

FOSTERING A PROVINCIAL IDENTITY: TWO ERAS IN ALBERTA SCHOOLING

Amy von Heyking

In this article, I analyse how schools in Alberta have defined the province's identity and its role in Confederation. During two eras, the 1930s and the 1980s, social studies curriculum and teaching resources contained assertions of provincial uniqueness. In the late 1930s, the progressive curriculum implemented in Alberta's schools represented the first time a strong provincial consciousness was evident. The resurgence of Western regionalism was reflected in reforms introduced in 1981. I note that schools have played a critical role in shaping a provincial, as well as national, identity.

Key words: citizenship, curriculum history, history, regionalism

Dans cet article, l'auteure analyse comment les écoles albertaines ont défini l'identité de la province et son rôle au sein de la Confédération. À deux époques, durant les années 1930 et les années 1980, les programmes de sciences humaines et les ressources pédagogiques complémentaires affirmaient le caractère unique de la province. En fait, on trouve dans le programme d'études novateur implanté à la fin des années 30 dans les écoles de l'Alberta le premier témoignage de l'affirmation d'une forte conscience provinciale. La résurgence du régionalisme de l'Ouest s'est reflétée dans des réformes annoncées en 1981. L'auteure note que les écoles jouent un rôle crucial dans la formation d'une identité à la fois provinciale et nationale.

Mots clés : citoyenneté, histoire des programmes scolaires, histoire, régionalisme

If nations are “imagined communities” (Anderson, 1991, p. 6), then schools can play a critical role in shaping and transmitting a nation’s common memories, or myths, to the young. Historian Daniel Francis (1997) describes these myths as, “the images and stories that seem to express the fundamental beliefs that Canadians hold about themselves” (p. 10). Historians have recognized the importance of public schools in assimilating generations of immigrant children to English-Canadian myths (Mazurek, 1999; Osborne, 2000; Prokop, 1989). For many ethnic minorities in Canada, citizenship classes in particular were exercises in “assimilation into the dominant culture which was defined largely in Anglo-Canadian terms, centering upon command of the English language, loyalty to Canada as a nation of British heritage, commitment to Canada’s British traditions, and pride in Canada’s membership in the British Empire” (Osborne, 2000, p. 14). Studies of immigrant children in rural Alberta in the early twentieth century characterize schools as the most important social institution in introducing children to the social and political values of English Canada, particularly Protestant and capitalistic ideologies (Mazurek, 1999; Prokop, 1989).

It seems reasonable, then, that schools and school content must have embodied a coherent and compelling definition of national identity. Yet historians such as Robert Stamp also suggest that schools across the country have failed to create a national consciousness. Indeed, some have pointed to the lack of a coherent national identity among Canadians throughout the twentieth century as proof that schools failed in the task of educating students for future citizenship (Bliss, 1991-2; Granatstein, 1998). In 1970, a study of textbooks used in English and French-Canadian classrooms, commissioned by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, reported that these teaching materials did not nurture a coherent sense of Canadian national identity (Trudel & Jain, 1970). The commission concluded that the texts reflected and deepened the “two solitudes” of English and French Canada by cultivating separate identities and loyalties. Over the years, several historians have blamed schools for the fact that Canadians cannot identify important people and events in their own history, are cynical about national unity, and are insufficiently loyal to the country (Bliss, 1991-2; Granatstein 1998; Stamp, 1977).

In this article, I have examined the messages about citizenship and identity embodied in school curriculum and in authorized textbooks. Specifically, it is a case study of how schools in Alberta defined the province's identity and its role in Confederation. I have focussed largely on the content of history, civics, and social studies courses, featuring history textbooks because history, as a school subject, seeks to define Canada's identity through its stories about the past. School history creates the context in which Canadians negotiate their ethnic, regional, and civic identities. History courses also provide the focus for this study because they were an important vehicle for citizenship education (Osborne, 1996; Tomkins, 1986). In Alberta after 1935, history instruction was subsumed by social studies, a course that integrated history with the social sciences. I have also examined selections in readers for younger students because the stories and poems in the required readers, often the only history content young children received, contained powerful literary myths that were important in educating their imaginations.

