's culture include history, religions, literature, and sports among others (p. 249). First Nations cultures are represented as spirit bears, ruins, memorial poles. The list of Canada's culture is much more inclusive and wide-ranging. While there is an attempt to discuss First Nations peoples' cultures here, these representations are selective compared to those of Canada's culture. The representations limit First Nations cultures to a select few objects and activities.

Understandings of Aboriginal, First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples

In this section I discuss the understandings of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples presented to the student reader throughout the text. The description of Aboriginal peoples in Canada according to the Canadian Constitution is presented in the two-page spread "Who are the Aboriginal peoples in Canada?" (pp. 92-93). I discuss this and additional understandings presented below.

1. Aboriginal peoples

The text defines Aboriginal peoples as "the descendants of the original inhabitants of North America" (p. 92). Further down the page the text discusses the three types of Aboriginal peoples recognized by the Canadian Constitution as being First Nations, Métis, and Inuit, the text reads,

The Canadian Constitution recognizes three types of Aboriginal peoples:

- > Indians or First Nations people,
- > Métis, who trace their ancestry and culture back to the Aboriginal peoples such as the Ojibwa and Plains Cree, and European or French-Canadian fur traders who arrived in the sixteenth century.
- > Inuit, which refers to Aboriginal peoples of arctic Canada (p. 92).

First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples are the only peoples recognized and set apart by legality through the framework of the Canadian Constitution and laws. While it is true that First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples are defined by law, this is not the point the text is making in this section. Canadians are not similarly defined in the text.

2. Métis peoples

The only explicit reference to Métis peoples comes on page 92 in the two-page spread about “Aboriginal Peoples in Canada”. As we can see in the description of Métis peoples reproduced above, the only description is that of the Canadian Constitution (p. 92). Thus, the only framework offered for understanding who Métis peoples are is again that of the federal government. Aside from references to Aboriginal peoples in general, representations of Métis peoples are missing throughout the text. If this text can be read as a map, as a geography of Canada in itself, then Métis peoples are quite literally absent from the geography of Canada.

3. Inuit peoples

Inuit peoples are repeatedly defined as belonging to the north throughout the text. Inuit are the only people represented as living in the Arctic. The first instance is on page six where Inuit peoples are described as “the people of the Arctic”. The second explanation is as the peoples who historically and currently inhabit the Atlantic Northern Arctic Ecozone on page fifty: “Historically, the Atlantic Northern Arctic Ecozone has been inhabited by the Inuit. These peoples are descendants of the Thule, who migrated to the area approximately 1500 years ago.

This is the only time that the text discusses the history of the Inuit. It continues, “Today, approximately 80 percent of the population is Inuit. The Inuit are traditionally nomadic people, but today they live in 26 separate communities” (p. 50). The text does not explain who makes up the other 20 percent of the population. The text presents a third description of Inuit peoples, this time from an outside source, the Canadian Constitution. The Canadian Constitution recognizes Inuit peoples as “Aboriginal peoples of arctic Canada” (p. 92). This textbook offers its own understandings of Inuit peoples as well as that of the federal government.

4. First Nations peoples

In the section “Who are the Aboriginal Peoples in Canada”, First Nations peoples are defined as one of the three types of Aboriginal peoples recognized by the Canadian Constitution (p. 92). Earlier in the text, First Nations peoples of the Pacific Maritime Ecozone are described as a “diverse group of connected peoples including the Haida, Tsimshian, and Nootka” (p. 34). The example groups together First Nations peoples in terms of an ecozone.

First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples are all defined according to the Canadian Constitution and the only people represented in the text as defined by the Canadian Constitution. Canadians are not explicitly defined in the text as such. Other select understandings are presented for First Nations and Inuit peoples only. Métis peoples are not defined in any other way. Inuit peoples are repeatedly and only defined as peoples of the north and Arctic (p. 6, 7, 50, 200).

Aboriginal land represented as reserve land

When land is recognized as Aboriginal land, the text refers to and limits discussions to reserves. In the two-page section “Aboriginal peoples in Canada” (p. 92-93) the text mentions that as a result of treaties Aboriginal peoples were moved to reserves: “The Canadian government continued to negotiate treaties that required Aboriginal groups to give up their lands

and to move to reserves” (p. 92). On the opposite page there is an image of a bridge in the winter with ‘THIS IS INDIAN LAND’ written very largely across the side of it. The caption says, “Aboriginal people continue to struggle for their right to control their lands. Residents of the Garden River Reserve near Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario have made it clear that widening the nearby Trans-Canada Highway would be encroaching on Indian land” (p. 93). In this example, ‘their land’ is reduced to reserve land. The message on the bridge was presumably written by a First Nations person and it could be argued that this image includes an Aboriginal voice in this section where otherwise the textbook speaks for Aboriginal peoples.

There is only one instance in the entire text in which a voice is quoted. A Cree First Nation voice is included directly in the text as a protest against a water diversion project. The statement says, “There are different kinds of listening: with a pen, ears, mind, heart...Sit by the river, experience it—please do that. It’s not the same as flying over it” (p. 201). The speaker here is not named as an individual and so the Cree become people who speak out against water diversions.

In the two-page spread about the arts in Canada, Canadian artists Sarah Harmer, Mike Ford, Stompin’ Tom Connors, and Gordon Lightfoot are all named as speaking about “issues related to the country’s geography” (p. 254-255) such as clear-cutting, trapping, conservation, potato farmers, and the construction of the railways among others. The only one of these artists whose work is shown in the text is Mike Ford in the form of two songs printed in the text: ‘Everywhere man...’ (p. 247) and ‘The Seaway’ (p. 269).

There are other examples where the text speaks for Aboriginal peoples and their voices are indirectly included (see pages 6, 93, 120, 200). While it could be argued that the image of the bridge includes an Aboriginal voice, Aboriginal peoples are not in this image. They are

represented as protestor and invisible (see Clark, 2007), hidden back beyond the bridge in the forest and wilderness of the background. Although they may have spoken, they are not seen. There is an attempt to include Aboriginal peoples here, yet, the image of this bridge limits Aboriginal land to reserve land and portrays them as invisible protesters. While there is an inclusion of Aboriginal concerns about the land in this area, there is an exclusion of Aboriginal peoples themselves.

Represented as Reliant on the land

First Nations and Inuit peoples are represented as dependent on the land, but the dependency is not explained. Relationships with the land are described as a physical reliance on the resources of the land. The text is silent about political, cultural, or legal relationships and rights to the land in these instances in which dependency on the land is not explained. I describe these examples in detail in the following sections.

1. Inuit peoples

The idea that Inuit peoples have a unique relationship with the land is repeated in several instances (p. 6, 7, 50, 200). As I mentioned earlier, this land is always represented as the north, Arctic, or Nunavut. This relationship is explained as a deep connection with the land itself and a reliance on its resources for survival. For example, when describing the Arctic the text explains that Inuit peoples “have developed a society based on a deep understanding of this environment” (p. 6) and in the Northern Arctic Ecozone that “Hunting, trapping, and fishing are all part of the traditional economy of the region and are vital to the economy” (p. 50). On page 200 there are two references to Inuit people expressing concerns about the La Grande and Eastmain hydro developments. The authors say that “Great concerns about the project were expressed by Cree and Inuit peoples and by environmentalists” and “Local Inuit are particularly concerned with the

impact of the Rupert River diversion on James Bay's marine environment" (p. 200). In the first section the concerns are not specified. In the second, these concerns are explained in terms of environmental concerns for the marine ecosystems. Inuit peoples are represented as dependent on the land with this dependency being explained only in terms of and reliance on the environment to live. The text is silent about other types of relationships that Inuit peoples may have with the land.

2. First Nations peoples

The importance of the environment and a reliance on the land its resources are the most common representations of First Nations peoples. This is repeated on thirteen pages in the text (see pages 5, 6, 33-35, 38, 42, 63, 67, 69, 120, 148, 202). For example, in the Unit 1 Challenge students are asked to make a proposal for the next national park and a sample proposal for Queen Charlotte Sound is provided. There is a mindmap at the bottom of the page with four nodes: Location, Wildlife, Culture, and Endangered Species (p. 5). The three branches off the Culture node are: Next to Gwaii Hanaas National Park Reserve, Proposed Marine Conservation Area, and Many areas are important to First Nations peoples. The importance of these areas is never specified beyond a reliance on the land and resources. As a case in point, when referring to the Cree peoples, of what is now called southern Saskatchewan, the text states that their "culture and survival depended on the herds of bison that roamed the land" (p. 63) and from the section about the fishing industry it says that, "First Nations such as the Mi'kmaq and Ojibwa have relied on fishing for centuries as a food supply" (p. 148).

This reliance on fishing is present throughout the text and hunting, trapping, and fishing are represented as major activities of First Nations peoples on five pages in the text (see pages 46, 61 63, 148, 202). For example, "The First Nations of the area were accomplished fishers" (p. 46)

and “Fishing rights of First Nations peoples remain in place” (p. 60). Hunting, trapping, and fishing are also presented as an important part of the economy in Nunavut both in the past (p. 5) and today (p. 50). Although it is stressed that the land is important to First Nations peoples, this importance is represented as a reliance on the land. Presenting the importance of the land as dependence as well as the discussion of First Nations peoples signing treaties (p. 92) provides students with no understandings of underlying title or political, spiritual, historical, or cultural connections to the land. Instead the land is remade into resources to be exploited.

First Nations Peoples Represented as Active in Conservation Efforts

When the text does elaborate on other First Nations’ relationships with the land, it is referring to conservation efforts (see pages 34, 35, 69). For example, “As land claims are settled and conservation agreements are made today, the First Nations of this ecozone are key leaders in efforts to conserve these important natural resources” (p. 34). Their relationship to the land is described in terms of resources. Land claims are unproblematically mentioned here as being settled or in the process of being settled. In examples such as this, First Nations peoples are represented as active in conservation efforts. There is one example in which a First Nations philosophy relating to the environment is included. In the section about sustainability under the heading “What is sustainability”, the text defines sustainability and then mentions it is similar to the “seventh generation” philosophy of the Iroquois Confederacy. It states, “This First Nations alliance requires that chiefs always consider the effects of their actions on their descendants through to the seventh generation in the future” (p. 120). The text provides a First Nations understanding of the environment and relates it to sustainability thereby indirectly including a First Nations voice. This is a clear effort at inclusion here with the incorporation a First Nations

philosophy. Multiple understandings of sustainability are offered in this section with one of them being that of a First Nations alliance.

First Nations Peoples Represented as Invisible

Another strategy of representation renders First Nations peoples invisible. This can be seen in the examples of the remains of Haida houses and memorial poles (p. 34; p. 67), Emily Carr's painting (p. 254), and the image of the Kermode bear (p. 33). Each of these examples has the effect of representing First Nations peoples as invisible. For example, there is an image of the blonde Kermode bear which the caption explains is "sacred to the Kitasu people, who call it the Spirit Bear" (p. 33). The image is of the bear and not of a Kitasu person which allows the bear to stand in for the Kitasu First Nation and their beliefs about this bear. The text represents the bear to the student reader but not what the bear means to the Kitasu First Nation or what they believe. The Kitasu appear in the text, but they disappear as actors. These examples reduce First Nations cultures, histories, and relationships with the land to select items. These items then stand in for First Nations peoples and are said to represent their cultures, histories, and relationships with the land. First Nations peoples are mentioned in these examples yet excluded from the images.

First Nations Peoples Represented as Protestor

Another significant representation of First Nations peoples is as protestors/activists. This appears on four pages in the text (see pages 6, 200, 201, 202). The GeoFact in Unit 1 Theme 1 overview says that "For many years First Nations people in north have been warning governments and scientists about the melting sea ice" (p. 6). In pages 200-202, the text explains that First Nations peoples have spoken out against resource development projects. In these examples, First Nations peoples are represented as protestors and not as informed citizens. An image on page 158 shows several women and children holding two signs. The photo caption

reads, “At the town of Kashechewan, Ontario, polluted water forced people to evacuate” (p. 158). While it is not indicated in the text, Kashechewan is a Cree First Nation in northern Ontario. There is no further explanation of the water issue in this area or why these women and children are protesting. The only other protesters in the book are Canadians who “have spoken out against exporting water” (p. 204) to the United States. The text then explains that “Our government has passed laws to stop the export of our water. In 2005 all but one of the Great Lakes states and Ontario signed a new agreement preventing large scale diversion of water from the Great Lakes” (p. 204). The concerns and protests of Canadians are validated by government support and legislation. The only other activities of First Nations peoples in the text are being involved in conservation efforts in the Pacific Maritime Ecozone (p. 34), protecting the habitat of the Spirit Bear (p. 35) and hunting, trapping, and fishing (p. 202). As four out of the seven represented activities of First Nations peoples, protesting appears to be a major activity of First Nations people according to the textbook.

Representations of the past: As having lived here

1. Aboriginal peoples

Aboriginal peoples are described using the past tense as *having* lived in certain areas. The text is silent about whether they still live in these areas. On page 63 the textbook explains that the Prairie Grasslands “was home to Aboriginal peoples of the plains, such as the Cree, whose culture and survival depended on the herds of bison that roamed the land” (p. 63). It then says that “European settlement changed the land forever when the Homesteading Act of 1908 transformed the region permanently into land for agricultural development” (p. 63). The European settlers’ and government versions are included in the text but not the Cree voices and histories. Europeans are active agents who changed the land while Aboriginal peoples are passive

dependents on the land who are no longer there. This section describes how Europeans changed the land for agricultural development with the government's Homesteading Act of 1908. This version is from the European settlers' perspectives and not the Cree people of the area.

2. First Nations peoples

Throughout the text, the past tense is used to represent First Nations peoples as *having* lived in the certain areas without explanation of why they no longer live there. For example, in a discussion of the Mixedwood Plains Ecozone in southern Ontario and Quebec the text states, "Most of the area was covered in forests that were home to First Nations peoples, when Europeans first arrived, but only small, isolated pockets are still standing between agricultural and urban areas today" (p. 41). The next two pages, also about this ecozone, refer to First Nations peoples who understood the value of the region and who *lived* in the area for thousands of years (p.43). The use of the past tense to describe First Nations peoples makes them peoples of the past. In the discussion of the Prairie Grasslands the text explains that "This area was home to Aboriginal peoples of the plains" (p. 63). In another example, the caption of a picture of Emily Carr's *Big Raven* says, "The art of Canadian artist Emily Carr reflected her love of the British landscape and the culture of the First Nations people who lived there" (p. 254). There is no mention of whether or not First Nations peoples still live in these areas and the text is silent about this. First Nations peoples are represented as *having* lived in certain areas eight times in the text (see pages 41, 42, 43, 46, 63, 67, 92, and 254).

