

Representations of Aboriginal Peoples in the Quebec History and Citizenship Education Curriculum: Preliminary Findings from Secondary School Textbooks

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Abstract

This study examines representations of Aboriginal peoples in the Quebec History and Citizenship curriculum. In recent years, efforts have been made by the Quebec Ministry of Education to increase content about Aboriginal history and culture in order to foster a better understanding and cultural awareness of Aboriginal peoples. Have such efforts succeeded? Employing linguistic intergroup bias theory as a method of analysis, this study analyzes representations of Aboriginal Peoples in the Quebec History and Citizenship curriculum and among secondary school textbooks. An analysis of textbooks used in secondary schools highlights the biased language used by the authors, and provides insight on the ideological impact that such language can potentially have on students. Despite policy efforts to rectify portrayals and representations of Aboriginal peoples, textbooks used in the Quebec History and Citizenship curriculum continue to maintain stereotypes. This article ends by suggesting that the Quebec History and Citizenship curriculum ought to be rewritten with a concerted effort to eliminate those biases.

Keywords: Aboriginal peoples, representations, stereotypes, linguistic intergroup bias

In recent years, efforts have been made by the Quebec Ministry of Education to increase content about Aboriginal history and culture in order to foster a better understanding and cultural awareness of Aboriginal peoples. Inspired by the new social history of the last half of the twentieth century, authors of the Quebec History and Citizenship Education curriculum have moved away from a concentration on the major political actors and events in Canadian history and toward a broader understanding of Canadians and their multifaceted and complex histories (Ministère de l'Éducation, de Loisir et du Sport [MELS], 2007, p. 295). A central component of that broader understanding includes an increase in material related to Aboriginal peoples and their contribution to Canadian history.

Has the effort produced the intended results? This study attempts to answer that question by assessing the ways in which Aboriginal peoples are represented in Quebec secondary school History and Citizenship Education textbooks. Are the textbooks representative of Aboriginal peoples themselves, or of the dominant Euro-Canadian culture? To what extent have the developers of the Quebec History and Citizenship Education textbooks succeeded in producing content that can foster a better understanding and cultural awareness of Aboriginal peoples? Through an analysis of those textbooks, we can come to a better understanding of their strengths, weaknesses, and biases, and the extent to which Aboriginal peoples might come to be understood by Quebec students.

The present article focuses specifically on content in the textbooks approved for use in secondary schools by the Quebec Ministry of Education. It limits its examination to references made to Aboriginal peoples and Aboriginal culture. Thus, it does not concern itself with the intentions of the authors, curriculum developers, or other actors involved in the making of the History and Citizenship Curriculum in Quebec. Rather, its focus is on how the final textual materials found in the books represent Aboriginals. The article concludes by pointing to further avenues of exploration on this topic, including the need for a contextual analysis of the making of the curriculum in order to fully understand what efforts are, or are not, being made by curriculum developers and textbooks

authors in Quebec to advance the ways in which Aboriginal peoples may be represented to Quebec students.

Context and Existing Literature

The Quebec History and Citizenship Education program that was introduced in 2007 has three fundamental aims that constitute the curriculum's three competencies. First, students will learn to examine social phenomena from a historical perspective. Second, they will then interpret that social phenomena using the historical method. Third, through these processes students will strengthen their ability to exercise citizenship (MELS, 2007, pp. 11-28). By focusing on competencies rather than content, the Quebec curriculum developers have consciously shifted the learning process away from historical facts and toward historical skills. In regard to learning about Aboriginal history, the Quebec History and Citizenship curriculum specifically links student learning about Aboriginal peoples themselves to the aim of understanding questions about "the Amerindians and Inuit in Québec today" (MELS, 2007, p. 36). If such a link between Aboriginal peoples and Aboriginal culture of the past is to be made with Aboriginal peoples and Aboriginal culture today, then a fundamental question is how does the Quebec curriculum represent the past of Aboriginal peoples and Aboriginal culture? In other words, what is the historical perspective being used to shape perceptions today?