For the most part, I reviewed curriculum documents outlining the prescribed courses of study in history, civics, and social studies. Fifty-four textbooks or series of textbooks were examined, representing the required content of every elementary and secondary school course in Canadian history, civics, and social studies from 1905 to 1990 (see Appendix A). Following similar studies of curriculum documents and textbooks (Coman, 1996; Foster, 1999; Heathorn, 1995), Using content analysis, I considered the amount of coverage afforded a particular topic within a textbook, keeping in mind Coman's (1996) caution: "counting words says nothing about those words, within a crafted text, might mean to a reader" (p. 330). Ultimately only my close reading and analysis of the language of the documents and textbooks provided suitable and sufficient information from which to draw conclusions. Cautions regarding the contestable nature of discourse analysis are, however, acknowledged (Gilbert, 1989).

In this study, I analyzed the discourse of documents and teaching resources to determine the nature of the topics addressed and the extent to which they reflected elements of Western identity defined by scholars: resentment at the region's lack of a political voice in the federal government; its willingness to experiment with alternate political parties

or ways to influence governance; the literary images that have defined the province's identity (Cooper, 1984; Francis, 1989; Smith 1981). In terms of the school's emphasis on national or provincial identity, I have categorized the content of school history courses into four distinct patterns: pre-1930s; the progressive education period from about 1935 to 1945; 1945 through the 1970s; and the 1980s.

CURRICULUM AND TEACHING MATERIALS: PRE-1930

In 1905, Alberta adopted the existing Ontario school curriculum. In 1912, the curriculum underwent limited revisions but this did little to create a uniquely made-in-Alberta curriculum. High-school literature classes consisted entirely of British content. Like their peers in other provinces, the youngest children in Alberta used the *Alexandra Readers* for lessons in reading and history. Sheehan's (1979) analysis of these readers concludes that although they included stories from all over the world, "it was the British Empire which was progressive, central to all action, the most enlightened of all civilizations and the British people themselves brave, intelligent, moral" (p. 79). This 1912 curriculum revision required Canadian history in the junior grades and British and Canadian history in high school. In line with Sheehan's analysis, Tomkins (1986) concluded that in the early years of the Alberta's history, schools reflected an Anglocentric understanding of Canadian identity common in other parts of English-speaking Canada. (pp. 143-147).

In 1921, Albertans elected provincially the United Farmers of Alberta (U.F.A.). The U.F.A.'s emphasis on rural issues and its criticisms of traditional party politics and caucus secrecy appealed to many Albertans. In the midst of an unstable economic climate, schools of this era attempted to cope with sharp increases in enrollment and the expansion of vocational programs. A 1921 curriculum revision introduced new courses in manual training, domestic science, health, and physical training, and made some changes to existing academic courses. Formal history instruction was delayed until grade seven. Instead, young children took a citizenship course that emphasized historical stories about important figures in Canadian and British history. The high-school history courses continued to include classical, medieval, British, and Canadian history. Although the national calls

during these years for a uniquely Canadian perspective on citizenship had an impact on school content in Alberta, largely evident in the increase in Canadian content in the school readers, the curriculum and texts continued to emphasize the importance of the British connection for Canadian nationhood (von Heyking, 2006).

THE PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION ERA: 1935 - 1945

Alberta experienced severe economic, political, and social challenges in the 1930s. The collapse of the agricultural industry brought on by depression and drought affected all sectors of the province's economy. Per capita income fell from \$548 in 1928-9 to \$212 in 1933 (Palmer & Palmer, 1990, p. 244). Because less income meant less spending, employees in all sectors of the economy were thrown out of work. Farmers left the southern and eastern parts of the province and went to the cities hoping for work or at least better access to relief. The economic hardship resulted in class conflict and increased discrimination against ethnic groups who were seen to be taking job opportunities from "real" Albertans (Palmer & Palmer, 1990, pp. 247-52). Largely out of frustration with the ruling U.F.A. party's inability to deal with these challenges, Albertans in 1935 elected a Social Credit government led by school principal and radio evangelist, William Aberhart.

Politicians argued that Alberta students needed a school curriculum appropriate for life in the West. C. L. Gibbs, member of the Legislative Assembly and former teacher, said that he hoped a new curriculum would not look like "some little mouse, gray with Ontario dust and heavy with Ontario prejudice" (cited in Patterson & Card 1977, p. 92). Several years after its implementation, Andy Doucette (1948), a former school inspector and head of the Calgary branch of the University of Alberta, told an audience in Cayley, a small town south of Calgary, that the purpose of the progressive curriculum was to prepare Alberta children "for intelligent and effective living in our prairie society of warm summers, cold winters, infrequent Chinooks, high snow-drifts, wheat and cattle-raising, and group living on farms, in villages, towns, and cities" (n.p.).