These references to First Nations peoples who used to live in this area then allow me to ask why they apparently no longer live in these areas, and no explanation is given. It also allows for the question of where First Nations peoples live now if not these areas. There is no description of where specifically the First Nations peoples who *used* to live in these areas

currently live. Students could refer to the map on page 92 for an idea of where Aboriginal peoples live in general. Presenting where First Nations peoples used to live while then omitting information about where they now live in effect erases First Nations peoples from the specific regions discussed in these sections. It quite literally makes them into peoples of the past. While First Nations peoples' presence in these areas is acknowledged, these representations generally limit this presence to the past.

Aboriginal and First Nations peoples are the only ones represented as only in the past. Representations of Canadians and Europeans are continued into the present (see pages 99, 118, 138, 140, 145, 148, 226, and 247). For example, the text describes how transportation connects Canadians. The text states, "We've come a long way since 1885, when the last spike was driven into the Canadian Pacific Railway and Canadians were at last connected from sea to sea. Today, the Trans-Canada Highway also spans the country, from east to west" (p. 226). Canadians are dated from prior to 1885 and up until present day in this section. In another example, in the section about the forest industry the text explains that, "When Europeans came to North America and saw the immense forests on the continent, they were amazed. The forest industry started soon after, with little regard for the Aboriginal peoples' use of the land" (p. 147). The forest industry is explained as a European invention which continues to this day. This example is also important because of its acknowledgement of the unfair treatment of Aboriginal peoples with respect to the beginnings of the forestry industry; however, this example is limited to the past as there is no mention of current forestry practices or the involvement of First Nations, Inuit, or Métis peoples.

Representations of the past: Continued into the present

While in many cases First Nations peoples or Aboriginal peoples are represented as only *having* lived in an area, there are some instances in which these settlements continue into the present. In these exceptions, First Nations peoples of these areas are represented as currently living in a certain area (p. 92, 202) or as having lived there for a long time and continuing to do so with the latter happening on five pages (see pages 34, 38, 69, 200, 201). One such example is in the section about the Boreal Shield Ecozone which states that, “First Nations peoples have lived in the area since soon after the glaciers retreated. For centuries, the lakes and rivers provided them with transportation routes and access to the abundant forest and animal resources” (p. 38). The first statement acknowledges First Nations current and historical presence in the regions of the Boreal Shield Ecozone, which spans from Alberta to Newfoundland and Labrador. The second statement switches to the past tense which brings up the question of whether or not First Nations peoples still have access to these resources and if not, then why not. No further explanation is provided. Another example is in the discussion of the Clayoquot Sound Biosphere Reserve on Vancouver Island where the text states that “the permanent population in this biosphere reserve is less than 3000, and approximately 50 percent of the people belong to the Nuu-chah-nulth First Nation, which has lived in Clayoquot Sound for thousands of years” (p. 69). The other 50% of the population are not discussed. Although the authors acknowledge that this area has been and still is home to the Nuu-chah-nulth First Nation, in these examples, First Nations peoples are represented as *has* having lived in certain areas in the past and continue to dwell there today. This commentary recognizes First Nations peoples’ historical and current presence in these areas. These are examples of the inclusion of First Nations peoples in the geographies of Canada.

Representations of the past: As different from Europeans

Representations of the past are used to position First Nations peoples as different from Europeans. In some instances, First Nations are represented in the past in a way that Europeans are not. There are three instances of this specific representation in the text (see pages 46, 67, 148). In these representations First Nations peoples stay in the past while those of Europeans suggest a continuation into modern day. For example, in the discussion of the Atlantic Marine Ecozone the text says, “First Nations of the area were accomplished fishers. Europeans and Newfoundlanders have harvested the riches of the Grand Banks since the eleventh century, when Vikings arrived there” (p. 46). It goes on to describe how an industry was built around the cod fisheries. Europeans and Newfoundlanders are said to have developed the fishing industry since First Nations *were* just fishers. Throughout the text, First Nations peoples are represented as fishers and relying on fishing (see pages 46, 61, 148, 202). The First Nations of this area, who are unnamed in the text, as in previous examples, I have discussed, are stuck in the past, but Europeans and Newfoundlanders continue to benefit from the resources of the area. This example suggests that Newfoundlanders and therefore Newfoundland have existed since the eleventh century. Current political borders are positioned as pre-colonial.

Another example occurs in the description of potential future sites for UNESCO World Heritage Sites: Quttinirpaaq in the Innuitian Mountains in Nunavut and Gwaii Haanas in the area now known as the Queen Charlotte Islands in British Columbia. The first paragraph of the page the text states that, “Many archaeological sites of **pre-contact** [original emphasis] (before contact with Europeans) groups are also found here” and in the second and last paragraph it says that Gwaii Haanas is “the traditional home of the Haida First Nation, and much of their history and rich culture can still be seen in the remains of houses and carved memorial poles” (p. 67,

bold original). The first quote refers to the area of Quttinirpaaq. The bolded term pre-contact is defined in the glossary as “The period of time before the first arrival of Europeans to Canada, the United States, Central and South America” (p. 310). The term ‘contact’ minimizes the reality of colonization. This definition includes Europeans and uses colonial names for the territories it refers to. First Nations peoples are absent from this definition. As for this quote, it describes the First Nations peoples of this area in terms of archeological sites. This suggests that the Haida peoples no longer live in the area or even exist as they have left behind remains and archeological sites. Moreover, it indicates that they do not have a culture which continues to be shown in their houses and memorial poles. Mentioning remains of houses and no acknowledgment of modern houses of the Haida peoples serves to represent the Haida First Nation as only belonging in the past. This statement also represents the Haida peoples as having ‘their’ history, as seen in the remains of houses and carved memorial poles, but the Haida peoples’ present is left unknown. First Nations peoples are the only ones whose culture is shown through the archeological remains of their houses. In this section, the Haida First Nation are the only people represented in the past in this way; for example, the sod houses of European settlers are not discussed. There is one mention of European houses in the two-page spread of the primary industry of forestry, “The new settlers used lumber to build everything—their homes, schools, churches, stores and barricades around their new communities. Today, the forest industry is still the largest primary industry in Canada, but much has changed” (p. 140). Europeans’ houses are described as part of the development of the forest industry which continues into the present instead of being stuck in the past as a history. European houses are not presented as items which reveal European settler cultures. In general, houses are discussed in the text in terms of competing uses of land with agriculture, urbanization, urban growth, and urban decay. The

remains of Haida homes are the only houses represented as evidence of the culture and history of their creators.

Ecozones: Part of the Landscape

First Nations and Inuit peoples are represented as part of the landscape itself. The strategies of representation used to do this include naming First Nations and Inuit peoples within a list of natural elements and placing images of Inuit peoples among photos of plants, animals, and physical features of the landscape.

1. Inuit peoples

In a discussion of pressures on the Canadian arctic region and specifically airborne pollution, the text states that “We now find these toxins in fish, mammals, and the breast milk of Inuit mothers, even though the source of pollution is thousands of kilometres away” (p. 7). Listing Inuit women with fish and mammals has the effect of representing them as part of the landscape that is being polluted. In another example the text explains that “Historically, the Atlantic Northern Arctic Ecozone has been inhabited by the Inuit” (p. 50). Inuit peoples are explained in terms of an ecozone. This section about the Northern Arctic Ecozone also discusses tourism in the north. It notes that “With the establishment of national and territorial parks, tourism is growing in this region. The unique Inuit culture and natural beauty of the land are attracting tourists from around the world” (p. 51). Inuit culture is named along with the beauty of the land as a tourist attraction as though Inuit culture is a visible part of the landscape.

The text explains that Inuit peoples make up 80% of the population in the Atlantic Northern Arctic Ecozone but it does not mention who makes up the other 20%. The only mention of anyone living in the north is in a GeoFact on page 6 which says that “First Nations people in the north have been warning governments and scientists about the melting sea ice”. Since the

majority of people represented as living in the north are Inuit peoples with one mention of First Nations peoples, then in the images of people in the Arctic, and Nunavut specifically, they can be assumed to be Inuit or at least Aboriginal. There are four such images: three of men and one youth working in a greenhouse (p. 6, 31, 49, 93). In the section “Systems Thinking: Ecozones in Canada” (p.22-51), all the images of people are related to tourism except two and those two images are both of racialized Inuit people. One is of a youth standing in a greenhouse and the second is of men welding and working during long dark winter days. All the images of Inuit or First Nation men show them working, whether it is hunting (p.6), welding (p.49), or a government ceremony (p.93). Perhaps the authors of this text made a conscious effort to portray Inuit or First Nations peoples as skilled and employed. Women are not depicted in these pictures; the text is silent on whether Inuit and First Nation women work. Indeed, the only time Inuit women are represented is in the example of toxins in breast milk.

Another similarity among these pictures is that the faces of all the men are hidden or turned away from the camera. This youth in the greenhouse is the only person looking straight at the camera smiling. The gender of this youth is ambiguous. The majority of the images used in this textbook show people with their backs to the camera or their faces turned and hidden from view. Perhaps these perspectives are meant to show action shots or it may be for a number of other reasons. What is important here is how faces are represented, meaning who has a face and who does not. Three of the four images of people in the north and Nunavut are of men working, one image is of a child, and none of are of women. None of the people in the images, except the Inuit youth, are shown with faces. The image of the men on page 49 shows two men hunched over with one in the foreground and the other in the background beside a man standing up. The two men in the background are covered with fog, steam, or exhaust. The caption reads “Working

during dark winter days in Iqaluit, Nunavut” (p. 49). The image itself is very dark and all these factors contribute to the effect of these men hunched over and hidden behind exhaust appear as part of the landscape.

The area of northern Canada is explained in terms of ecozones, seemingly natural divisions of land and there is little to no discussion of artificial political divisions of the land. The extent to which political boundaries and divisions are discussed is in a sentence on page 50 and a photo caption which both mention Nunavut becoming the newest territory in 1999. The text does not explain what a territory is or how it is different from a province. The text divides the north into ecozones. Inuit peoples are represented as only living in the north. While it is true that at the time of the textbook’s publication in 2006, 81% of the Inuit population lived in one of four regions of Inuit Nunaat, at least 8,440 people lived outside of these areas and this number has grown to 11,005 people, or 22% of the Inuit population in Canada as of last year (see Statistics Canada, 2006; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2008). The problem is not that Inuit peoples are represented in the north, but rather that they are *only* represented as being in the north and represented as the only people living in the north. By not presenting the other 20 percent of people who live in the Arctic, the textbook may lead students to believe that Inuit peoples are the only people living in the north. The textbook presents all Inuit peoples as living in this area of the north, the Arctic, and that this space can best be organized and understood in terms of ecozones.

The rest of the images in this chapter are of animals, landscapes, or maps. On page 31 there is a circle made up of three smaller images under the title “Human Adaptations”. The first and largest of the three is the top of the circle with an image of a racialized Inuit person next to a plant. The caption above the youth reads “A greenhouse in the Arctic”. The text defines Inuit

peoples as the peoples of the Arctic so the youth in this image can be read as a racialized Inuit person. The bottom of the circle is cut in two with one side showing a field irrigation system on an Ontario farm and the other half is of a windmill on a field in Prince Edward Island. The captions read “Irrigating crops in Ontario” and “A windmill in Prince Edward Island”. These images are supposedly of human adaptations, yet humans who shaped this landscape are missing. The result is that the image could be read as though farms are a naturally occurring part of the landscape and it actually is the irrigation system and windmill which are the human adaptations instead of the actual farming landscape itself. The captions draw students’ attention to the irrigation system and the windmill instead of the farms these technologies sit on. Although farms have become a significant element of Canadian geography, these images naturalize a colonial landscape in which people have altered the land to reflect European landscapes and which continue to perpetuate settler and expansionist myths of cultivating supposedly unused land.

The top picture of the Arctic greenhouse shows what I read as a racialized Inuit youth. This image has the effect of making this youth appear as part of the landscape. On the page right beside this page is a picture of flora and fauna. The racialized Inuit youth is the only human on this two page spread. The youth in the Arctic greenhouse then becomes naturalized as part of the landscape of Canada. This picture of a greenhouse may also be an attempt to present an alternative representation of the arctic: green vegetation instead of snow and ice. In fact, at the time this textbook was published in 2006, this greenhouse, created in Inuvik, NWT in 2005 from an old hockey arena, was the only one in the arctic (Minoque, 2007). The idea here, as depicted in the three images labeled “Human Adaptations”, is that human adaptations become the landscape. In effect, so does the youth as the only human shown within this adapted landscape.

2. First Nations peoples

In the section about the Pacific Maritime Ecozone, the text explains that “The First Nations of this region are a diverse group of connected peoples including the Haida, Tsimshian, and Nootka” (p. 34). This section organizes First Nations peoples within an ecozone rather than traditional borders or land claims. This makes First Nations peoples part of the landscape who can be organized by this ecozone. The only other people who are discussed in terms of ecozones are tourists visiting certain ecozones for the resources it provides. For example, “Tourists travel to this area from all over the globe to spot an orca or to watch endangered sea otters in their natural habitat” (p. 35) and “The unique Inuit culture and natural beauty of the land are attracting tourists from around the world. An estimated 18 000 tourists travelled to Nunavut in 2004” (p. 51). The discussion of the Mixedwood Plains Ecozone mentions that “First Nations peoples understood the value of the region and made large, permanent settlements here long before the Europeans arrived” (p. 42) and that “First Nations peoples who lived in the Mixedwoods Plains Ecozone for thousands of years included the Iroquois, Ojibwa, and Mohawk” (p. 43). Tourism is described as a “defining feature of the region” (p. 35). First Nations peoples and tourists are organized by ecozones here. Throughout the twenty-nine pages of the ecozones section, First Nations are mentioned nine times (see pages 33, 34, 35, 38, 41, 42, 43, 46, 49). This is significantly more than any other peoples: immigrants (p. 34); cities (p. 28, 42, 43); Group of Seven (p. 37); and tourists (p. 34, 35, 39, 43, 51).

Europeans are mentioned three times (p. 41, 42, 46) as having arrived in areas and ecozones where First Nations peoples lived previously. In the section about the natural environment of the Mixedwood Plains Ecozone the text states that, “Most of the area was covered in forests that were home to First Nations peoples, when Europeans first arrived, but

only small, isolated pockets are still standing between agricultural and urban areas today” (p. 41). Europeans are also mentioned on the next page which is about the human connection of this ecozone saying that “First Nations peoples understood the value of the region and made large, permanent settlements here long before Europeans arrived” (p. 42). These two pages contain conflicting messages as the first page suggests that First Nations people *used* to live in the forests of the area which no longer exist, while the second page suggests that First Nations settlements in the area are permanent. These examples acknowledge the presence of First Nations in the area prior to the arrival of Europeans, but also organize unnamed First Nations peoples as part of the ecozone. In the section about the human connection in the Atlantic Marine Ecozone, the text mentions that “The First Nations of the area were accomplished fishers. Europeans and Newfoundlanders have harvested the riches of the Grand Banks since the eleventh century, when Vikings arrived there” (p. 46). The unspecified First Nations peoples of the area are described in the past tense as having been accomplished fishers before the Europeans developed the fishing industry. There is no further mention of First Nations peoples in this two-page spread about the fisheries in this ecozone. First Nations peoples are described as part of the landscape who have existed here before the arrival of the Europeans. Despite the textbook stating that “Aboriginal peoples of Canada are actually many distinct groups with unique histories, languages, cultural practices, and spiritual beliefs” (p. 92), the First Nations of these ecozones remain unnamed. Organizing First Nations peoples in this text within ecozones creates an understanding of First Nations peoples in terms of ecozones, i.e., as part of the landscape.