The existing literature on this topic is limited. While a number of studies have examined Quebec textbooks and the ways in which History and Citizenship Education is taught to Quebec students, few have focused on the ways in which Aboriginal peoples are represented. One notable exception is Vincent and Arcand's (1979) study that looked specifically at representations of Aboriginal peoples in Quebec textbooks. The authors' not surprising conclusion was that stereotypes abound, and, as the title of their study suggests, negative representations such as that of the "savage" dominated what was taught in the classroom. Published in 1979, however, the study is clearly out-dated. Two major curricular reforms have been undertaken since then. The first implemented a new History of Quebec and Canada curriculum that was in effect between 1982 and 2007. This was replaced by the present History and Citizenship Education introduced in 2007. Do Vincent and Arcand's (1979) conclusions about Aboriginal representations, then, still apply? Have the reforms since the 1970s revised the curriculum in ways that offer more positive representations of Aboriginal peoples in Quebec textbooks?

Arsenault's (2011) study suggests that much has indeed changed on the curricular landscape since the 1970s. Arsenault identifies the problem of Aboriginal representations in the Quebec curriculum before this time as one of under-representation, and suggests that the two major curriculum reforms since the 1970s have addressed this problem. According to Arsenault (2011), Aboriginal history and culture have been taken more seriously by curriculum developers in a way that favours the recognition of Aboriginal peoples in the curriculum. Arsenault (2011) does not, however, fully investigate the ways in which the increased representation of Aboriginal history and culture has impacted student knowledge about Aboriginal history and culture. Perhaps more importantly, has increased representation in the Quebec curriculum resulted in more desirable representations, or is it simply providing more of what Vincent and Arcand (1979) had identified as undesirable representations in the 1970s?

By contrast, other scholars interested in questions surrounding Aboriginal peoples in the Quebec History and Citizenship curriculum have concluded that space given to Aboriginal history and culture in the teaching of History and Citizenship Education in Quebec is still inadequate. Éthier, Lefrançois, and Demers (2013), for example, conclude that "little space for non-European agents" altogether is given in the Quebec history textbooks (p. 129). What space is given to

Aboriginal peoples, they argue, tends to represent Aboriginal peoples in opposition to French explorers and French ambitions in the New World. Aboriginal peoples are furthermore treated as anything but equal to Europeans. Rather than considering the complexity of the relationship between two cultures, Aboriginal peoples are “reduced to historical objects manipulated by various Western interest groups” (Éthier et al., 2013, p. 128).

While the existing literature on Aboriginal representations in the Quebec context is limited, there is a growing body of research about Aboriginal representations in school textbooks in other parts of Canada. Montgomery (2005) has looked at knowledge about racism and how it was represented in Ontario history textbooks from the 1960s to 2000. He found that while the textbooks deem Aboriginal peoples to be affected by racism, their suffering is ultimately minimized and Canada itself is largely depicted as a space antithetical to racism (Montgomery, 2005, pp. 433-434). Montgomery’s (2005) focus is on representations of racism, however, and so his study does not look at how the people themselves were represented. St. Denis (2011) has considered the extent to which Aboriginal peoples are represented in Canadian public schools, and concludes that multicultural policy and legislation in Canada, while successful in opening eyes to various non-white cultures and histories, has had the effect of limiting representations of Aboriginal peoples. Furthermore, she argues, by framing Aboriginal peoples within the context of multiculturalism, their history and culture, which is clearly different from that of other Canadians, are ultimately misunderstood and misrepresented. The curricula, she suggests, “effectively limit meaningful incorporation of Aboriginal content and perspectives into public schools” (St. Denis, 2011, p. 307).

Other studies have looked specifically at the ways in which various groups are represented in Canadian textbooks. Clark (2005), for example, has examined twentieth-century British Columbia history textbooks for their portrayals of women. More recently, Glean (2011) has looked at Quebec secondary school textbooks and considered the ways in which African Canadians are represented, asking how they are included and excluded through the use of written and graphic texts. What is overwhelmingly missing in the literature, however, is an analysis of representations of Aboriginal peoples and the ways in which students may come to understand them as a result of such representations. While the present study does not purport to offer such an analysis of student perceptions, it does attempt to open the door to such an analysis through an examination of representations of Aboriginal peoples in the Quebec History and Citizenship Education textbooks read by those students. What follows are some preliminary findings from Quebec Ministry of Education approved textbooks.