Calls for a more practical curriculum suited to life in Alberta coincided with education officials' interest in progressive approaches to

education. These officials accepted that schools should do their share in solving social problems. They believed that only new progressive pedagogical approaches would equip future citizens with the problem-solving skills that society required. In 1935, the Department of Education, under the leadership of newly appointed Supervisor of Schools, Hubert C. Newland, introduced progressive education to the schools of Alberta. Accordingly, despite its obvious American origins in the ideas of John Dewey and specifically in William Kilpatrick's project method, the new elementary *Programme of Studies* (officially implemented in 1942) emphasized the unique local character of the new curriculum, a made-in-Alberta curriculum.

Although the programme of studies here presented may be called an activity programme, nevertheless it is in no sense one which is borrowed from another system or applied without regard to the nature of the environment in which it must operate. Rather it is a home-grown product carefully developed in the light of the needs, opportunities, and limiting conditions as they are to be found in and about Alberta children in Alberta schools. (Department of Education, 1942, pp. 22-3)

The elementary school curriculum was redesigned around the Enterprise approach. According to the *Programme of Studies for Elementary Schools* (1942), the enterprise was "a series of purposeful activities arising out of the pupils' needs and interests and revolving about one central theme" (p. 33). Out of the chosen theme, for example "Food," students would undertake activities that would lead to learning outcomes in the subject areas of social studies, science, health, language, and possibly several of the fine arts. The *Programme* defined social studies as those investigations "whose subject matter relates directly to the organization and development of human society and to man as a member of social groups" (p. 56). Because the function of all schooling, according to progressive educators, was to fit a child for social living, social studies was fundamental to the task of helping students understand the world in which they lived and who they were as citizens.

For secondary school students, those in grades seven through twelve, the progressive revision was implemented from 1935 to 1938 and replaced history courses with social studies.

The course in Social Studies ... will introduce to the pupils the problems of modern civilization in their historical and geographical setting. As its name implies, it is socially directed, dealing essentially with the "here" and "now," and subordinating the "there" and "then." It is in no sense an attempt to camouflage history, geography and civics. When the content of these formal subject categories sheds any light on the problems under study, it is then introduced. (Department of Education 1935, p. 28)

Because learning was understood as an active process, social studies abandoned traditional topics of instruction in favour of a series of problems, the investigation of which formed the basis of each course. For example, grade-seven students explored the problem of settlement in Canada, grade-eight students, the problem of Canada's membership in the British Empire. Grade-nine students, in addressing the problems of the World of Today, examined the impact of science and technology on modern life. Senior-high school students studied the economic and political problems of the ancient world as well as the twentieth century. It was expected that the student would, "relate his findings to present-day problems with a view to discovering how we may cope with these problems" (Department of Education 1939, p. 3).

This progressive curriculum with its aim to prepare students for social life represented the first real attempt of Alberta educators to create a curriculum that met provincial needs and embodied a provincial identity. They were proud of their boldness in introducing the progressive revision. They defended it as more appropriate for Alberta than the traditional curriculum inherited from Ontario (von Heyking, 1998). The Department of Education commissioned instructors at provincial Normal Schools and teachers to write the texts for the new junior-high school social studies program. Because this program was unique within Canada, existing textbooks from other provinces could not be authorized for use. William D. McDougall, with Gilbert Paterson, wrote the three texts used at this level: *Our Country and its People*, *Our Empire and its Neighbors*, and *The World of Today*. The content of the texts reflected the attempt of progressive educators to increase the relevance of the curriculum by addressing provincial concerns and stressing the province's, even the "West's," distinctive identity.

For example, Alberta's political grievances vis-à-vis Ottawa appeared in school texts. *Our Empire and its Neighbours* equated the position of Canada's prairie provinces with the agricultural south of the United States prior to the Civil War (McDougall & Paterson, 1937, p. 118). After a brief examination of Canada's industrial expansion, students were asked, "Would Canada be better off to-day if there had been no tariff barrier to trade between Canada and the United States during the last fifty years?" (p. 145). The conclusion of the book made Alberta's position very clear.

But the eastern manufacturer has persuaded the Canadian government to place heavy customs duties on all such goods coming into Canada from abroad, thus raising the price of foreign goods and leaving the western farmer no choice in the matter. Under such conditions it might be expected that the Canadian government would regulate to some extent the prices charged for necessary implements of production, for winter clothing and other essential goods, but unfortunately no such safeguards have been attempted....