Represented as Problem

1. Aboriginal Peoples

Another reoccurring representation of Aboriginal peoples in *Canadian Geography: A Sense Of Place* (2006) is as a consideration during resource development projects in the sections “Industrial Strength in Canada” and “We Need To Work Differently” (see pages 140, 148, 155, 200, 201, 203). These examples discuss how Aboriginal peoples affected the progress of mining, hydro-electric, and water diversion projects among others. As in the case of the development of diamond mining in the Northwest Territories described on page 155, the authors mention that before the project began, the local Dogrib Aboriginal people should have been included in the plans. It does not actually say that the Dogrib people were consulted, but instead that the government and mining companies reached land claim agreements. It highlights an agreement that three out of every ten jobs would go to Aboriginal people and they would receive training for high paying jobs and that much of the employment generated by the Conawapa dam development in northern Manitoba would go to qualified Aboriginal workers (p. 203). In other examples, Aboriginal peoples are presented as a problem in the ShowYouKnow assignment question: “Should *we* allow huge projects that change the landscape, alter Aboriginal lives, and disrupt ecosystems in order to get more power? Explain your answer” (p. 201). There is a difference created in this question between ‘we’ and Aboriginal people. Aboriginal people are simply a consideration for projects such as these while ‘we’ gets to decide whether or not these projects should be allowed to alter Aboriginal peoples’ lives. Aboriginal peoples are represented as passive in comparison to an active “we”. This question also lists the landscape, Aboriginal lives, and ecosystems together which has the effect of naturalizing Aboriginal peoples as part of

the land that an outside 'we' can alter. Aboriginal peoples do not get to be actors here, but instead this 'we' does.

In these two sections, First Nations and Inuit peoples are represented as protestors in speaking out about these projects and the effects they have on local communities and ecosystems (see pages 200-202). Here Aboriginal peoples are considered a problem and a consideration to be taken into account before project development. The only other people who are represented as a problem in the text are immigrants. For example, the text states that “[t]here are costs associated with immigration. Community agencies need funding to provide language and job-search training. English as a Second Language (ESL) programs in major urban school boards cost hundreds of millions of dollars every year” and “Social tensions can also arise. Some Canadians complain that immigrants do not make an effort to integrate into Canadian culture. Others say that immigrants are anti-social, isolating themselves in their ethnic neighbourhoods” (p. 98). In such examples, immigrants require special consideration and pose problems for other Canadians (see pages 94, 98, 99). While immigrants pose financial and social problems, Aboriginal peoples are represented as getting in the way of resource project development. Immigrants and Aboriginal peoples are represented as a problem in a way that other Canadians are not. While there is an effort at inclusion here, the representations of Aboriginal peoples are limited to problems in these examples.

There is one exception. In this example, Aboriginal peoples are represented as making significant decisions in resource development, as depicted in the Clayoquot Sound Biosphere Reserve on Vancouver Island, on page 69. The text explains that half of the 3000 population of the biosphere reserve is part of the Nuu-chah-nulth First Nation who have lived there for thousands of years. It mentions that “Aboriginal principles regarding resource use continue to

guide decisions today” (p.69). There is no mention as to what these principles are or what decisions are affected by them. A superficial inclusion in the mentioning of these principles is followed by an active exclusion of the omission of these principles.

2. First Nations and Inuit peoples

First Nations peoples are also represented as a ‘problem’ (see Clarke, 2007). The first example from the section about the hydro projects La Grande and Eastmain 1 Project is similar to those of Aboriginal peoples, a consideration during resource development projects which I discussed earlier (see page 55). In the discussion of La Grande River Project in northern Quebec the text says it is an example of projects where “settlements are abandoned, rivers diverted, forests flooded, and wildlife displaced, to get more power” (p. 200). It also mentions that “Many dams, diversions, and power facilities were proposed, but only part of the proposed project was completed. Great concerns about the project were expressed by Cree and Inuit peoples and by environmentalists” (p. 200). The assumption is that the project was not finished because of the devastating consequences listed above. The concerns mentioned are not specified but could be assumed from the description above and the image below. The image on the bottom left hand side of the page is of a wide river with some of the trees flooded. The caption reads, “The La Grande phase flooded 11 500 sq. km of traditional Cree territory and had a major impact on Cree communities” (p. 200). This caption acknowledges the land as the traditional territory of the Cree. The image draws attention to the river rather than the Cree communities which it “impacted”. The local Cree peoples and communities affect the project’s development and get in the way of its progress. In the description of the Eastmain 1 Project in the next paragraph, the text states that “The work was begun after many meetings and studies to deal with problems and concerns. Local Inuit are particularly concerned with the impact of the Rupert River diversion on James

Bay's marine environment. The Inuit rely heavily on this environment to live" (p. 200). Here the local Inuit are portrayed as a problem and concern of the project who affected its development.

Aboriginal, First Nations, and Inuit peoples are represented as a problem in resource development projects in these examples. Aside from the mention of concerned environmentalists on page 200, Aboriginal peoples are the only people represented as causing problems for resource development projects. There is one exception in the discussion of the Clayoquot Sound Biosphere Reserve page 69 where Aboriginal peoples are active in efforts and do not appear as a problem. The other representations are limited to being a problem despite an effort to include Aboriginal, First Nations, and Inuit peoples in the section about resource projects.

First Nations Peoples Represented as a Threat

In another example, First Nations people are represented as a problem but in a different way. This section explains how the Canadian Forces including the navy, army, and air force protect Canada and Canadians. It then describes how the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) is essential to "*our* national security" (p. 267). It says, "The RCMP works to fight organized crime and terrorism, conducts international intelligence operations, and provides educational services in First Nations communities" (p. 267). The deixis used to describe "*our* national security" but not First Nations communities represents them as different from "*our* communities". One could imagine the sentence saying 'our' First Nations communities instead. In fact, the very next sentence uses 'our' again to describe "our Canadian Forces". The third focus question in this section asks students "How can we help create a culture of peace in *our own* communities". In this question 'our' is used which reinforces this difference between 'our' and First Nations communities in this section. First Nations communities were not referred to as "our" but instead these communities are. If First Nations communities were included in "our"

communities then this deixis would have been used to describe them as it was on the rest of the page to describe “our” Canadian Forces, “our” coastline, “our” air force, “our” families, friends, schools, and communities, and finally “our” communities (p. 267). “Our” is used to describe all these other people but not First Nations communities. The RCMP is not represented as providing these educational services to anyone else. There is something else going on in this example. This two-page spread is called “Focus On: The Need for Peace Connects Us” and the focus question is “How do we keep our world safe” (p.266-267). Listing First Nations communities among threats to ‘our’ represents First Nations peoples as a threat to the nation. The use of “our” to describe others but not “our” First Nations communities creates an exclusion of First Nations peoples from “our” Canadian Forces and “our” communities. While First Nations communities are mentioned in this example, the negative representation limits First Nations roles in Canada’s national security as a threat and receiving an unspecified type of educational service. While there is a seemingly inclusive mention of First Nations communities on this page, First Nations peoples are then excluded from “our” as Canadians and instead included in a list of threats to “our” national security.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined how knowledge of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples and cultural objects is created within the text, *Canadian Geography: A Sense of Place* (Wallace, 2006). I found that representations of culture depicted Aboriginal peoples as exotic by presenting the traditional outfits of only Aboriginal peoples and limiting the ways in which Aboriginal peoples connect to culture. Reoccurring representations of culture limited First Nations cultures to material items with an overrepresentation of Haida memorial poles. The textbook presents the Canadian Constitution’s definition of Aboriginal peoples and does not similarly define other

Canadians. No self-definitions of First Nations, Inuit, or Métis peoples are presented. Métis peoples are almost completely absent from the geography of the text and therefore Canadian geography. Inuit peoples are repeatedly and only defined in terms of the north and Arctic. Aboriginal peoples are portrayed as living on reserves and in rural areas which reinforces the stereotype of incompatibility with urban areas and urban culture (Peters, 2000). Although the textbook describes First Nations and Inuit peoples as having a unique relationship with the land, no explanation of this relationship is given, other than a dependency on resources, which effectively silences potentially legal or culture connections. In one instance First Nations peoples are presented as working in conservation efforts. Aboriginal and First Nations peoples were also portrayed as a problem for resource development projects. At times, First Nations and Inuit peoples were depicted as part of the landscape itself. Exclusion from images renders First Nations peoples invisible while allowing cultural items to stand in for them. Concerns of First Nations peoples are mentioned in the text but not explained or put in context. Protesting is presented as a major activity for First Nations peoples and they are described as being a threat. The past tense is used to describe how Aboriginal and First Nations peoples *used* to live in certain areas with no mention of why they no longer live in these areas and where they now live with a few exceptions in which the presence of First Nations peoples is continued into present day. The representations that I found in this text were for the most part new forms of the older representations from previous textbook studies, which I discussed in my literature review, such as exotic, rural, and dangerous. There are opportunities for inclusion of Aboriginal geographies already present within the textbook; however, the representations were limited without further development or followed by active exclusions.

Chapter Four: Banal Nationalism and How the Text Creates Knowledge of Canadian People and Cultural Objects

The grade-nine textbook *Canadian Geography: A Sense of Place* creates knowledge of First Nation, Inuit, and Métis peoples in relation to the knowledge it creates of Canadian people and cultural objects. Creating the latter is the explicit intent of the text. In the two-page Prologue titled “Geography is everything!” the text explains that “This book is about the geography of Canada and what makes Canada a special place” (p. viii). It asks students to look at geography from what it considers three different but related points of view: “A Sense of Place”, “Connections”, and “Sustainability” (p. viii-ix). There is an explanatory paragraph for each of these points of views. In the first paragraph about “A Sense of Place,” the text tells students they will be exploring Canada and that they will come to “develop a deeper sense of Canada as a special place” (p. viii). In the paragraph about “Connections” the text states, “Geography is about how natural and human systems connect and interact” and asks students to consider “How is where you are connected to people and nature” (p. ix). In the third and final point of view, the text asks students to consider what this place will be like in the future. It tells students to think about “the **sustainability** [original emphasis] of *our*²[my emphasis] Canadian way of life and how it affects other countries and peoples of the world. Can *we* be good global citizens *and* [original emphasis] keep the lifestyle *we* now enjoy” (p. ix). The text aims to teach students about people, things, and places Canadian and about this “Canadian way of life” and its effects on other countries and peoples. The use of “we” and “our” throughout the Prologue points to what Michael Billig has called the deixis of nationalist representation. This leads me to consider

² Throughout the text unless otherwise stated, deixis in italics, such as “*we*”, “*our*”, “*they*”, and “*some*”, is my own emphasis.

Billig's concept of banal nationalism and how this geography text constructs Canada as nation as well as Canadian people and objects.

Representation of Canadians

In this section I will take each of Billig's tools, flagging, deixis, mapping, and universality of nations, and apply them to see how the textbook creates knowledge of Canadian people and cultural objects. Flagging continually reminds citizens of nationhood. Deixis, the small pointing words, include or exclude people from a national "we" as Canadians. Maps reconstruct provincial, territorial, and national borders. The universality of nations as the way of organizing the world positions the nation as natural. These tools recreate the nation and a community of Canadians who then share certain characteristics.

Flagging

The literal flags in the textbook include the flags of the ten "Most Livable" and "Least Livable" countries beside the countries name and rank on the UN Human Development Index for 2005 (p. 84) as well as the flags of the "Top Ten GNPs" beside the amount (p. 216). The American flag appears on the two lists (p. 84 and 216) as well as in an image of houses on a street (p. 106). In this section the text is describing the ideal Canadian suburb in which "Life is perfect. Who wouldn't want to live like this?" (p. 106). The image is of a row of brightly coloured houses with well-kept yards and gardens. There is an American flag hanging and waving from the porches of two houses on this street. The caption reads, "A model Canadian neighbourhood?" (p. 106). It is unusual that the flags hanging from this home are American flags and a seemingly American neighbourhood is presented as possibly a model Canadian neighbourhood. The Canadian flag can be found on six different pages (p. 73, 84, 216, 246, 257, 266). The text of the Canadian anthem is framed by four small Canadian flags on page 246. A

large Canadian flag is held by the women's national hockey team at the 2006 Winter Olympics and the Swedish flag is being held by the Swedish team in an image on page 257. In the section, "Our Humanity Connects Us" there are two images in which the Canadian flag appears. In the top image a child refugee waves a paper flag in both hands while making the peace symbol with one (p. 266). In the bottom image two male Canadian peacekeepers are reading a map with a small Canadian flag on the shoulder of their uniforms (p. 266). The Canadian flag is associated with peacekeeping earlier in the text as well. There is a cartoon postcard of a Canadian flag with the peace symbol instead of the maple leaf (73). These examples flag Canada as a peaceful and peacekeeping nation. In another example, the text explains that, "As for our flag, Canadians have waved different flags over the years, all borrowed from our English and French heritages. However, on February 15, 1965, we finally got a flag of our own, the red maple leaf" (p. 247). In this example not only is the official Canadian flag marked as Canadian but the maple leaf is also named as a flag of Canada. This flagging inescapably marks the text as part of Canada. The title of the text, *Canadian Geography: A Sense of Place* (Wallace, 2006), also flags the book as Canadian.

Flagging also plays a role in constituting ideas of difference between "Canadians" and First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples, and other people. In the section "How does *our* Canadian identity connect *us*" and a discussion of the Canadian flag, the text states that "As for *our* flag, Canadians have waved different flags over the years, all borrowed from *our* English and French heritages. However, on February 15, 1965, *we* finally got a flag of *our* own, the red maple leaf" (p. 247). The text positions only English and French heritages as "ours". First Nations, Inuit, or Métis heritages or other heritages, i.e. Chinese heritages or Italian heritages, are not represented

as “ours”. The text legitimizes English and French heritages and silences First Nation, Inuit, and Métis heritages. There are no First Nation, Inuit, or Métis flags in the textbook.

Deixis

“They, Them, Their”.