Sources and Methodology

This study is based on an analysis of History and Citizenship Education textbooks used in the Quebec Education Program for Secondary Cycle 1 (normally referred to as grades 7 and 8 in other parts of Canada) and Secondary Cycle 2 (or, grades 9, 10, and 11). All of the textbooks were written for the new Quebec Education Secondary Social Sciences curriculum put into operation in 2007. The books were commissioned by the Comité-conseil sur l'évaluation des ressources didactiques (CCERD), a consulting committee for the Ministry of Education that plays a role in approving instructional materials through the mandates assigned to it by the Minister of Education. The CCERD is composed of thirteen members appointed by the Minister of Education. Nine of the members are drawn from the education system (both the French and English elementary and secondary sectors), one from the university community, two are parents of current students, and one member represents the publishing companies commissioned to produce the textbooks by the Ministry of Education (MELS, 2014, p. iii).

The textbooks in this study were read in their entirety, and scrutinized for all references to Aboriginal peoples and culture. Content related to Aboriginal history and culture was then isolated for closer critical examination in light of linguistic intergroup bias. Linguistic intergroup bias was first articulated by Maass, Salvi, Arcuri, and Semin (1989). Linguistic intergroup bias concludes that the type of language used to describe in-group and out-group behaviours contributes to the transmission and persistence of social stereotypes (Maass et al., 1989, p. 981). In their study, Maass et al. (1989) found that people represent and communicate what they call “desirable in-group” and “undesirable out-group” behaviours more abstractly than “undesirable in-group” and “desirable out-group” behaviours. So, for instance, the in-group may be represented as being “helpful” without any example to substantiate the representation, while the out-group may be represented as “unhelpful.” On the other hand, the in-group may be represented as having failed to help in a specific isolated context not indicative of their behaviour more generally, while the out-group may be represented as having helped in a specific isolated context not indicative of their general behaviour attributes. In their study, desirable behaviours were those more linked with positive associations by the control groups in the study, while undesirable behaviours were those more linked with negative associations. Because of the abstract and vague character of desirable in-group representations and undesirable out-group representations, it is difficult to see such representations as false. Moreover, once a negative out-group or positive in-group behaviour has been communicated in abstract linguistic terms, it influences subsequent information processing of both the source and the receiver of the communication, guiding and biasing future internalization of representations. In a word, differential language use, they argue, contributes to the persistence of stereotypes (Maas et al., 1989, p. 990).

The language used to describe Aboriginal peoples and culture in the Quebec secondary school textbooks examined in this study was thus determined as either “desirable” or “undesirable” as put forward in the linguistic intergroup bias model. In undertaking an analysis of textual language in Quebec, it is important to point out that the textbooks used in this study are those published in English. It is perhaps even more important to point out that these textbooks themselves have been translated from French. Using a translated source adds another layer of complexity to the analysis of language because it is difficult to conclude the extent to which the authors themselves should be aware that their language is biased, or whether they intended such language to be biased. In many cases, unbiased language in the original French may indeed emerge as biased as a result of the translation into English. It is not my intention, however, to determine the intention of the authors or to determine ways in which the translation has created biased language. Rather, the concern is with the final products, the English textbooks, which are used by the students. It is that textual language that those students will see and read, and it is the biases inherent in that text that they will consume. In other words, this study seeks to address the impact of representations of Aboriginal peoples, through that language, on Quebec students.

Preliminary Findings and Analysis

An analysis of the textbooks highlights the biased language used by the authors. Isolating the biases in the language is crucial, for, as Fairclough (2003) suggests in another context, it allows us to understand the ideological impact that such language has on students. Through the extended lens of linguistic intergroup bias, we find little objective truth in that language and in the representations of Aboriginal peoples. Negative representations of Aboriginal peoples are overwhelmingly written in generalizations, while positive ones are precise. Thus, the language used hides the extent to which its representations of Aboriginal peoples are ideologically sound and factually true, thereby contributing in a subtle way to the social transmission of biased views and beliefs (Maas et al., 1989).