This "economic imperialism" (as it is sometimes called) of the East over the West has caused a great deal of discontent throughout Alberta, but because the population of the province is small, it has not very many members in the Dominion Parliament, and the East continues to control the government. (pp. 236-7)

In the grade-seven social studies textbook, McDougall and Paterson asked students to debate the wisdom of giving so much Western farmland to the C.P.R., to discuss whether Montana might be a more natural trading partner for Alberta than Ontario, and to decide whether every farmer should belong to a cooperative buying and selling organization (McDougall & Paterson 1938a, pp. 142, 155). The wealth of the East was attributed to the growing number of consumers in Western Canada: "In the East, manufacturing increased apace, for the West offered a new and ever-extending market" (p.151). And although the text acknowledged the importance of Eastern Canadians in building and even financing the development of the prairies, students were asked to discuss, "In what ways has eastern Canada received a handsome reward for the money invested in the West?" (p. 153).

The textbooks of the 1930s also presented students with detailed explanations of cooperative organizations: their histories, their purposes and their benefits, particularly for Western farmers. In *Our Country and its People*, students were asked to “make a cartoon showing the unfortunate position of the farmer when he is selling and buying” (McDougall & Paterson 1938a, p. 115). The authors briefly outlined the history of cooperative organizations in Canada, such as the Grange, the farmers’ cooperative established in Eastern Canada in the 1870s, lamented its failure in the 1890s, and said that “the value of cooperation has to be learned slowly, and sometimes painfully, by most people” (p. 114). The lessons from this failure, however, provided the basis for the success of the Wheat Pool, the farmers’ “greatest and most successful achievement” (p. 115). *The World of Today* included the story of the Wheat Pool as well as a detailed explanation for the development of grain growers’ organizations in all three prairie provinces (McDougall & Paterson 1938b, pp. 80-8). McDougall and Paterson identified these cooperative efforts as unique Western examples of solutions to economic problems that might serve as lessons for others. After outlining the apparent failures of federal initiatives to deal with the worst effects of the Great Depression in Western Canada, they also described the rise of new political parties that might provide interesting alternatives: the Progressives, the C.C.F., and Social Credit (pp. 313-8).

The texts also stressed the important contribution of Alberta’s natural resources to the economy of the entire British Empire, however sometimes supported by false statistics. Alberta’s gas wells represented “the largest supply of gas within the British Empire” (McDougall & Paterson 1937, pp. 221-2). Other fuels were also important: “Alberta stands first among the provinces of Canada in coal area and production; indeed, approximately seventy-two per cent of the coal resources of the British Empire lie within the province” (McDougall & Paterson 1937, p. 217). It was, however, as a grain supplier that Alberta was particularly celebrated: “Alberta flour mills have reached a capacity far beyond the needs of the province, and most of the flour produced is exported.... And so it is that hard wheat grown on the sunny prairie-land of Alberta may finish up as a slice of toast (perhaps with New Zealand butter and Australian jam) on the breakfast table of an English family” (McDougall

& Paterson 1937, p. 232). At every opportunity, the texts stressed the unique contributions of Alberta and its resources to the Empire.

Historian R. Douglas Francis (1992) emphasizes the central role of imagery in the art and literature of the prairie region in the creation of a sense of regional identity (pp. 36-8). Because the readers used in Alberta classrooms in this period were published in Toronto and used across Canada, few of these images or myths were evident in literary selections. The Sixth reader in the *Highroads to Reading* series included some stories about Western Canada, including the "Chinook," a weather phenomenon well known to the people of southern Alberta. However, the story was described solely in terms of its impact on British Columbia (pp. 320-2). Only in a poem in this reader, "The Prairie School" did Alberta school children get glimmerings of the literary images of the prairies as a place of boundless space and endless opportunity:

The sweet west wind, the prairie school a
break in the yellow wheat,
The prairie trail that wanders by to the place
where the four winds meet –
A trail with never an end at all to the
children's eager feet.

The morning scents, the morning sun, a
morning sky so blue,
The distance melts to meet it till both are
lost to view
In a little line of glory where the new day
beckons through –

And out of the glow, the children: a whoop
and a calling gay,
A clink of lunch-pails swinging as they clash
in mimic fray,
A shout and a shouting echo from a world
as young as they! (p. 70).

Significantly, McDougall and Patterson attempted to incorporate literary images of the prairies in their social studies textbooks. In contrast to the common view of the Canadian landscape as a northern wilderness, they emphasized the boundless space of the prairies.