I begin my examination of deixis by first looking at who is described as “they”. The performances of “they” differ from the inclusions of “we”. These performances are important as the student reader is not usually included in “they”. There are four different usages of “they” in *Canadian Geography: A Sense of Place* (2006): as representing a particular group of people, as replacing an abstraction, as part of the nation, and as a collectivity of Canadians. In the first usage, “they” is a simple pronoun that replaces a noun whether it is for all human beings or particular people. For example, “Conservationists must know the geography of the regions *they* are trying to protect from exotic species” (p. 21). In this example, “they” refers to conservationists. In another example, “they” refers to urban planners: “Urban planners use *their* knowledge of geography to create land use maps that show how space in our cities is being used” (p. 52). As a grade-nine student using this text, the student reader is separate from groups of employed adults in these examples such as conservationists and urban planners. In effect, “they” represents a specialized group of people who are separate from the student reader, at the same time that it implies either a singular “I/me, the student reader” or a collective “we/our, the student readers”.

The second usage is “they” as standing in for abstraction. For example, “Business and industries provide many of the jobs in a city. *They* not only supply the community with the things they need, but also bring money into the city and provide its inhabitants with employment” (p. 105). There are two usages of “they” in this example: “they” as business and industries and “they”

as communities. Using “they” personifies these abstractions. It allows for business and industries to become reified and capable of supplying communities with things. In a different example, transportation industries are personified: “Transportation industries know that *they* must find alternative ways to fuel *their* vehicles, both to reduce *their* costs and to help the environment” (p. 226). Transportation industries are reified and capable of knowing and acting. In these examples, “they” replaces another noun so that “they” represents business and industries or transportation industries. These abstract nouns are reified and treated as if they too are people that are capable of knowing and doing. This personification of abstract nouns as actors parallels strategies for representing the nation as an actor.

In the third usage, “they” stands for people from a region of the nation but not the entire nation. In this usage “they” refers to a part of Canada allowing the text to remain general enough to be used anywhere in the country. For example, when referring to people of the Newfoundland and Labrador region the text reads, “*They* had suffered a great deal from the loss of the cod fishery” (p. 176). This usage homogenizes the people of Newfoundland so that everyone in Newfoundland was affected by the collapse of the cod industry. In the next example, the people of the Prairies are homogenized so that everyone in the Prairies diverts water. When talking about the Prairie Provinces, the text says, “[*t*]*hey* must divert water from other places in order for crops to survive the dry conditions” (p. 12). Instead of referring to “we” who must divert water, students are positioned as outside of or not included in the cod fishery and Prairie Provinces through the use of “they”. Using “they” instead of “we” makes the text possible for use throughout Canada except for the Prairie Provinces or Newfoundland and Labrador. One could imagine a version of the textbook intended specifically for use in the Prairies Provinces to read “*we* who divert water” instead. This usage of “they” distances the student readers and Canadians.

It is not about creating an imagined community involving the student reader or the people of the Prairie Provinces or Newfoundland and Labrador here. The student reader is not included in this community and separate from “they” as other Canadians. Students are being told about “them” because “they” are a part of Canadian geography, yet students are not a part of the specific “they” in these examples³.

In the fourth usage, the other three strategies come together. “They” stands for a homogenizing reification that functions to replace a group of people; “they” becomes a collectivity of Canadians. There are many instances in which “they” represents Canadians as a whole. This use is similar to the first three in that it makes Canadians an object of inquiry that is separate from the student reader. Again this is a strategy with some sense in a textbook whose audience is Canadians and the geographic meanings “they” make. For example, “most Canadians now tend to travel to larger centres to buy what *they* need” (p. 104) and “Canadians are connected by *their* love of hockey” (p.257). The use of “they” to describe Canadians creates notions of Canada as a community and positions Canada as nation as different from the student reader. In this usage, Canada and Canadians are positioned externally to the student reader with the effect that they are made into objects of objective study.

“We, Us, Our”.

Where other representations foster notions of Canada as a moral community, “we” explicitly includes the student reader in this national community. There are three different uses of “we” throughout the text. The first is in the general sense of the human species. The second refers to people in a more vague sense. The third use describes “we” as Canadians.

³ This usage makes sense for this textbook as it is intended for use with the Ontario curriculum.

There are at least two usages of references to the human species. For example, “Since *we* are at the top of the food chain, people must be careful about which fish they eat and how much” (p. 13). This “*we*” refers to human beings in a general sense. In another example, the text states that, “For the most part, *we* don’t think much about *our* impact on nature. The truth is that human beings generally demand more from Earth’s ecological systems than those systems can provide” (p. 122). This “*we*” refers to the human species and includes the student readers as part of this “*we*”.

Second, there is the usage which refers to people in a more vague and wide ranging sense such as when the text describes the list of the major pollutants that “*we*” breathe today (p. 12) and how “[*w*]e can all reduce the amount of resources *we* use on a daily basis” (p. 128). In examples such as these, “*we*” is not specified or implied through context. There are a number of possibilities of who “*we*” could refer to including: “*we*” Canadians, “*we*” grade-nine students, or “*we*” readers of the text or “*we*” the student readers and “*me*” the writer of the text. All of these usages implicate students in the project by including them in “*we*”.

The third and final type of “*we*” refers to “*we*” as Canadians and is specified as such. This usages create notions of Canadians by asserting that “*we*” Canadians: (a) enjoy a high quality of life in one of the best countries in the world; (b) have many choices to change “*our*” negative impact on the earth because we care about “*our*” environment; and (c) live in urban areas, all of which I give examples of and describe below.

The first notion is that Canadians enjoy a high quality of life and in the examples of this, other countries are referred to which reinforces the idea of the nation within a world of nations. For example, “Even though as Canadians *we* sometimes take what *we* have for granted, in other countries Canada has developed a reputation as one of the most desirable places in the world to

live” (p. 76). Canada is described as one nation in the world of nations. It is also positioned as one of the best places in this world of nations to live. An assumed “they” of other nations think Canada as a nation is a great place to live. In another example the text explains that, “The Canadian lifestyle ultimately imposes an ecological deficit on others around the globe. *Our* large footprint may lead to impact on *our* fellow global citizens, forcing some to go without the same access to natural resources or quality of life that *we* currently enjoy. Sustaining the world at the consumption levels of the average Canadian would take four Earths” (p. 125). This homogeneous collectivity of Canadians has access to resources and enjoys a desirable quality of life that “they” may not enjoy because of “us” as Canadians. This usage creates the idea of a “we” of Canada and a “them” of other nations who may be affected by “our” choices and actions.

The second notion, that Canadians care about the environment and have the choice to change, is established through examples such as “*we* protect endangered spaces in Canada” (p. 70) and “*Our* industries are growing quickly and Canada’s economy is one of the world’s strongest...But to ensure *our* industrial future, *we* must conserve resources and make sure that *our* energy supplies are reliable and suited to the needs of a sustainable future” (p. 132). These examples contribute to the notion that “we” Canadians care about the natural environment as well as how resources can be used to benefit Canadians in a sustainable way.

The third notion is that Canadians live in urban areas. For example, “Today, most Canadians live in urban areas and this has changed the way that Canadians live and work. While in some ways this has improved *our* lives, in others it has created a number of challenges...” (p. 131). These usages create notions of “we” as a moral community of Canadians who enjoy a great quality of life, care about the environment, have choices to change damaging behaviours, and live in urban centres. Many of these usages position “we” as Canadians as actors who work,

make products, and provide services and who can change the way they live and their impact on the environment and the rest of the world.

Shifts between “them” and “us”.

There is a tendency to switch deixis between “they, them, their” and “we, us, our”. There are many occasions where the deixis shifts within the same sentence or paragraph from “them” Canadians to “us” Canadians or vice versa. In an example of a shift from “us” to “them”, the text asks students “How do Canadian artists reflect *our* culture”, which implies a distance between artists of the student reader’s “we/our” and answers with “From the coins in *our* pockets to the art on *our* walls, *we* can see that Canadians love the land *they* inhabit” (p. 254). The question positions Canadian culture as “our” culture which includes the student reader and then later says that Canadians love the land “they” inhabit which separates Canadians from students as an object of inquiry. The relationship between the student reader and Canadians and Canadian artists is complex; whoever this “our” is, the example shifts Canadians to “they” later in the sentence. While this statement is only possible if the student reader is separated from “Canadians”, it also cannot be evidence of Canadians loving the land unless “we” are Canadians since the coins are in “our” pockets and art on “our” walls. If “we” were not Canadian then what would these objects prove? In saying that “Canadians love the land *they* inhabit” (p. 254) rather than “we” inhabit, the sentence is stated in a way that assumes an objective truth. This use of “they” positions a subjective statement as objective.

In examples of the shift from “them” to “us”, the text says that “[m]ulticulturalism teaches Canadians to work together despite *their* differences. Through multiculturalism Canadians learn that differences between *us* do not have to divide *us*” (p. 95) and “because most Canadians live far from the place where *they* work, shop, and play, *we* do rely heavily on *our*

cars” (p. 73). At first it presents Canadians as “they”, an object of inquiry, then in the next breath it includes students through “we” Canadians. These shifts from “they” to “we” force students into the imagined community of Canadians by switching the deixis to include and refer to students as “we” Canadians. In these examples the student reader is excluded from this imagined community of Canadians through the use of “they” which distances the reader from “them” Canadians and then drawn back in with a switch to “us”.

The most common use of “we” and “they” both refer to Canadians. The question then becomes when are Canadians included in “we” and when is ‘they’ used? It is worth noting that when there is a perceived threat, Canadians are specifically referred to as “we” instead of “they”. This “we” includes and addresses students as threatened in instances on four pages (p. 151, 260, 263, 267). When discussing what is being done to protect Canada’s declining fisheries, the text states: “Canada’s Coast Guard patrols *our* fishing zones everyday watching for violators such as unlicensed trawlers or fishers catching beyond *their* limit” (p. 151). Here “our” Canadian fishing zones are protected from “them” meaning non-Canadian people who overfish. In other examples the threat to “we” Canadians is disease (p. 260 and 263). For example, “As *we* interact more with people from other countries, through travel, trade, and immigration, there is a greater chance that Canadians will come into contact with infectious diseases” (p. 260). This example creates a hierarchy of Canada as clean and “we” as Canadians in are in danger of coming into contact with infectious diseases in other places. It is “people from other countries” who will expose Canadians to infectious diseases. Another example later in the text is in the discussion of Canadian Forces when the text states, “*Our* air force protects *our* skies and air space. The RCMP is also important to *our* national security and *our* ability to act in emergencies” (p. 267). The potential threat against Canada’s national security and the unpredictability of emergencies uses

the deixis “our” instead of “their”. This forces students into the imagined community of Canada and justifies military power as necessary to their safety. The deixis “we” is used each time the text positions Canada or Canadians as being threatened. This usage draws the student reader into this “we” and positions the student as threatened.

There is also the tendency to use “we/our/us” when Canadians are being discussed in a positive light. For example, as the caption to a cartoon image of a Canadian flag with a peace symbol in place of the maple leaf, the caption reads, “Canadians take pride in *our* nation’s role as a global peacekeeper. Canada has earned international recognition as a well-respected, humane, and responsible global citizen” (p. 73). Canadians take pride in “our” nation instead of “their” nation. This urges students to be part of a normative “we” who are proud of the nation. In addition to being represented in a positive light as a peacekeeping country, there is also a reproduction of nation in this example. Not only are “we” addressed as a national first person plural, but also Canada becomes more than a geophysical area (Billig, 1995). Canada becomes an actor, a global citizen, who represents “us” and is capable of acting for “us”. This naturalizes the nation by describing the political unit known as Canada as an actor instead of saying that the people of Canada offer a welcoming environment. This type of usage is an example of the strategy of reification.

Although few, there are exceptions of Canadians being referred to as “we” in a negative light. There are three instances when the text is discussing Canadians’ damaging impact on the environment and the effects of this environmental damage for other parts of the world. In these instances, the textbook addresses Canadians as a “we” who need to reduce “our” consumption and examine “our” lifestyle’s demands on the earth. For example, “Where *we* live, and the way *we* choose to live affects the environmental health of not only Canada, but the entire world” (p.

131). In the Introduction to the next unit the text states that “to ensure *our* industrial future, *we* must conserve resources and make sure that *our* energy supplies are reliable and suited to the needs of a sustainable future” (p. 132). For other examples see pages 124, 125, 131, and 132. Sustainability is one of the three points of view which the textbook asks students to look at geography with a sense of place and connections. Addressing student readers as “we” in discussions of sustainability has the effect of making it “our” problem. In so doing, it also establishes the student reader as part of a moral community that shares certain problems and connections.

“Some” Canadians.

At other times when debate surrounding an issue is mentioned, the deixis changes serving to distance this “us” from the issue and instead only “some” Canadians are identified as having a problem. Throughout the discussion following the focus question ‘Is immigration good for Canada’ the deixis shifts between “we/us” to “some” Canadians. For example, in the first of three paragraphs, the text states that “[w]hile Canada gains a great deal from immigration, *some* Canadians think *we* let in too many immigrants” (p. 98). This sentence positions the issue so that “we” let immigrants into Canada, but it is “some” Canadians have a problem. While the nationalizing “we” is positioned as accepting of immigrants, the deixis shifts to distance “some” Canadians as separate from “we” Canadians who welcome immigrants. In the second paragraph “some” Canadians,

complain that immigrants do not make an effort to integrate into Canadian culture. *Others* say that immigrants are anti-social, isolating themselves in *their* ethnic neighbourhoods. *These* people worry that immigrants see Canada as just a place to stay, like a hotel, rather than as *their* new home (p. 98, my emphasis).

Immigrants are positioned as separate from the nationalistic “we”. In this section, “we” are not mentioned at all so it is not “we” Canadians who have a problem with immigrants but instead a distant “some” Canadians. The moral community of Canada is confirmed as a welcoming to immigrants.

This discussion creates knowledge of “some” Canadians point of views’ while remaining silent about immigrants’ views on these issues. Immigrants are positioned as “they” in this section and “their” point of view is absent. There is a list of reasons why immigrants are pulled into large cities on page 96, with no knowledge created about why immigrants are not attracted towards rural areas. The final paragraph reads, “While things are not perfect, Canada generally offers newcomers a welcoming environment. *Some* Canadians, however, not only are uncomfortable with the growing diversity of our population, but also have harmful misconceptions about immigrants” (p. 98). Again, it is “some” Canadians problem not “ours” and therefore the national moral community of “we” as Canadians are distanced from the situation. This is another example where Canada is reified, becoming an actor who in this case provides a welcoming environment. However, if the text constitutes Canada as a moral community, it presents a more complex relationship between First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples and that community.

Inclusion in “we”.