Consider the representation of the in-group (seventeenth-century missionaries) in the following passage from a Cycle 2, Year 2 History and Citizenship Education textbook:

Beginning in the middle of the 17th century, missionaries created small Aboriginal villages in the St. Lawrence Valley in order to help Aboriginal peoples who had converted to Catholicism adopt the French way of life. A few hundred Christian Hurons and Iroquois, and some Algonquians, such as the Algonquins and the Nipissings, settled permanently near Québec City and Montréal. As for the Algonquins and the Abenakis, they were driven away by conflicts with colonists from New England and settled in the Trois-Rivieres area. (Horguelin et al., 2011, p. 28)

In this example, we can identify a positive representation of the in-group through the use of an interpretive action verb (in this case, help). Such language describes a general class of behaviours that provides an interpretation beyond the mere description. So, in this example, the behaviour of the in-group (European missionaries) is represented as an effort “to help,” without any specific details about motivations and consequences. The only negative behaviour attributed to Europeans is to the New England colonists, who, in this instance, are not in fact characterized as part of the European in-group but rather as a separate out-group. It was the New England colonists, not the European missionaries, the text makes clear, who drove Aboriginal peoples away. Thus, the negative behaviour of the in-group (the European missionaries) is never addressed, and their positive representation is kept intact.

In another passage, we can identify the negative behaviour attributed to the Aboriginal out-group (Iroquoians), despite it being couched in abstract language:

Warriors returning with scalps and a prisoner: For the Iroquoians, more than any other group, the capturing of prisoners to replace the dead constituted a major motive for conflict, in addition to other factors, such as gaining access to hunting territories. Women and children who were captured were usually adopted by the community. Men could also be adopted, but they were more often subjected to torture, a test in which they were expected to demonstrate courage. (Horguelin et al. 2011, p. 19)

From the above passage, we can note a few instances of linguistic intergroup bias. The descriptive action verb “capture” denotes a specific and observable behaviour. Combined with the use of the abstract noun “prisoners” rather than “enemies” the suggestion is that the people being scalped was inactive; that is, they are represented as passive and helpless victims rather than enemies engaged in warfare with the Iroquoians. In other words, there is no object reference or situational reference to the “prisoners” own “warrior” characteristics. The Iroquois are, in fact, portrayed as overly aggressive and on the offensive in this passage. One does not get the sense that they are at war with colonizers who invaded their land, but rather that they were unilaterally attacking for their own advantage (the explanation given for their behaviour is that they wanted to gain access to hunting territories). The lack of overall context leads to a generalized understanding of both the war practices of the Iroquois and the scalping practice highlighted by the authors. Very little is said specifically about when, where, and, perhaps most importantly, why such wars would occur and why the Iroquois would adopt such practices. The description of them doing this “more than any other group” is exceptionally noteworthy because it attributes the negative representation to the Iroquois specifically.

Not all representations of Aboriginal peoples are negative, of course. Virtually all of the textbooks, for example, offer positive representations of Aboriginal religious and spiritual practices. We should be careful, however, not to immediately conclude that all positive representations are desirable ones. When representations of Aboriginal peoples in the Quebec curriculum can be identified as positive representations, they often remain, when we consider linguistic intergroup bias,

undesirable representations. This is because the positive representations of Aboriginal peoples are overwhelmingly specific and observable, and, thus, not as easily processed as a characteristic of them as a group over a greater period of time. Aboriginal religion, or spirituality, for example, is a major source of positive representation of Aboriginal peoples in the Quebec curriculum. Digging a little deeper with linguistic intergroup bias, however, we can see the language used as undesirable. The textbooks, for example, represent positive characteristics of certain Aboriginal practices in overwhelmingly specific and concrete ways. So in a section entitled “Aboriginal Spirituality” in a Cycle 2, Year 1 textbook, the text covers in detail death and funeral rights, how dreams were interpreted, and the use of “sacred objects” in concrete and observable language:

The first Aboriginal peoples used several sacred objects in their spiritual life, including the peace pipe, which was one of the most widely used sacred objects in the Aboriginal culture of North America. They thought that the smoke that was released from the pipe took their requests to the spirit world. (Fortin, Ladouceur, Larose, & Rose, 2009, p. 26)

What we can see in the text above, then, is language that is specific and observable. In contrast to negative broad representations of Aboriginal peoples as “warriors” seen earlier, positive representations of devotion, peacefulness, and overall spirituality are depicted in a specific isolated context.