Beyond the Great Lakes a new land has opened out, differing in many ways from the valley of the St. Lawrence. An immense plain, flat, almost treeless, it stretches far as the eye can see, wide as any ocean. The sky is unbelievably clear, the air is keen with the freshness of wide open spaces. Beyond this seemingly limitless region there rises the barrier wall of the Rockies, pink at sunrise, blue at night. (McDougall & Paterson 1938a, p. 117)

The progressive curriculum revision of this period was significant because it represented the first time texts asserted a distinctively Alberta perspective of the country. In its interpretation of the development of Canada, in its presentation of Canada's contemporary economic issues, and even in some sense in its descriptions of the region's landscape, the curriculum presented students with an understanding of what it meant to be a Western Canadian and an Albertan.

CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTIONAL RESOURCES: 1945 – LATE 1970s

National images and priorities regained prominence with the Second World War. In 1946, the Department of Education provided optional and mandated units in Canadian geography, history, and citizenship. The social studies courses from grades seven to twelve were redrawn to put issues within a Canadian context or to clarify Canada's role in world issues. The textbooks used until the late 1970s emphasized the development of a unique national, as opposed to provincial, identity. For example, University of Toronto historian George Brown's (1942) text, *Building the Canadian Nation*, used in Alberta classrooms in the 1940s and 1950s, told students that

every province, every section, every community has its own history, deserving of careful and appreciative study. Nevertheless, the fact that Canada exists today is proof that there is a Canadian history which is greater than the sum of these

particular histories. It is with this deep conviction that this book has been written. (p. v)

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the Alberta social studies curriculum was dominated by historian Arthur Lower's interpretation of the evolution of Canada from colony to nation and his thesis that Canadians were shaped by the common experience in a northern wilderness (Chafe & Lower, 1948). By the 1960s, however, it was apparent that placing these texts in the schools was not sufficient to guarantee the creation of a coherent national identity among Canadian youth.

A. B. Hodgetts (1968) published his indictment of Canadian history teaching, *What Culture? What Heritage?* In it he concluded that "most Canadian studies, as currently prescribed and taught, do not ... encourage an understanding and appreciation of a great many aspects of our cultural heritage" (p. 75). His study and the work of T. H. B. Symons and the Commission on Canadian Studies (1975) resulted in the establishment of the Canada Studies Foundation and a determination on the part of educators to increase Canadian content in all provincial curricula. What happened in Alberta is an interesting illustration of how provincial identity redirected this attempt at nationalizing school content.

CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS: 1980s

In 1971 Albertans elected a new Progressive Conservative government. Under the leadership of Premier Peter Lougheed, the province battled the federal government under Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's Liberals on issues such as official bilingualism and freight rates, but particularly for control of increasing resource revenues. Under the terms of the federal equalization program, the province had become a "have" province in 1967. The Lougheed government's increase in the energy royalty rates and a sharp increase in world oil prices brought an enormous amount of money into the provincial treasury throughout the 1970s (Richards & Pratt, 1979). The province used the money to diversify the provincial economy and to invest in the Heritage Savings Trust Fund, established in 1974. The amount of money flowing into the province and some of the province's spending decisions, such as acquiring controlling interest in Pacific Western Airlines, raised the ire of

the federal Liberals. The National Energy Program introduced in 1980 was sold to residents of Central and Eastern Canada as a “made in Canada” energy policy that would secure the country’s energy self-sufficiency and ensure reasonable consumer energy prices. To Albertans it was widely unpopular; it was seen as an exploitive grab of Alberta’s constitutionally guaranteed resource revenues to solve the financial crisis the Liberals had themselves created (Bunner, 2003).

Historian John Herd Thompson (1998) describes this period as the nadir of Alberta’s relationship with Ottawa. Although the central Canadian media accused Albertans of pandering to American interests and enriching themselves at the expense of the country, Albertans responded by defining the interests of the “New West” within Confederation. Thompson points to the outpouring of scholarly material about the prairie region – its history, politics, and culture – as an indication of the strength of its regional identity (pp. 176-7). Indeed, he argues that “only in the last two decades of the twentieth century has this regional identity been honed to such anguished perfection that it co-exists, uneasily, with the nationalist aspirations of the nineteenth century” (p. ix).

In the late 1970s, a number of factors came together: tension between Alberta’s provincial government and Ottawa; a new sense of regional consciousness supported by scholarship; and a provincial government willing to use the power, money, and institutions at its disposal to nurture its vision of the “New West.” When these factors coincided with the celebration of Alberta’s seventy-fifth anniversary and federal financial support for new school resources, the result was a new social studies curriculum imbued with a strong sense of Alberta’s identity and its place within Canada.