This section discusses how the deixis refers to First Nations, Inuit, or Métis peoples and whether or not they are included in the deixis of the nationalistic “we”. There are three instances in which a difference is created between “us” Canadians and “them” First Nations and Inuit peoples with the use of different deixis (see pages 7, 73, 201). For example, “Except for First Nations peoples living in Canada, *we* are a nation of immigrants. *All* Canadians are immigrants

or the descendants of immigrants, from almost every country in the world...*Ours* is one of the most diverse populations in the world” (p. 73). This quote is from an excerpt for a cartoon image of a postcard of Canada with five people holding hands in a circle in front of an approximate map of Canada with “It’s a small world” written above them. The caption under the photo reads “Everyone in Canada is from somewhere!” (p. 73). This statement acknowledges and ties First Nations to the territory of Canada but not individual territories. The next sentence then creates a difference between First Nations and Canadians by saying that all Canadians are immigrants and *we* are a nation of immigrants. It is interesting that this excerpt does not instead read “*We* are a nation of First Nations people, immigrants, and the descendants of immigrants”. The deixis in this example excludes First Nations peoples from “*we*”, who are described as the people of this nation. It is unclear how Inuit peoples are meant to be understood because they are not mentioned, perhaps as descendants of immigrants.

There is a difference created here between First Nations peoples and this “*we*” as Canadians by saying “except for First Nations people”, “all” Canadians are immigrants or descendants of immigrants, and “everyone” is from somewhere (p. 73). First Nations people are not included in this “*we*”. This difference can also be seen on pages 201 and 247, which I discussed in the previous section (see page 63). These examples also demonstrate the textbook’s ambivalence in representing First Nations peoples: instances of inclusion followed by active exclusions. Canada is described as a nation of immigrants and all “*us*” as Canadians are immigrants or the descendants of immigrants with English and French heritages. In another example which I discussed earlier, a ShowYouKnow question asks the student reader, “Should *we* allow huge projects that change the landscape, alter Aboriginal lives, and disrupt ecosystems in order to get more power? Explain your answer” (p. 201). Again a difference is created

between “we” and Aboriginal peoples. It is this “we” who creates projects and Aboriginal peoples’ lives are affected by them.

There is one exception in which Aboriginal peoples are included in the deixis “we”. In the Unit 4 “Connecting Canadians,” introduction there are two images of Aboriginal peoples. The first one is of a dancer in a traditional outfit and the second image which slightly overlaps the first is of a group of Aboriginal peoples with drums. An excerpt beside the images reads, “...Canadian Aboriginal people continue to connect with *their* culture through music, dance and visual art. Those of *us* who have immigrated can also connect to *our* heritage through culture, but still remain Canadian” (p. 213). Aboriginal peoples are not included in the deixis of “us” who have immigrated in this excerpt; they are named in this section as Canadian Aboriginal peoples and the only people who did not immigrate to this territory. The only exception is in the caption of the images which reads “*Our* culture connects *us*” (p. 213). This nationalistic “us” is established as Canadians in this two-page spread as the text tells students in the introduction to the unit ‘Connecting Canadians’ that “You make connections as an individual, as a citizen within your community, within Canada and the rest of the world. There are many ways in which you make connections” (p. 212). Through this image and its caption, First Nations peoples are included in this “us” as Canadians. This is the only example in which they are included in this “us” as Canadians. Otherwise they are not included in this “we” as Canadians who have immigrated or are descendants of immigrants or “we” who created projects. Except for the caption of the images on page 213, First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples are excluded from the nationalistic “we” and “us” as Canadians.

While there are many sites of inclusion of Aboriginal, First Nations, and Inuit peoples within this textbook, there is also a difference created which excludes them. A majority strategy

of representation used to do this is through the deixis. The deixis of the text often creates a difference between “we” as Canadians and “them” as Aboriginal and First Nations peoples as First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples are excluded from “we” as Canadians and “we” as descendants of European or immigrants. Although this textbook cannot do everything, what it does do is superficially include First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples in the text and actively exclude them from the national deixis.

Mapping

Maps are commonplace in geography textbooks. While they map things such as “Canada’s Landform Regions” (p. 26) or “Power Generation in Canada” (p. 180), at the same time they map the nation and define its borders. Maps reinforce the national space and as Billig points out “geography is not mere geography, or physical setting: the national place has to be imagined, just as much as the national community does” (p. 74). Maps have helped to literally construct the nation and remind citizens of the national space. There are seventy-six maps in the 302 pages of *Canadian Geography: A Sense of Place* (2006), eleven are grouped together in a section at the end of the text before the glossary and index and after the Epilogue and GeoTools sections. The seventy-six maps include only political maps. I do not include all the images of certain areas such as the aerial view of Elliot Lake on page 116 or a satellite photo of the James Bay water diversion project on 205, for example. While these are maps in one sense, I have chosen to select political maps which students would mostly likely read as a map. Thirty-seven, or almost half, of the seventy six maps in this textbook are political maps of Canada standing alone. These maps of Canada show the distribution of natural resources, transportation systems, parks, etc. Twenty-nine of the maps highlight or enlarge the view of a particular area. Six of the maps show Canada within the rest of the world and four of the maps present Canada and the rest

of North America. These ten maps naturalize the nation as universal, but the majority of the maps present Canada as an isolated nation standing alone. These maps all depict the political provincial, territorial, and national boundaries of Canada as they are today. Maps remind citizens and the student reader of the nation. They hold its borders in place. Many Canadians may not encounter most of Canada's borders except for in a map.

Maps play a major role in the representational creation of colonial space. Maps have contributed to colonizers' "self-legitimizing construction of space as universal, measurable and divisible" (Clayton, 2003; p. 360). They have also contributed to the myth of empty land in need of being mapped and therefore claimed. Cartography is a powerful tool used by colonizers to erase local knowledge and remap areas with imposed understandings and divisions of place. It "reifies a particular spatial view of land that is rooted in colonial understandings of land and revolves around boundary-based mapping" (Shaw, Herman, and Dobbs, 2006; p. 273). Maps bound colonial space in controllable structures (Clayton, 2003). Yet despite their power, maps have become a quite banal form of flagging the nation and colonial borders. In one example, which I describe below, the text maps the current political borders of the provinces and territories on a "pre-contact" map of First Nations peoples when these provincial and territorial borders did not actually exist (p. 92). The result is that these political boundaries are presented as predating Canada itself and are naturalized as having always existed as such.

In the section "Aboriginal Peoples in Canada", the text asks students to refer to a map on the top left hand side of the page in order to see, "As shown on the top map here, Aboriginal peoples of Canada are actually many different groups with unique histories, languages, cultural practices, and spiritual beliefs" (p. 92). The political map of Canada is entitled "First Nations in Canada Before Contact with Europeans" and has the names of 45 First Nations in their

respective traditional territories. The text states that this map is supposed to indicate that Aboriginal peoples are many distinct groups of people but the title limits the map to representations of First Nations peoples. The next paragraph on this page refers to the Canadian Constitution's recognition of three types of Aboriginal peoples including First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples so it seems that the text would not have intended for First Nations to be used interchangeably with Aboriginal peoples, which means that this map does not include Inuit peoples. I am not sure to what extent this map is capable of illustrating the fact that Aboriginal peoples have unique histories, languages, cultural practices, and spiritual beliefs through merely listing the names of First Nations. What it does do is map First Nations peoples in "pre-contact" locations within colonial and current borders. It makes these national borders seem natural and permanent.

This map of "First Nations in Canada Before Contact" legitimizes colonization in at least two ways. First, the term 'contact' in the name of the map neutralizes colonial experiences and minimizes the power dynamics of colonization. The term does not acknowledge the violent reality of colonialism. Second, the use of boundaries serves to legitimize colonial division of land. The title suggests this map is of First Nations "before contact", yet imposed upon this map are current political federal provincial, and territorial boundaries which did not exist at the time when First Nations peoples lived in these areas before they were forcibly displaced and segregated to reserves by the government. Placing the names of First Nations within these colonial borders represents current political divisions of Canada as predating Canada as though they have always existed as a natural part of Canada's geography and First Nations people have always lived within them. It literally makes provincial and territorial borders pre-colonial borders.

Colonial ambivalence.

Colonialism is inconsistently represented throughout the text resulting in a colonial ambivalence. While colonization is enacted and legitimized in examples such as this map, there are other times when it is acknowledged. For instance, across from the map “First Nations in Canada Before Contact”, the textbook states that Aboriginal peoples have “lived here for many thousands of years; since long before explorers and colonizers arrived from Europe” (p. 92). This example demonstrates colonial ambivalence because although the text uses the term colonizers and thereby acknowledges colonization, it does not explain who these colonizers were/are or what were/are the consequences of this colonial presence. This omission effectively sanitizes the experiences of colonization by pretending it does not exist. The text presents First Nations people before colonization and currently with no discussion of any changes or the period in between. The colonizers are kept in the past and Canada’s colonial experiences become a history rather than a continued reality. The text is silent here about colonialism itself and Canada’s colonial present, i.e., it never explains what colonialism means. Another example tells readers that “the history and geography of Canada are ours to share. Our national holidays tell part of the story: Victoria Day, on May 24th reminds us of colonial roots in the British Empire, while July 1st is a day of celebration to commemorate the Confederation of Canada as a country” (p. 246). The text creates an “our” which includes Queen Victoria. It acknowledges Canada as a colony of England and the political dominance of England, but it does not explain Canada as a colonial space created by Europeans.

The second map at the bottom of the left hand side of the page is titled “Aboriginal Population of Canada, 2001”. It is a map of Canada with all territorial and provincial boundaries. It indicates the location of Aboriginal populations using differently-sized, coloured, and shaped dots ranging from 10-99 people to Greater than 10,000 people. The second assignment question

of this section asks students to look at this map and describe the pattern of the population of Aboriginal peoples (p. 93). The ShowYouKnow questions are meant to assess students' understanding of the content of each two-page spread (p. vi). The second question requires students to apply the information they have read in the two pages. This is an opportunity for students to notice that many Aboriginal people live in southern urban centres. The text does not indicate this pattern otherwise. There are three maps in the two-page spread Aboriginal peoples in Canada: "First Nations in Canada Before Contact with Europeans", "Aboriginal Population of Canada, 2001"; and a map of Canada with only Nunavut highlighted and named. The text establishes Canada's political boundaries as pre-contact. These national borders are presented as the natural organization of the land and as though they have always existed in their current location. Current political borders which did not exist at the time are imposed upon a "pre-contact" map of First Nations peoples. As a result these two maps suggest a naturalization of current political arrangements.

The Universality of Nations and "They" as Canadians

In another usage of "they" as Canadians, the text presents what the rest of the world thinks about Canada and Canadians. This community of Canadians is described as "they" in a way that presents statements as objective facts. Instead of using a subjective "we", it is "they" who value diversity, making such statements appear to be objective truths. This section of the text also creates a moral community of Canadians as "they". For example, the focus question for the section is "How do people in other countries see Canada". A list of statements taken from media sources in other countries is provided. The list includes statements such as: "Canadians actually care about *their* environment", "Canadians are proud of *their* heritage and welcome immigrants from around the world...In Canada, *they* truly encourage and appreciate diversity",

and “Canadians place a high value on *their* natural environment” (p. 76). The usage of “they” in this list of statements of what people in other countries think about Canada makes Canada as a nation into a community of people who: value the environment, welcome immigrants, and appreciate diversity. The nationalizing messages serve to reinforce a moral imagined community of Canada (Anderson, 1991a). The message is that Canada is so great even other people in other nations think so. One example explicitly says as much, “Canada is an interesting place—the rest of the world thinks so, even if Canadians don’t” (p. 77). According to this section, not only does the rest of the world think Canada is great, but this statement positions Canadians as too modest or unpatriotic enough to think Canada as “an interesting place”.

Some of the items on the list of foreign media statements say that “Canada has a global reputation for being one of the best places in the world to live”, “Canada Best Among G8 Countries in Addressing Environmental Concerns”, and “Canada is well known as a safe, just, and peaceful society” (p. 76). In another example from the section about multiculturalism the text tells students that “Canada stands as proof that it is possible for women and men of the world’s many races, religions, and cultures to live together” and “Canada’s experience with diversity has taught us to accept and respect different views” (p. 94). In these examples, Canada is positioned as a nation among other nations and reinforces the universality of nations. This section confirms the moral character of Canada because it is not just Canadians saying it, but other nations think and say these things too. In another example, the text explains that “The challenge of sustainability is to take action to ensure that Canada continues to be one of the best places in the world to live” (p. 131). Canada is positioned as one of the best countries in comparison to others. The imagined collective of Canadians is presented as experiencing the same access to natural resources and quality of life despite actual differences in reality

(Anderson, 1991a). This usage creates the idea of Canada as part of a larger community of nations.

Some items on this list reify Canada as an entity which is capable of feeling and doing. For example, “Canada should be proud of a quality of life that is one of a kind in the world” and “A world leader in international peacekeeping and human rights” (p. 76). Canada is also reified in the section about multiculturalism in Canada. For example, “Canada is proud of its cultural diversity” (p. 94). Further down the page the text reads, “Canada is regularly asked for advice and help with conflict resolution and human rights” (p. 94). In these examples, Canada becomes a moral entity, a being which can feel proud and be asked for advice. The nation of Canada is constructed as a moral nation who values the environment, welcomes immigrants, treats everyone with respect, and helps others. Canada as a nation is reified and becomes capable of knowing and doing.

There is a progression in the usage of “they”. First, it is a shorthand for nouns and stands in for people such as conservationists. Second, it stands in for abstract nouns such as transportation industries and allows for the reification of these abstractions as actors. In the third usage, “they” becomes a homogenized regional or political collectivity of people. The fourth usage builds on the others so that there is then a national collectivity of Canadians. This usage presents Canadians as “they” according to the rest of the world and Canadians and Canada are portrayed as a moral community possessing certain attributes. In the section of what people in other countries think about Canada, readers must understand the context of nationhood where Canadians belong to “the” homeland in a world of homelands (Billig, 1995). The nation as a political unit has been normalized so that it is not a question of if someone belongs to a nation but rather which nation (Billig, 1995). Maps also normalize the political borders of nations.

Of the seventy-six political maps in the text: thirty-seven are of the entire country of Canada, six are of North America, six are world maps, and twenty-eight are maps of local areas in Canada. The most maps appear in the first and third units: “Canada: All Systems GO!” and “Made in Canada”. The six maps of North America are extended to include the United States and in some cases Mexico as they map oil and gas pipelines (p. 184), drainage patterns (p. 27), and air masses and ocean currents (p.29) which cross the political borders of Canada. Of the six world maps, half are related to human development or foreign aid: “Developed, Newly Industrializing and Developing Countries of the World” (p. 82), “Levels of Human Development Around the World, 2002” (p. 85), and “Annual Foreign Aid Given and Received Per Capita” (p. 258). The rest of the world is mapped in terms of development and aid. The other three include maps of oil flow around the world, gas hydrates, and countries where products were purchased. In the map “Oil Flow Around the World” (p. 175), although it is a world map, only Canada and the United States are coloured and named. All the arrows of oil flow go from other countries to the United States with one or two going to Canada. The local maps are usually zoomed in to one region of Canada with a small map of Canada in the corner and the region is highlighted. These maps locate specific resource development projects, towns, energy and power sites, parks, and industries within regions of Canada. These maps normalize political borders and position the nation as a natural system of organization.