In contrast, the “spirituality” of the in-group, Euro-Canadians, is treated in a more taken for granted manner. In fact, Christian objects and ceremonies are not discussed in detail, if they are at all. References to in-group religious values tend to be abstract and vague, such as Missionary efforts to save souls, making the religious beliefs of the in-group much more difficult to critically call into question. The same textbook as that quoted above, for example, fails to represent the Christianity of Missionary efforts in concrete language:

The missionaries then planned to populate the colony by bringing over French Catholics. In their opinion, a French society had to be established in North America to serve as a model for Aboriginal peoples. The missionaries believed they would thus be able to “civilize” them, which meant subjecting them to Christianity, French values, as well as to their sedentary way of life. And so the Church implemented several ways to realize their colonization. (Fortin et al., 2009, p. 70)

The specific practices of Christianity itself, however, are never perused. In fact, the meaning of Christianity is associated with “French values” and a “sedentary way of life.” Thus the student receives no real information about the religion and religious practices of Christians as he or she did for Aboriginal “spirituality,” such as specific details about the sacred objects, rituals, and beliefs of Christians themselves. Evangelization and proselytization, practices central to the Christian faith, are not discussed in relation to Christianity, presumably because of their negative association with colonization at this time. Instead, the text speaks of the missionaries’ (not Christians) aim to civilize (not convert) Aboriginals.

Likewise, the abstract and vague character of negative representations of Aboriginal peoples makes it difficult for students to critically think about those representations and ultimately assess the extent to which they are true or false. Consider the use of the term “spirit world” (Fortin et al., 2009, p. 26) when describing Aboriginal beliefs about the afterlife. Such a hard to define, virtually impossible to locate, and, thus, difficult to understand world for the Aboriginal dead stands in sharp contrast to the more concrete location of “heaven” used to describe the afterlife world of the dominant Christian in-group. “Every good Christian,” as one textbook describes it, “wanted to ensure his or her salvation, or, in other words, to be forgiven for sins and enter the Kingdom of Heaven.” (Lord & Leger, 2008, p. 196).

The rise and spread of Christianity itself is represented in concrete language as a positive event that succeeded despite all odds in one textbook:

The history of the Christian Church begins after Jesus's death, when the Apostles began preaching his message. In the early years, Christians were viewed as rebels and were persecuted mercilessly by the authorities. Nevertheless, their numbers continued to grow. Christianity soon became the leading religion in the West. (Laville, 2008, p. 191)

In the above text, the term "authorities" is not defined and thus the association between them and the in-group is impossible to make. In fact, the authorities, while actually from the in-group, are represented themselves as "others." Christians, the in-group, ultimately triumphed becoming the "leading" religion in the West. The abstract and vague language of "leading" instills a positive association with Christians who would come to form the bulk of early French settlers in Quebec. The Laville textbook goes on to provide a positive list of events to "confirm Christianity's importance between the first and ninth centuries" (Laville, 2008, p. 191). Among Christianity's laudable attributes is "Equality of the sexes" and positive socio-economic class relations:

In the early years, Christianity treated men and woman equally. Jesus and his apostles associated with slaves as well as with free men and women. However, the notion of equality upset the authorities of the Roman Empire. It was even one of the reasons why the Roman authorities persecuted the Christians. (Laville, 2008, p. 191)

No other context is given to the rise of Christianity, nor is any list providing negative information about the rise and spread of Christianity in this period. Moreover, we see again that the term "authorities" are represented again as others, leading to the representation of Christian concepts of equality as the behaviour of the desirable "in-group."

While the textbooks all contain material related to Aboriginal history during the time of the arrival of Europeans, the lack of content related to Aboriginal history and culture after the initial contact period should be a matter of concern to educators. Aboriginals seemingly cease to exist until they make a return in the twentieth century through a number of highly politically charged events. Given the Quebec Education Program's aim to have students understand questions about "the Amerindians and Inuit in Québec today" (MELS, 2007, p. 36), it is particularly important to examine how Aboriginal peoples in the contemporary era are represented.

Perhaps the most politically charged event in the Quebec context was the Oka Crisis of 1990. One textbook re-invokes images of Aboriginal peoples as "Warriors" from the onset of its text about the Oka Crisis, and, with very little context given to the rise of the crisis, quickly moves into a description of conflict resulting in the killing, by Aboriginal peoples, of a Quebec police officer:

The Kanasatake Mohawks, in the north of Montréal, demonstrated peacefully against the expansion of a golf course that was situated on part of a sacred territory they claimed. Confronted with the slowness of the procedures, and in order to draw the public's attention to the problem, activists who called themselves Warriors erected a barricade on the road that linked the reserve to the municipality of Oka. The police intervened to dismantle the barricade, but negotiations failed and shots were fired on both sides. A Sûreté du Québec officer's life was lost during the police intervention. (Fortin et al., 2009, p. 232)