In 1975 the federal government, under a plan called the Canadian Content Project, provided funds to education ministries to create classroom resources with significant Canadian content (Tomkins, 1986). In Alberta, several of these resources, really teaching kits, had already been produced when the provincial government announced the creation of the Alberta Heritage Learning Resources Project in November 1977. This project set aside \$8,387,000 from the Alberta Heritage Savings Trust Fund for the creation of classroom materials for teachers to support new

programs in social studies, language arts, and science (Alberta Education 1977-8, p. 24). These resources, created by local writers and educators under the supervision of the provincial Director of the Curriculum Branch,³ reflected the Canada Studies as defined by the Symons Report. This new provincially directed program subsumed the earlier national initiative and resulted in a plethora of resources for Alberta teachers.

Under the auspices of the Alberta Heritage Learning Resources Project, every school in the province received a wall-size relief model of the province and a teacher's manual with ideas for its use with students. With the Department of Geography at the University of Alberta, the Curriculum Branch produced a *Junior Atlas of Alberta* and accompanying Teacher's Guide intended for use with students in grades four to six. These resources gave students detailed information about Alberta's physical and human geography and provided them with an excellent opportunity to learn about their natural and human environment.

To answer the call for more Canadian content in schools, the new social studies curriculum was developed in the late 1970s and officially implemented in 1981 (Alberta Education, 1981). To support this program, the Curriculum Branch produced sixteen multi-media kits, called KanataKits, for use in grades one through twelve. Although this curriculum and the resources developed to support it contained ample Canadian content, many of the required topics asserted the province's uniqueness within Canada. For example, the new curriculum required Alberta students to examine old and new examples of the political subordination of the West. For example, grade-six, students considered to what extent governments should help people meet their needs and researched the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway (Alberta Education, 1981, p. 50). The authorized teaching resource outlined the positions of the two major federal political parties, the resistance of Native groups that culminated in the Northwest Rebellion of 1885, the use of Chinese labour, and the impact of the railway on settlement of this region (Alberta Heritage Learning Resources Project, 1980b). Students learned about the complexity of the issue and all the people it affected before determining just whose needs were served in this case. They then used the insights gained from this research to answer the required inquiry question: "What implications can be drawn for government

involvement in a contemporary issue (e.g., proposed northern pipeline) on the basis of historical precedents (e.g., building of the C.P.R.)” (Alberta Education, 1981, p. 51). Students were expected to clearly demonstrate sensitivity to the needs of that region and its people in reaching their conclusions, implying that little such sensitivity had been shown in the past.

In grade ten, students spent one-third of the social studies course studying the issue of Canadian unity to answer the question: “To what extent are the competing forces of provincial autonomy and federal centralization of power compatible with national unity?” (Alberta Education 1981, p. 76). Although teachers addressed Quebec separatism in the course, five of the seven regional issues were examples of conflict between the federal government and Westerners: the Riel Rebellions, health care coverage in Saskatchewan in the 1960s, the monetary policy of the Social Credit government of the 1930s, bilingualism, and resource control in the 1970s and 1980s. The 1870 Riel Rebellion, for example, was defined as an example of federal-provincial conflict in the West rather than a cultural conflict (Alberta Education, 1981, pp. 76-7). One of the required texts for the course provided an overview of both Riel uprisings and concluded:

In many respects, the Riel uprisings were early examples of “western alienation”, the feeling that the interests of westerners are often different from those of Ontario and Quebec. Since Central Canada holds so much political power, westerners often feel that the Canadian government neglects the West, and forces “Eastern” policies upon it.

A century later, these issues are still very much alive. What examples can you give from recent years that show this to be true? (Kirbyson, 1977, pp. 77-8)

The curriculum did not include only a litany of Western grievances against the federal government. In the spirit of the “New West,” children were also assured that Alberta was an integral part of Canada. The curriculum portrayed the West, not as a region onto which the federal government imposed its priorities, but as a region essential to the survival of the nation. Students spent the entire grade-four year examining the province’s resources, its history, and its ties to the rest of