Conclusion

I chose the textbook *Canadian Geography: A Sense of Place* (2006) out of the three approved textbooks on the Trillium List for the grade-nine applied-level Canadian geography course because it seemed the most inclusive of Aboriginal geographies throughout the entire text; yet, as you have seen, the main purpose of the textbook appears to be to present a nationalizing

geography. The text does so using strategies such as Billig's flagging, deixis, mapping, and the universality of nations (1995). The nation is flagged with actual flags and more banal forms. Deixis is used throughout the text to construct the nation and a community of Canadians and does so in several ways. The usages of Canadians as "they" attempts to objectively create a moral community of Canadians and Canada that shares problems. At times it homogenizes regions or the collectivity of Canadians. The use of "they" reifies abstractions and the nation as entities capable of knowing and doing. It excludes student readers from the examples and positions Canadians as "they" as an object of inquiry. While on the other hand, the use of "we" as Canadians implicates the student reader in this community, as part of the community of Canadians that shares problems. A moral and homogenous community is also constructed through the use of "we" as Canadians. Shifts in deixis suggest that "we" Canadians are also the distanced "they" in some cases. Deixis is also used to distance "some" Canadians from "us" as Canadians. The nation is repeatedly constructed and reinforced through the performances of these different usages. Maps create knowledge of Canada and its borders and map Canadians within these borders. Canada is positioned as nation within a world of nations. Presenting a homogenized and nationalized geography seems to be an important part of this textbook which leads me to wonder how it would then include Aboriginal geographies.

Chapter Five: Aboriginal Geographies

What Might an Aboriginal Geography Look Like

In this chapter I explore what Aboriginal geographies within the Ontario curriculum, and specifically, what a geography textbook, could look like. In the third chapter of my thesis, I discussed what these geographies currently look like within a grade-nine applied-level textbook: *Canadian Geography: A Sense of Place* (2006). I draw examples for this discussion from the secondary literature on Aboriginal geographies and from one specific First Nation geography: *A Stó:lō-Coast Salish Historical Atlas* (Carlson, 2001). I believe the examples from the Stó:lō atlas could be extended to represent other Aboriginal geographies in textbooks. As Susan Dion Fletcher (2000) explains, there are “possibilities for transforming how First Nations people are remembered and represented in the curriculum” (p. 345). This chapter considers some examples of the possibilities for acknowledging and representing the breadth and texture of Aboriginal geographies.

I do not wish to suggest that there is a single Aboriginal geography that could incorporate the diverse and varied experiences of all First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples. Gender, race, age, sexual orientation, class, and ability among other factors, as well as the intersections of these identities with each other ensure that no two people experience the landscape in the same way. The land, landscape, place and environment can hold different meanings for many people (Shaw, Herman, and Dobbs, 2006). In this chapter what I call an Aboriginal geography, within Canadian geography textbooks, refers to the collective set of representations which construct knowledge of Aboriginal peoples and their geographies. This set of representations would include elements of actual geographies of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples which I present here as possibilities. As I list examples of these elements, I am referring to singular elements as

an example among many which may or may not be different for various First Nations, Inuit, or Métis peoples. I do not wish to suggest that these terms are interchangeable but rather I use the term Aboriginal geography in this chapter with the understanding that these examples could be applied to and used to represent many of the distinct and wide-ranging geographies of First Nations or Inuit or Métis peoples. My suggestions are not meant to be considered a definitive or all encompassing Aboriginal geography, but rather as smaller parts and potential sites of inclusion that could be added to geography textbooks. Using some of the limited secondary literature on First Nations geographies and the Stó:lō Atlas as a concrete example, I present possible sites of inclusion in geography textbooks.

Stó:lō-Coast Salish Historical Atlas

One example of a First Nation geography is *A Stó:lō-Coast Salish Historical Atlas* (2001). The geographies of the Stó:lō peoples have been put in an atlas that aims to present a comprehensive and in-depth view of the geographies of the Stó:lō people of the lower Fraser River in southwestern British Columbia and northwestern Washington. There are many resources within the atlas itself: maps, images, charts, diagrams, indexes, definitions, artwork, timelines, etc. Maps include a map of versions of the origin legends and movements of the Stó:lō peoples (p.10), a map of settlements before colonization and locations afterwards (p.36-38), salmon canneries (p.72), contemporary Stó:lō demographics (p.76-78), park land (p.118), ecological productivity (p.110), and a forest inventory of the Stó:lō Territory (p.112-116). There is a thirteen page index of Stó:lō place names at the back of the atlas (p.141-153). The chart gives the place name, map, type of place, comments, significance of the place, and translation of the name. For example, the place name *Stemletsil* for Bear Mountain is identified as a “resource; mountain” area. The Halq’eméylem name means “everything grows there” and the significance is listed as

onion, carrots, wild potatoes and other items grow in this area (p. 149). The place names in Halq'eméylem, the language of the Stó:lō peoples, often encode important information about the environment. Since it is a historical atlas, the atlas has a much wider scope than a geography textbook and is able to cover more time and space in more detail. While the Stó:lō atlas is only one geography, it is one that I had access to. Some Aboriginal geographies are oral geographies (Peters, 2000). Accessing these would have required an oral interview project. The Stó:lō atlas is just one example of a First Nations understanding of geography,⁴ however I assume that its claims to a deep connection to a particular territory can be extended to other First Nation, Inuit, and Métis groups.

Housing

The grade-nine applied-level geography textbook *Geography Now* (2006) presents a page about different types of traditional Aboriginal houses including the Igloo of the Arctic, teepee of the Plains, longhouse of the west coast, etc (p. 63) to demonstrate the climate, materials, and resources available in each area. By contrast, the Stó:lō atlas presents a very detailed discussion of housing from prehistoric homes to longhouses to modern homes of Stó:lō individuals. Images and floor plans of a European-style frame house from 1925 and a present-day split-level-style frame house from 1992 are used to illustrate how Stó:lō people adapted such houses to fit with “social conditions such as hosting extended-family and community gatherings and maintaining open family interaction” (p. 43). The atlas also explains how a “reserve house” from 1935 was not only small and simple, giving the appearance of diminished social status, but also physically and socially divided family members into isolated rooms and constricted gatherings (p. 44). An Aboriginal geography might include aspects of reserve systems from an Aboriginal perspective

⁴ The atlas itself is controversial amongst some Stó:lō peoples as it makes private and sensitive knowledge public (Carlson, 2001, p. xv).

such as the discussion of housing in the Stó:lō atlas. Geography can be used to go beyond climate, building materials, and resources of housing styles to also include more textured discussions of political, legal, or social implications such as the land the houses are built on, organization of the house, the neighbourhood, and the town or city for example.

Urban Geographies

An Aboriginal geography would include urban geographies. In a discussion of ‘Change Post-Contact’, the Atlas states that urbanization caused shifts in Stó:lō settlement patterns in the Sqewqéyl (Seabird Island) area. It explains that traditional transportation routes were paved over and paralleled with road and rail systems or created on non-traditional locations (p. 38). It also mentions that the Stó:lō people of this area “adapted their traditional settlement patterns to these circumstances, seeking to maximize the advantages of European transportation and communication routes” (p. 38), which in turn affected the urbanization of Stó:lō settlements. The Stó:lō atlas acknowledges contemporary Stó:lō territory (p. 4, 5, and 98) which includes the city of Vancouver and the Stó:lō population in Vancouver (p. 82). It mentions that 46 percent of the Stó:lō population lived off reserve in 2000 (p. 82). According to Statistics Canada, 60 percent of First Nations peoples live off reserve in 2006. In Ontario, which is the province with the largest population of First Nations peoples, 70 percent live off reserve. There is a difference in terms of gender as First Nations women with registered status are more likely than First Nations men with registered status to live off reserves (<http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/as-sa/97-558/index-eng.cfm>). This geography would discuss the realities of urban Aboriginal geographies such as ineligibility for certain federal programs and being unable to participate in reserve politics (Peters, 2001).

An Aboriginal geography would challenge the myth of terra nullius or “empty land”. It would acknowledge that Aboriginal communities were destroyed and Aboriginal peoples were

forcibly removed from areas, which were to become urban centres, and then confined to reserves. In some cases reserves were continually pushed to the margins as they were moved further from the cities and reduced in size (Peters, 2004). This spatial separation reinforces an assumption of the incompatibility of Aboriginal peoples and urban areas. With time this separation came to be thought of as natural as though it had always been that way. An Aboriginal geography may see the colonial history of urbanization as happening *within* Aboriginal territories rather than across borders of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal land (Peters, 2001). In order to do this, the geography would need to recognize underlying Aboriginal title to the territory now known as Canada.

Acknowledgement of Colonial Histories and Present Day Implications

An Aboriginal geography would acknowledge colonialism and Canada's colonial geographies. It would discuss how colonization reshaped and mapped territories (Carlson, 2001). It could include discussions of changes in land usage and legal issues surrounding land management (Carlson, 2001). It might have a section describing how colonial histories have affected and continue to affect the lives of peoples on reserves and off. The Stó:lō atlas mentions how the Sqewqéyl area was severely depopulated after Europeans arrived due to smallpox and that the colonial government "established *Sqewqéyl* [original emphasis] as an "agricultural reserve" in an effort to redirect *Stó:lō* [original emphasis] economic and social activities away from fishing and towards farming" (p. 38). It explains how this resulted in some people resettling away from the reserve, changing housing, and the effects of road and railway construction on the Sqewqéyl settlement (p. 38). An Aboriginal geography might discuss social issues related to colonial assimilation policies such as conditions on reserves, locations of reserves and isolation, suicide, unemployment, health care, language loss, education, etc, as they relate to geography (Delona, 2004; Peters, 2001; Willems-Braun, 1996-7). It would acknowledge the geographies of

residential schools including the physical separation and isolation of children from families and communities, disruption of intergenerational knowledge, physical labour such as gardening and changing the landscapes at these schools, and perhaps burial sites (Carlson, 2001). Another factor which might be included is the current use of the buildings which housed residential schools whether it was destroyed, transformed, or abandoned (Carlson, 2001). An Aboriginal geography would link the historical roots and causes of certain social issues to the implications for present day Aboriginal geographies.

Land Claims

Maps of land claims and contested spaces would be included in this geography. While the Stó:lō atlas does not discuss land claims in great detail it does provide a map of traditional territory prior to colonization on page three followed by a map of Stó:lō territory “in a contemporary world” (p. 4-5). An Aboriginal geography could include and map traditional divisions of territory. In recognizing underlying title, this geography would legitimize a dialogue of land claims within the text. There could be a discussion of land claims including an explanation of the two types of land claims: specific and comprehensive. Rather than simply stating that, “[s]lowly Aboriginal people and the Canadian government are working towards settling treaty and land claims” (Wallace et al, 2006, p. 93), this geography might explain why they are working 'slowly'⁵. This geography may explain that the government controls each step of the current process beginning with whether or not a claim is even considered valid and what the settlement will be if one is offered at all. It could include a discussion of the questions raised about the current process and explain that other systems have been suggested to change the process (AFN, <http://www.afn.ca/article.asp?id=3214>). Land claims and debates over rights to

⁵ At the current rate of 8 claims being settled each year, it will take 130 years to work through the backlog of 1046 remaining land claims (AFN, <http://www.afn.ca/article.asp?id=3214>).

resources continue to be a major issue in Canada. These land claims and their outcomes have the potential to change the Canadian landscape. Discussions of this reality would be included in an Aboriginal geography.

Resources

Land claims play a part in resource development. An Aboriginal geography might discuss benefit agreements and employment opportunities of resource development projects on Aboriginal land. This geography may also discuss co-management of resources as well as environmental and wildlife protection and management. It might map Aboriginal use of resources and resource management practices. Maps of other activities on the land could be incorporated as well. It could include historical, transformed, and current Aboriginal communication and transportation routes as well as changes between the two. In the Stó:lō atlas, historical and present land usage is discussed and mapped through transportation and communication routes (p. 38) and “Property Ownership, Site Use and Regulatory Protocols” of fisheries (p. 58) among others.

Aboriginal Understandings

This geography would include self-definitions and understandings from Aboriginal, First Nation, Inuit, and Métis peoples themselves. It might name Aboriginal peoples in their respective language as well as English names. It could include the origins of the peoples and the landscape. For example, in the Stó:lō atlas there is a section outlining and mapping the “S_xwó:y_xwey Origins and Movements” (p. 10-11). In this section the text describes and maps slightly differing accounts of s_xwó:y_xwey, how the world came to be, and the Stó:lō peoples. It might include a geographical history and historical timeline of the peoples prior to colonization. In the case of the Stó:lō atlas, a detailed timeline of the Stó:lō peoples and land is presented (p. 162-169). The

timeline spans from 15,000 years ago to the year 2000. This geography could include Aboriginal perspectives and understandings of colonization and changing landscapes. These understandings might also be mapped. This geography would include Aboriginal understandings of plants, animals, landmarks, and physical features of the landscape. There would be a clear differentiation made between Aboriginal cultures so that the totem poles of west-coast First Nations and the teepees of the Plains First Nations were not assumed to be representative of all First Nations peoples. There could also be modern examples of Aboriginal cultures such as hockey. Aboriginal culture would be presented as more than tangible token items as they historically have been as I discussed in my literature review. If places, items, beings, legends, ceremonies, politics, traditions, philosophies or other aspects of Aboriginal cultures were presented then the significance of these aspects might be explained. Aboriginal culture would also be included up to and include the present day. In a geography which positions and maps Canada as a nation within a world of nations, the text might explain why First *Nations* are called nations. An Aboriginal geography might include Aboriginal flags or the flags of Aboriginal organizations as well as the Canadian flag.

Maps

The geography textbook could first present a political map of an area that students have encountered before as a reference to orientate themselves. Then another map of the area with Aboriginal place names, divisions, and significant sites could be included. The Stó:lō atlas begins with a base map of Stó:lō territories with English place names in order to help readers orient themselves with the rest of the maps in the atlas which uses Halq'eméylem place names. A historical map of Aboriginal settlements before colonization and a present-day map of Aboriginal populations could reveal significant changes and lead to important questions such as why these

populations have moved and why these locations among other things. The comparison of maps can make changes become visible and easily tracked on a map allowing students to see shifts and changes over time and space.