Although the bulk of the Oka Crisis was marked by peaceful demonstrations, only one sentence alludes to that in the text above. In regards to fault for the escalation of violence in the conflict, none is given to the in-group (in this case, the non-Aboriginal Quebec population), despite

it being the police, representing the in-group, who first used weaponry through the use of tear gas and exploding flash bang grenades (Tugwell & Thompson, 1991). The vague way in which Aboriginal territory is portrayed as “sacred” is also notable in the passage above. It is unclear to the student why the land is sacred. The more specific description of it as a burial ground, or even as a cemetery, marked by standing tombstones, would have offered a completely different image of what it was exactly that Aboriginal peoples were defending. The text goes on to appropriate language used by Mohawks in the conflict by continuing to refer to them as “Warriors.” As such, all Mohawks involved in the incident are grouped as “Warriors,” thus cementing the representation of Aboriginal peoples in the Oka Crisis as violent. Indeed, the photograph used to illustrate the Oka Crisis to students is that of a Mohawk militant raising a rifle and standing atop a tipped-over police car (Figure 1). The caption under the photograph asks students to answer, “What elements in this photograph show that this is an image from the Oka Crisis?” (Fortin et al., 2009, p. 232)

Figure 1: Standoff at Oka. (Hanson, 1990)



Aboriginal peoples tend to be represented in language indicative of the undesirable out-group behaviours identified by linguistic intergroup bias, which help maintain a negative stereotype of Aboriginal peoples. The authors of Quebec textbooks, in other words, tend to focus on negative aspects of Aboriginal society and culture. When considering the socioeconomic reality of Aboriginal peoples in Quebec today, such as higher dropout rates, unemployment rates, and poverty in relation to non-Aboriginals (Horguelin et al., 2011; Fortin et al., 2009), the danger is that Quebec students can leave the classroom with little knowledge about how to contextualize that reality outside of negative stereotypes. Moreover, they can leave the classroom with little knowledge of Aboriginal peoples’ positive socio-economic contributions to Quebec throughout history, in areas such as land exploration, trade, arts and culture, which have contributed to the making of modern Quebec. In the end, and in line with linguistic intergroup bias, the Quebec History and Citizenship Education curriculum induces inferences and expectations in the student that are consistent with maintaining a desirable image of Euro-Canadians, while, on the other hand, maintaining undesirable stereotypes of Aboriginal peoples.

Conclusion and Future Research Possibilities

In 1979, as noted above, Vincent and Arcand (1979) demonstrated that stereotypes and negative representations of Aboriginals dominated Quebec textbooks. Their conclusions still apply today. While much effort has been made in recent years to increase the amount of content on Aboriginal history and culture in the Quebec curriculum and textbooks, the findings from this study suggest that such effort has also worked to increase the amount of exposure Quebec students have to linguistic intergroup bias. Based on the biased representations that we find in Quebec textbooks, the Quebec History and Citizenship Education curriculum ought to be rewritten with a concerted effort to eliminate linguistic intergroup bias. Comparisons Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal ways of life, for example, could be eliminated so as to immediately rid the curriculum of the binary “in-group” and “out-group” representations such comparisons establish. A more important and ultimate step, however, would be to weave Aboriginal history and culture with Euro-Canadian history and culture in a way that synthesizes a singular narrative devoid of any group representations, be they negative or positive.

More research, though, is needed in order to fully understand the ways in which Quebec students are exposed to representations of Aboriginal history and culture. Textbooks form only one aspect of the learning material used in schools, and, increasingly, other resources, such as films, documentaries, novels, newspapers, and internet media, are providing representations of Aboriginal history and culture. Are these resources also increasing exposure to undesirable representations, or are they balancing those representations provided by the textbooks? Should we be concerned or comforted by such additional exposure? Future research should examine the myriad of ways in which Quebec students are exposed to representations of Aboriginal peoples, including the ways in which teachers use them.

In all of our efforts, however, we should remain cognizant of not only the ways in which Aboriginal peoples are represented, but also of how such representations can form types and qualities of biases, prejudices, and racism in those exposed to them: namely, our school children. They will carry these biases, prejudices, and racism with them outside of the classroom and into their adult lives where they will be perpetuated. In the same light, we should remain cognizant of the biases, prejudices, and racism that we ourselves perpetuate in the making of curricula. Our fundamental aim must be to eradicate them.

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