Canada and the world (Alberta Education, 1981, pp. 34-5). The teaching resources provided guiding questions to help children consider their feelings about the province: "Are you proud to be associated with Alberta?" "What is the nicest thing about Alberta?" and "Where is the most beautiful place in Alberta?" (Dueck, 1979, p. 40). Considerable information about resources such as water, minerals, animals, and plants was provided. Inquiry projects directed students through the process of searching and drilling for oil, and then transporting and refining oil. Contemporary issues formed the basis of the unit as children were asked, "What does Alberta do with the oil and gas that she produces? Why is this important to Alberta? Do you think it's fair that the oil companies have to share some of their profits (the money they make) with the Alberta Government?" (Dueck, 1979, p. 237). The final third of the year involved examining the competing values of self-sufficiency and interdependence to answer the required social issue: "How should Alberta share its resources?" (Alberta Education, 1981, p. 38). The same issue was revisited in grade five within the context of a study of Canada's physical geography and industries. One of the final activities in the authorized teaching unit required students to decide how the money in the Alberta Heritage Savings Trust Fund should be spent. Students were asked, "Are *we* willing to share our money with the poorer regions of Canada?" (Wray, 1979, p. 123). Regardless of students' answers to the question, the consideration of these issues pointed out Alberta's unique position within Confederation.

Scholars have identified images of the West in prairie literature and art that have been central to the creation of the region as a "region of the mind" (Francis, 1989; Friesen 1999; Harrison, 1977; Stiles 1990). Few of these images were incorporated into school content until 1981, largely because little Western Canadian literature was included in the curriculum. In the 1980s, however, texts and supporting resources featured many samples of Western Canadian literature. For example, the Alberta history kit for grade four contained primary documents, reminiscences, and poetry that reflected familiar regional myths of endless space and unlimited rewards for those willing to work hard (Alberta Heritage Learning Resources Project, 1980a). These literary images or myths were also evident in another group of supporting

resources for social studies in grades four through six: the Alberta Heritage Books for Young Readers (Mitchner, 1979-1980). Of the nine books produced in this series, five recounted the history of the province. These books embodied images of Alberta that historians and literary scholars have identified as central to a Western Canadian regional identity. They celebrated the independent spirit of Westerners, their freedom from the social constraints of the old world, and the rewards for those who worked the land (Francis, 1989; Stiles, 1990). For example, the hard life of ranchers is described in a story in the reader, *From the Ground Up*. Although Gordie Herr, the featured rancher, recognized the uncertainty of the industry, he emphasized the importance of the freedom of his life saying, "I like the life that ranching offers my family. You are your own boss, nobody to answer to" (Chevraux, 1979, p. 25).

Agricultural innovators were celebrated for their contributions to the technological progress of the province and their ability to overcome the limitations of an often hostile environment (Stiles, 1990, p. 34). The *Pages of the Past* celebrates the achievements of hard-working and innovative Albertans such as Charles Noble, "the man who wouldn't quit" and eventually realized his dream of producing a plough blade that cut the roots of weeds but left stubble intact and thereby stopped wind erosion" (Bohnec, 1979, pp. 91-2). Although this particular book recognizes that Alberta had challenges ahead, such as resource conservation, it concluded with a powerful, and lengthy, evocation of what it meant to be an Albertan in the twentieth century. The myths of individualism and reward for hard work are prominent.

Alberta is a lone Indian on a horse at the top of a hill. It is a settler beating at a runaway prairie fire, or building a shanty of sod. It is a section-man laying track for a railroad. It is a teacher giving English lessons to children from countries far away. It is a farmer running a combine late at night, or a brave man capping a burning oil well.

Alberta is a land of promise that has been fulfilled – the promise of golden grain, of sweet-scented lumber, of sleek cattle, and oil and gas. It is a land of promise that gives according to the effort of each person.

Above all else, Alberta is people It is every Albertan who gave the sweat of his or her brow to make the promise come true. It is a tribute to people

who were, and who still are, brave enough to follow a dream. (Bohnec, 1979, p. 70)

The literary selections in these resources emphasize time and again the values of freedom, individualism, persistence, and initiative and their importance in the success of the province.

In 1979 the Alberta Heritage Learning Resources Project also created a set of twelve anthologies (ten in English, one in French, and one in Ukrainian) of Western Canadian literature for students in grades seven to twelve. This series, *Western Canadian Literature for Youth*, supported existing required materials for language arts and English courses that had Canadian, but not enough Western Canadian literary content (Ford, 1979). The anthologies included selections by writers such as Margaret Laurence, Sinclair Ross, Susan Musgrave, and Barry Broadfoot. Alberta writers were prominently featured: Edward McCourt, Rudy Wiebe, W. P. Kinsella, W. O. Mitchell, Sid Marty, Hugh Dempsey, Tony Cashman, and Grant MacEwan, along with numerous other Albertans whose letters and memoirs were drawn from newspapers and community histories.