This geography could also include the place names of Aboriginal territory in Aboriginal languages as well as the names for plants, animals, and physical characteristics of the landscape. It could acknowledge alternative divisions of time and space and alternate understandings of direction. An Aboriginal geography might include information about “relationships with the landscape, with the metaphysical world of spirits and legends, and with and among various people and communities” (Carlson, 2001, p.1). Aboriginal artwork and artistic mappings of the landscape could be included in this geography. Maps are an important tool for legitimizing knowledge. They have a certain authority and it is as if when information is mapped it is given a reality and becomes a taken-for-granted truth. It is this authority that historically has allowed maps and geography to contribute to the erasure Aboriginal peoples, place names, and knowledges from the landscape. The Stó:lō atlas presents Stó:lō place names and understandings of space among other things. Maps could now instead be used to reshape the landscape and remap Aboriginal geographies by including maps of land claims or not including current borders on maps of Aboriginal peoples before colonization for example.

The following list, adapted from the Stó:lō atlas, is an example of several subjects which could be included in an Aboriginal geography:

- the origins of the people and the landscape, with a discussion of transformation sites and other spiritually significant places (see Carlson, 2001: p. 6-11, 20, 32-33, 104-119, 162-169),
- the relationship between Aboriginal spiritual beliefs and contemporary land management,
- contested spaces,

- Aboriginal place names, such as the Halq'eméylem place names used in the Stó:lō atlas (p. 21-29, 134-140),
- perceptions and perspectives of the “Other”, as seen in the Stó:lō atlas (p. 84-91, 128-132),
- the expression and history of Aboriginal identity, included the relationships between spirit, people and culture,
- historic-era population movements,
- architectural history from pre-colonial to modern styles,
- Aboriginal systems of justice,
- how spatial analysis informs the study of resource usage, livelihoods, and residential schools such as the study of hop yards, salmon canneries and residential schools in the case of the Stó:lō atlas (p. 68-73, 92-93, 120-121).
- a reinterpretation of Aboriginal historical demographics (Carlson, 2001).

The topics listed here could be used to present examples from the geographies of a variety of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples. The Stó:lō atlas is a historical atlas and could therefore potentially present a much wider variety of topics in more depth than a grade-nine geography textbook, but the geography textbook I examined, *Canadian Geography: A Sense of Place* (2006), also reaches back into history. For example, in a section about the Mixedwood Plains Ecozone the text explains that First Nations peoples “made large, permanent settlements here long before Europeans arrived” (p. 42). Also in the discussion of the Atlantic Marine Ecozone the text explains that Europeans and Newfoundlanders have “harvested the riches of the Grand Banks since the eleventh century, when Vikings arrived there” (p. 46). These two examples refer to historical information from prior to colonization. The text refers back to the early twentieth

century while discussing the Homesteading Act of 1908 (p. 63). In another example the text explains,

Historically, wilderness has been seen as something to be explored, tamed, harvested, or cultivated. As people gradually began to realize that the natural environment was in jeopardy, public perceptions about the wilderness began to change. Instead of viewing it as something to be conquered, we began to see it as something to be preserved and used wisely...In 1893, the Province of Ontario established Algonquin National Park (the word national was used because it was a provincial park of national significance) (p. 58).

The 'National' part of the park name is explained while 'Algonquin' is not. This example refers back to the turn of the century and explains historical and changing perspectives on land use and protecting land. These examples demonstrate that the Stó:lō atlas, although an historical atlas, and its examples are relevant to my discussion of Aboriginal geographies. They also show that it is possible for a geography text to incorporate historical explanations when significant.

While it is not realistic to expect a 300 page geography textbook to have an inclusive geography of every First Nations, Inuit and Métis person, it is possible for these sites of inclusion to be developed within textbooks and to present examples from a wide variety of cultures and peoples. As geography as a discipline changes to include more textured understandings of geographies, the material within geography textbooks can also change to better reflect these textured understandings. It is possible for more nuanced understandings of geography to be incorporated into future texts as these sites are already present.

What of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis geographies are not included in the textbook?

In the first part of this chapter I presented examples of possible sites of inclusion for Aboriginal geographies within geography textbooks. In chapter three I described the actual representations of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples and their geographies within *Canadian*

Geography: A Sense of Place (2006). In the second half of this chapter I will discuss several aspects of Aboriginal geographies which are not included in the textbook.

Consistent Acknowledgement of Colonial Histories and Present-Day Implications

At times colonialism is acknowledged while at other times in the text it is enacted. In a section describing the Prairie Provinces the text says that “European settlement changed the land” by “transforming” it (p. 63). This has the effect of minimizing and sanitizing colonization. This sanitized version denies the actual experiences of peoples, such as the Cree, who were forcibly removed from their land and displaced in order for Europeans to take the land and profit from it. An Aboriginal geography would acknowledge colonialism without sanitizing or minimizing its historical and present consequences.

Land Claims are Not Explained

Although the textbook describes Aboriginal peoples as descendants of the first peoples of what is now known as North America, there is little recognition of underlying Aboriginal title to the land. In fact there are three pages in the text which mention Aboriginal rights, treaties, and land claims (see pages 61, 92, and 93). In a chart “Establishing a New National Park in Canada” on the far right hand side of the two-page spread about National Parks the second item on the list mentions that the area is studied for the implications of Aboriginal rights, treaties, and land claims (p. 61). The third item mentions that Aboriginal peoples would have an interest in a potential park. The fourth item describes how land for a national park must be property of the federal government so ownership must be negotiated between provinces, territories, Aboriginal peoples, and the federal government. This chart is taken directly from Parks Canada. There is nothing in the text or assignment questions of the two-page spread that points students’ attention this chart. The last line on this page says that fishing rights of First Nations peoples remain in

place, but it is not clear where these rights refer to. The next mention of treaties comes on page 92 in the section about Aboriginal Peoples in Canada. The text states that the Canadian government inherited treaties at Confederation that the British had made with Aboriginal peoples and continued to negotiate treaties which

required Aboriginal groups to give up their lands and to move to reserves. In return, Aboriginal peoples were supposed to receive cash payments, goods, and hunting and fishing rights. However, treaty promises were often broken and the loss of land, especially in southern and central Canada, made it difficult or impossible to survive (p.92-93).

This section acknowledges that unfair treaties were broken and not honoured, resulting in the loss of land for Aboriginal peoples that made it difficult to survive. Students would not understand what these difficulties are because there is no elaboration. If Aboriginal people lost their land and moved to reserves, then the reader could ask why it was difficult to survive on these other lands. There is not a clear connection between historical racism in treaties and reserves to the current social issues the text describes below. The text mentions where Aboriginal peoples were before in traditional locations and then represents where they are now as reserves without going into the complexities of treaties.

The next paragraph indicates that Aboriginal people want self-government, expanded economic opportunities, and to eliminate poverty and unemployment. The text states that

Today, Aboriginal people want self-government so they can control their own future. They want to be able to expand the economic opportunities in their communities to eliminate unemployment and poverty, and to reduce their dependence on the government. They want to protect their cultures and traditions, and find ways to solve problems of poor housing, lack of health care, and other social issues that continue to plague their communities (p. 93).

Beyond the loss of land, there is no other explanation for why these social issues, which “continu[e] to plague their communities”, exist (p. 93). In this section “Who are the Aboriginal peoples in Canada”, the textbook does acknowledge the contemporary situation of social issues some Aboriginal communities face, such as poor housing and lack of health care, as well as the desire for self-government so that Aboriginal peoples can control their own future (p. 93), but without an explanation of historical and contemporary racisms and unfair treatment. No links are made between the social issues it mentions and being forcibly moved from traditional homelands to artificial and regulated reserves. There is no explanation for “their dependence on the government”. This section would not allow students to understand how these issues developed or why they exist at all. The absence of this information leaves students uninformed. There is no context or explanation for why poor housing, unemployment, and lack of health care among other issues “continue to plague their communities” (p. 93). There is a focus on Aboriginal poverty without context.

The final paragraph states that “[s]lowly Aboriginal people and the Canadian government are working towards settling treaty and land claims. Together they are also establishing means of achieving self-government for Aboriginal peoples” (p.93). There is no definition of land claims or the different types; the term does not appear in the index or glossary. In saying that treaty and land claims, some of which predate Confederation, are moving slowly, it allows for the question: why? There is no answer as to why the process is slow, how slow it is going, the implications and cost of moving slowly, or what the process actually is. It mentions that Aboriginal peoples and the government are working towards settling them; this information would not make students aware of whose solutions are being offered and validated. This section would not give students an understanding of government designed reserves that were isolated, regulated, policed, and

which did not take into consideration Aboriginal tradition or housing styles among other things. There is no discussion of how unemployment stems from traditional livelihoods such as fishing and hunting being regulated by the government and residential schools which did not give students an education or job training. In this time of reconciliation, for students using this text it is potentially their last exposure to a formal presentation of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples' geographies and they would not be informed of residential schools. The absence of this information silences the damaging consequences.

Although the text acknowledges that land claims are moving slowly, other sections unproblematically mention that land claims were settled in order for mining and hydro projects to be built (see p. 155, 201). Students would have no idea which areas are under land claims except for these two examples which were settled already. Things such as climate regions (p. 28), wine producing areas (p. 160) and major oil and gas pipelines (p. 184) get mapped onto Canada in this text, but land claims do not. The information in the textbook would not give students an understanding of land claims.

The text does not present modern land claim agreements that are recognized by the Canadian federal government, the ITK, and the ICC among other organizations. These land claims divide the land into four areas: Inuvialuit, Nunavut, Nunavik, and Nunatsiavut which encompass a geographic homeland called Inuit Nunaat, the Inuktitut expression for the Inuit homeland (ITK & ICC, 2007). These areas represent regions “traditionally and continuously used and occupied by Inuit pre-dating Canadian sovereignty to the present” (ITK & ICC, 2007; p. 17). The arctic and north is defined as Inuit land in the text, but Inuit understandings of this space are not presented. Aboriginal relationships with the landscape are represented as a reliance on the

resources and land. The text is silent on legal, cultural, or political connections and land claims in the sections about ecozones and resource development.

Maps

In the section, “Who are the Aboriginal peoples in Canada”, the two maps “First Nations in Canada Before Contact with Europeans” and “Aboriginal Population of Canada, 2001” (p. 92) are presented with an no explicit connection made between them. There is no question asking students to consider or explain how and why these two maps differ (i.e. genocide, displacement, reserves, government policies, land claims and treaties, moving to urban areas for employment because of poverty and high unemployment rates in rural areas/reserves after fishing other livelihoods were restricted and regulated by the government, etc) (p. 92).

Urban Geographies

Statistics and maps are provided as evidence for the notion that Canadians live in urban areas, yet there are some Canadians who are then excluded from these representations of urban areas. The textbook portrays Aboriginal peoples as living in isolated rural areas in the section ‘The Urbanization of Canada’ (p. 102-103). Yet in 2006, three out of every four First Nations people living off-reserve lived in urban areas (<http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/as-sa/97-558/index-eng.cfm>). The text states that the growing populations of rural areas “can be attributed to the higher birth rate among Aboriginal peoples in these isolated regions” (p. 103). This is the only explicit mention of Aboriginal peoples in this discussion of urbanization which may lead students to believe that Aboriginal people only live in rural areas. The message is that Aboriginal peoples are not urban peoples. This may also lead students to believe that this land for urbanization was empty as Aboriginal people only live in rural areas. Inuit peoples are only represented as living in the north despite the fact that in 2008, 22% of the Inuit population, or

11,005 people, lived outside of Inuit Nunaat, the Inuit homeland, which spans from the Northwest Territories to Labrador (see Statistics Canada, 2006; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2006).

Métis Peoples

Representations of Métis peoples are absent from the text except for one definition (p. 92) and implied representations in those of Aboriginal peoples in general. The text does not discuss the political, economic, and cultural implications for Métis peoples of not having a home base such as the reserves represented as First Nations land and the arctic as Inuit land.

Self-definitions

There are no self-definitions or understandings of First Nations or Métis peoples in the textbook. There are no Inuit understandings or self-definitions explicitly presented such as this example from a report by the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami and the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) which states that Inuit peoples “possess a common culture and heritage, a shared environment, speak one language, eat similar foods, and utilize similar natural resources” (ITK & ICC, 2007; p. 17). Aboriginal names for themselves and place names are not presented. Since the text does not present the self-definitions of any other Canadian it could be argued that the text is simply being consistent. My point is that as the only people who are defined throughout the text, there should also be an attempt to include some self-definitions.

Alternative Histories

The text presents one history of the Inuit peoples: “Historically, the Atlantic Northern Arctic Ecozone has been inhabited by the Inuit. These peoples are descendants of the Thule, who migrated to the area approximately 1500 years ago” (p. 50). This would not inform students of alternate versions of the origins of Inuit peoples such as that supported by the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK). The ITK is an organization which represents Inuit peoples of Canada nationally

and internationally and claims the foundation of Inuit cultures developed from both the Thule and the Sivullirmiut (www.itk.ca, 2009). According to the ITK, the earliest ancestors of Inuit people are the Sivullirmiut, meaning the first ones or the first people, and are believed to have arrived about 5000 years ago (www.itk.ca, 2009).

Self-Government

The third ShowYouKnow question in the section “Who are the Aboriginal peoples in Canada” is “Should Aboriginal peoples be allowed to exercise fully their right to self-government? Defend your answer in a well-written paragraph containing three reasons for your position” (p.93).

Earlier in the page it mentions that Aboriginal peoples want self-government as well as the fact that the Canadian government is working with Aboriginal peoples to establish means of achieving self-government so why is the topic still debatable. Nothing else on this two-page spread would indicate why Aboriginal peoples should or should not be able to self-govern so students would have to rely on outside opinions and ideas to come up with an answer to this question.

Conclusion

While there is no one singular Aboriginal geography, this chapter has explored what might be included in an Aboriginal geography within a geography textbook. As an example, I use the geographies of the Stó:lō peoples, a First Nation from the territory surrounding what is now known Vancouver in southwestern British Columbia, as presented in the *A Stó:lō-Coast Salish Historical Atlas* (Carlson, 2001). Elements of an Aboriginal geography which might be included in textbooks include discussions of housing, urban geographies, acknowledgement of colonial histories and present day implications, land claims, resources, Aboriginal understandings and self-definitions, maps and place names. Discussions of specifically, the geographies of Métis

peoples, alternative histories, maps, and self-government were absent from *Canadian Geography: A Sense of Place* (Wallace, 2006).

Conclusion

This study has examined the representations of Aboriginal geographies as well as Canadian people and objects and Canada as a nation within a grade-nine applied-level Canadian geography textbook. The purpose of this examination was to consider what an Aboriginal geography within a school textbook might look like and what of these geographies were missing in *Canadian Geography: A Sense of Place* (2006). Initially, I was not studying the nationalizing geography of the textbook; however, it became apparent to me that it was a major concern of the textbook and could not be ignored. I examined the nationalizing geography in order to better understand the context that representations of Aboriginal geographies were presented in.

The representations of Aboriginal geographies was present in some spots and omitted from others. There are clear attempts at inclusion of Aboriginal geographies within *Canadian Geography: A Sense of Place* (2006), even to the point that the only voice directly quoted in the text is of Cree peoples in northern Quebec. Yet while there appears to be many inclusions, they are sometimes followed by active exclusions. Métis peoples are excluded from the geography of Canada except as implied in representations of Aboriginal peoples. While First Nations peoples are mentioned on many pages, these representations are mostly limited to reserves, as reliant on the land, as invisible, as protestor, as people of the past, as different in a way that Europeans are not, as part of the landscape, as problem, and as a threat.

A major concern of this textbook was presenting a national geography of Canada and constructing the nation. This meant I had to study how the text constructed knowledge of Canada as a nation. Billig's (1995) tools, such as flagging, deixis, mapping, and the universality of nations were used to construct the nation and a moral community of Canadians. Deixis was used to include and exclude certain peoples from the community of Canadians. Shifts in deixis appear

to be purposely used to construct, position, and even distance the nation. Maps create knowledge of Canada and its national and provincial borders and only of Canada and its borders. The textbook was primarily concerned with presenting a nationalized geography to grade-nine students.

In this nationalizing geography, the deixis used most often created a difference between “we” as Canadians and First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples as “they”. Aboriginal peoples were defined in the textbook in a way that other Canadians were not. They were represented as connecting to culture in more limited ways than other Canadians through “traditional” cultural practices only. Métis peoples were not included in the textbook.

As we have seen using the Stó:lō Atlas, an Aboriginal geography would include discussions of housing, urban geographies, land claims, and resources and resource development. It would also acknowledge colonial histories and present-day consequences. It would include Aboriginal places names and territories as well as understandings and alternative maps. Aspects of Aboriginal geographies that are not elaborated within this textbook include: elements of land claims, Aboriginal place names and maps of territories, urban geographies, the representations of Métis peoples, self-understandings, alternative histories, and self-government. Possible sites of inclusion are present in the text but not further developed or are followed by exclusions.

I chose this textbook because it appeared to be the most inclusive of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples because there were more references throughout a wider variety of sections than *Geography Now* (2006), the other most recent grade 9 applied-level Canadian geography textbook. The text presents Canadian geography to students from three different points of view: a sense of place, sustainability, and connections. Students are asked to keep these points of view in mind while reading the text. In order for students to “develop a deeper sense of Canada as a

special place” (p. viii) as is expected with the first point of view, they must be given information about Canada’s colonial geographies as well as underlying Aboriginal title to land. They must understand the territory of Canada as a contested and changing space which has more than one set of boundaries and overlapping geographies. To develop more inclusive notions of sustainability for the second point of view, students would benefit from learning about multiple perspectives of human relationships with the environment. The text asks students to consider this point of view with the question: “what this place will be like in the future” (p. ix). To answer this question, students must be able to see how the landscape of Canada may change legally and physically and what the implications of these changes are. Knowledge of the changes which led to current geographies may help students to better predict future geographies. To see connections between people and nature in the third point of view, students must be able to study the reality of the consequences of the interaction of human and natural systems. Despite attempts at inclusion in this textbook, the result is at best partial inclusions followed by active exclusions. In my literature review I discussed the potential incompatibility of Aboriginal geographies and the current curriculum, yet sites of inclusion are already present in this geography textbook and could be further developed and expanded. The text spends a lot of time attempting to indoctrinate young people in Canadian nationalism. The usages of deixis go beyond simply replacing a noun and instead construct a national “we”. It makes knowledge claims that establish uncritically the hegemony of dominant groups. While there are clear attempts to include First Nations and Inuit geographies, these inclusions are limited or followed by exclusions. The text spends much time indoctrinating nationalistic ideas when it could instead be addressing Aboriginal geographies.

Contributions and Implications

The textbook studies of the representations of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples in textbooks that I found in my literature review primarily focused on history textbooks or social studies textbooks. I chose to examine a geography textbook because it had not been studied in detail before. Geography is an interesting subject to study because of Canada's unique and overlapping geographies. It is my hope that in uncovering exclusions of Aboriginal geographies and narratives, sites of inclusion may be identified and further developed. I hope that my research has suggested specific possible sites for inclusive and decolonized Aboriginal geographies. My study has also drawn attention to the nationalizing messages in the construction of a Canadian geography. As more nuanced understanding of geographies, such as the addition of a variety of aspects which I described in the last chapter, would help reveal to students the lived geographies and realities of Canadians instead of a homogenized national geography as is presented in this textbook.

Limitations

This study presents how First Nations, Inuit, Métis, and Canadian geographies are constructed within one applied-level geography textbook, but given the scope of my study, there is no way of knowing how this textbook is actually used in the classroom. I cannot speak to how students interact with the textbook or what meaning readers take from it. Textbooks are recommended by the Ministry of Education's Trillium List, but actual usage will vary from classroom to classroom. Textbooks are not the only educational documents or determining factor for the material covered in class. Despite all this, textbooks are still valuable documents as research sources in education because they are used by teachers and help to organize their teaching, especially within history and geography. According to a survey of teachers in Ontario,

93% of history and geography teachers felt that textbooks were important enough for teaching subject matter that students should each have their own textbook and should not be required to share (Ryan, 1982). My own experiences as a student and my more recent experiences as a student teacher have made it clear to me that textbooks continue to be a major educational resource in Ontario public schools. The high cost of textbooks almost ensures that they will be used for decades even as information within them becomes outdated.

Another limitation of my study is that this textbook is of an applied-level text only, it may be that advanced-level Canadian geography textbooks are more inclusive. As well, time and space constraints have restricted me to examining only one textbook. If I had the time to research all three approved textbooks and the space to write about the findings from all three then my study would have been able to speak to a wider discourse of Aboriginal geographies as well as nationalizing discourses created within the three Canadian geography textbooks.

Future Research

This study has identified potential sites for inclusion which are already present within the textbook, *Canadian Geography: A Sense of Place* (Wallace, 2006). These sites need to be further developed to include more of Aboriginal geographies. This study has also suggested further possibilities for inclusion based on the Stó:lō Coast Salish Historical Atlas (Carlson, 2001) as one example of what an Aboriginal geography might look like. The creation of other resources such as the Stó:lō atlas would help both textbook writers and teachers include accurate and detailed geographies within classroom lessons and resources.

This geography textbook, along with the others on the Trillium List, are approved by the Ontario Ministry of Education and therefore represent standardized and official accounts of what is to be taught. As a result, it is essential that textbook accounts of Canadian geography are

critically analyzed for the narratives they contain or omit. The effect of limiting or omitting some geographies is that they are then erased from the narratives of geography while others are validated. The nationalizing messages within this geography textbook were an unexpected discovery. More geography texts and other subject-area textbooks and perhaps the Ontario curriculum should be analyzed to determine if they contain such nationalizing messages as well.

My study has aimed to examine the official representations of Aboriginal geographies in relation to Canadian geographies within one textbook. Other textbooks and educational materials need to be examined for the geographies they construct and present to students. As a multicultural and multilingual nation with an increasingly diverse population, Canada has many unique and complex geographies which need to be reflected in our school curricula. As academic understandings of geographies become more textured, these understandings need to be reflected in elementary and secondary school textbooks to help students develop more nuanced understandings of geographies.

Appendix 1: Table of Contents of *Canadian Geography: A Sense of Place* (2006)

<u>Table of Contents of <i>Canadian Geography: A Sense of Place</i> (2006)</u>	<u>Representations of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples and Cultural Content</u>	<u>Representations of Canada and Canadians</u>
(Each entry represents a two-page spread of the text and the headings)		
Unit 1: All Systems GO! (pp. 2-70) Prologue Introduction Challenge: Where would you locate Canada's next national park?	p. 5	p. viii pp. 2-3 pp. 4-5
<i>Theme 1: Systems Alert!: Protecting Our Environment</i> Overview GeoLit: Reading Pictures Focus On Trash Trouble Water Woes Air Woes Climate Change in Canada Species at Risk in Canada Exotic Species – Place Invaders	pp. 6-7	pp. 6-7 pp. 10-11 pp. 12-13 pp. 14-15 pp. 16-17 pp. 18-19 pp. 20-21
<i>Theme 2: Systems Thinking: Ecozones in Canada</i> Overview GeoLit: Reading Climate Graphs Focus On Characteristics of Ecozones – The Land We Live On Characteristics of Ecozones – Canadian Climates Characteristics of Ecozones – The Living World The Pacific Maritime Ecozone - The Natural Environment The Human Connection The Boreal Shield Ecozone - The Natural Environment The Human Connection The Mixedwood Plains Ecozone - The Natural Environment The Human Connection The Atlantic Marine Ecozone - The Natural Environment The Human Connection	p. 33 pp. 34-35 p. 38 p. 41 pp. 42-43 p. 46	pp. 22-23 p. 27 p. 31

<p>The Northern Arctic Ecozone - The Natural Environment The Human Connection</p>	<p>p. 49 pp. 50-51</p>	
<p><i>Theme 3: Systems Protection: Endangered Spaces</i> Overview GeoLit: Reading Topographical Maps Focus On Discovering Ontario's Provincial Parks Algonquin Provincial Parks – A Place Worth Protecting National Parks National Treasures Isolated Oases To Preserve and Protect International Conservation Strategies World Biosphere Reserves Unit 1: Review</p>	<p>p. 61 p. 63 p. 64 p. 67 p. 69</p>	<p>p. 52 p. 58 p. 64 p. 68 pp. 70-71</p>
<p>Unit 2: Living in Canada (pp. 72-130) Introduction Challenge: Should the growth of your community be controlled?</p>	<p>pp. 72-73</p>	<p>pp. 74-75</p>
<p><i>Theme 1: What Makes Canada a Great Place to Live</i> Overview GeoLit: Reading Graphs GeoLit: Reading Population Pyramids Focus On Measuring Quality of Life The United Nations Human Development Index (HDI)</p>		<p>pp. 78-79 pp. 80-81 pp. 82-83 p. 85</p>
<p><i>Theme 2: Who We Are</i> Overview Focus On Canada by the Numbers Canada's Population Structure Aboriginal Peoples in Canada Multiculturalism in Canada – Benefits and Challenges Immigrants – Where Do They Go? Immigrants – Myths and Facts</p>	<p>pp. 92-93</p>	<p>p. 88 pp. 94-95 pp. 98-99</p>
<p><i>Theme 3: Where We Live</i> Overview</p>		

Focus On The Urbanization of Canada Our Changing Communities	p. 103	pp. 102-103 p. 104
<i>Theme 4: How Are We Changing Places?</i> Overview Focus On Urban Land Use Urban Challenges – Social and Infrastructure Issues Urban Solutions – Smart Growth Urban Challenges – The Economic Base Urban Solutions – Reinventing a Community in Decline		p. 107 p. 108 p. 110-111 p. 113
<i>Theme 5: How Can I Make A Difference</i> Overview Focus On Sustainability Measuring My Personal Ecological Footprint The Footprint of Nation Reducing Our Ecological Footprint Reducing Our Global Ecological Footprint Unit 2: Review	p. 120	pp. 118-119 pp. 120-121 pp. 122-123 pp. 124-125 pp. 126-127 p. 128 pp. 130-131
Unit 3: Made in Canada Introduction Challenge: How can we work and live more sustainably?		pp. 132-133
Theme 1: Industrial Strength Canada Overview GeoLit: Reading Air Photographs Focus On Primary Industry – Forests for the Future A Sustainable Forest Industry Farming is Big Business What's the Dirt? Fish or No Fish? Our Fisheries Are in Trouble Mining Metals, Hard and Soft The Mining Industry Secondary Industry – Making Things Solutions for World Water Woes A Food Industry Case Study – Making Wine Tertiary Industry – Tourism Tertiary Industry – Sports and Entertainment	p. 140 p. 148 p. 158	pp. 136-137 p. 138 pp. 140-141 pp. 142-143 pp. 144-145 p. 146 pp. 148-149 pp. 150-151 p. 152 p. 155 pp. 156-157 p. 158 pp. 160-161 pp. 162-163 pp. 164-165

Quaternary Industry – Research and Development Communications Technology and Biotechnology		p. 166 pp. 168-169
<i>Theme 2: Power It Up!</i> Overview Focus On Got Gas? The Tar Sands – Our Oil for the Future? Oil and Gas from Fragile Environments – The Offshore Oil and Gas from Fragile Environments – The Arctic Conventional Energy Systems What Type of Power to Use? Energy on the Move Alternative Energy – Wind Power Alternative Energy – Our Sun Alternative Energy – Geothermal and Biomass Energy Alternative Energy – Tidal and Wave Power Getting to Work with Zero Pollution		pp. 170-171 pp. 172-173 p. 175 p. 176 p. 178 p. 180 pp. 184-185 p. 186
<i>Theme 3: We Need To Work Differently!</i> Overview GeoLit: Reading Satellite Images Focus On Big Hydro – La Grande and Churchill Falls Big Hydro – Manitoba's Nelson River Development Thinking Differently about Diverting Water Red River Problem – Devil's Lake Icebergs as a Water Supply? Unit 3: Review	pp. 200-201 pp. 202-203	p. 196 pp. 200-201 pp. 202-203 p. 204 pp. 206-207 pp. 208-209 p. 211
Unit 4: Connecting Canadians Introduction Challenge: Is it time to change my connections?	p. 213	p. 213
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What You Buy Makes a Statement		pp. 224-225
Theme 2: Transportation Connects Us Overview GeoLit: Reading Road Maps Focus On Communiting – Moving the Masses Personal Transportation Urban Transportation Connecting Across Canada		pp. 226-227 p. 230 p. 234 pp. 236-237
Theme 3: Communication Connects Us Overview Focus On Wireless Communications Owners of the Airwaves Connecting Us Globally		pp. 238-239 p. 240 pp. 242-243 pp. 244-245
Theme 4: Culture Connects Us Overview GeoLit: Reading Thematic Maps Focus On Personal Culture Community Connections The Arts in Canada Canada's Connection to International Sports	p. 254	pp. 246-247 pp. 250-251 p. 252 pp. 254-255 pp. 256-257
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GeoTools 1. Applying Mapping Conventions 2. Drawing a Choropleth Map 3. Drawing a Multiple Line Graph 4. Drawing a Circle Graph		

5. Drawing a Population Pyramid 6. Drawing a Climate Graph 7. Applying the Geographical Inquiry Process 8. Writing a Report Geotechnology 9. GIS: Applying Geographical Information Systems to Solve Geographical Problems 10. GPS: Global Positioning Systems		
Maps Canada: Extremes Canada: Political Canada: Physical Canada: Ecozones Canada: Climate Regions Canada: Population Distributions Canada: Population Density Canada: CMAs and Ecumene Canada: Agriculture Canada: Major Transportation and Ecumene North America: Physical		

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