The collection, *Panorama*, for example, celebrated the natural landscape of Western Canada. The note to students reminded them that the "great outdoors of Western Canada has given its people suffering and joy, poverty and riches, toil and relaxation. Always remember: it is *your* heritage. Love and preserve it!" (Ford, 1979a, p. 5). Selections described mountains and seascapes, but many were about the prairies, and the myths of endless space; honest labour figured prominently. A series of poems fostered an appreciation for the rural landscape of the southern part of the province: "A Young Farmer," "Prairie at Evening," "Field in the Wind," "Telephone Poles," "The Gopher," "The Prairies," "My Prairies," "Prairie Impression," "Prairie Season," "Haying Time, 1953," "Prairie Gold," and "Harvest Time."

These anthologies were dominated by selections that celebrated Western Canadian images of space, rural life, boundless opportunities, tolerance, and hard work. Students reading them were left with little doubt about the legacy they received from those who preceded them on the land and the responsibility they inherited. Sara Carsley's poem,

"Pioneers of the West," included in the anthology *Road to Yesterday* (Ford, 1979b), made these challenges very clear:

League after league, they saw the empty plain,
The sad-eyed oxen at the plough, its trace
Scarce visible on the prairie's giant face,
The sod-built hovel, cowering in the rain.
With searing loneliness, toil, hunger, pain,
Our fathers fashioned in this desert place
A glorious heritage for all their race,
A golden empire, robed in golden grain.

We will remember, valiant Pioneers.
Freely you gave us; freely will we give
To troubled men, the burdened, the
oppressed,
Rich gifts of comfort, peace, and sunlit years,
That happiness may bloom and freedom live
In this dear land wherein your ashes
rest. (p. 165)

In the 1980s, political, social, and ideological factors came together in Alberta to create a school curriculum and teaching resources that embodied very powerful messages about the province's role in the country, about its identity.

CONCLUSION

Historians have emphasized the importance of regional identities in the political culture and historical development of English Canada. For example, David Bercuson (1980) warned that, certainly in the case of Western Canada, the process of assimilation should not be confused with Canadian nationalization. He suggested that given the strength of the unique regional identity of the West, we should examine more closely the complex process of assimilation and seek to determine to what extent institutions could nurture different, even competing, loyalties (pp. 121-6). Political scientist Barry Cooper (1984) asserted that for Western

Canadians, Canada is a kind of administrative body rather than a source of pride or identity. He insisted that “regional identity is at the heart of Western political consciousness” (p. 213). But despite thirty years of research into Canada’s regional identities, the role of schools in defining and transmitting myths and images central to these local identities has not been addressed.

In this study, I have examined how schools in Alberta defined the province’s identity and its role in Confederation. I have analyzed the content of history, civics, and social studies courses to conclude that in two eras of Alberta’s curriculum history, curriculum and teaching resources asserted the province’s uniqueness. Political scientists identified distinctive elements of prairie political culture: resentment at central Canada’s control of government policies, and, experimentation with a variety of ways to influence government (Smith, 1981). These elements were addressed in the social studies program and school textbooks of the progressive period, about 1935 to 1945. They represented the first time a strong provincial consciousness was embedded in school curriculum. Again in the 1980s, the political and economic issues that defined the province’s identity were embodied in school curriculum and teaching resources. So too were the literary images that dominated this identity: wide open spaces, the independent spirit of Albertans, freedom from constraints of an old world, the opportunities and rewards for those willing to work hard. Clearly, Alberta’s provincial identity has been forged over decades through the experience of its people but also through public institutions such as schools.

NOTES

¹ Following Apple (1991, 2004), I recognize that curriculum and the textbooks produced to support programs are not the product of a public consensus about what it means to be Canadian or Albertan. School content, represented in curricula and textbooks, is “official” knowledge and therefore the reflection of dominant values of privileged groups. It is socially constructed and imposed on children for a specific purpose: to inculcate them to specific values and to a specific vision of their country and region. The extent to which teachers and children interpret, negotiate, and perhaps even undermine those official

messages is beyond the scope of this paper, a continuing methodological challenge to the curriculum historian.

² Kliebard (1995) has well documented in an American context the variety of educational reforms and ideas that historians describe as progressive. His distinction between the various strands of progressive ideologies and reforms – social efficiency, social meliorist, developmentalist – is useful for understanding the impetus behind reforms to Canadian schools, school systems, and school programs. For example, social efficiency progressives in British Columbia were instrumental in reorganizing school divisions and imposing large-scale assessment in the name of progressivism in the 1920s. In Ontario, the progressive emphasis on child-centred education appealed to education officials influenced by pastoral pedagogy (Cavanagh, 2001). In Alberta, progressive education was largely associated with social meliorists such as Chief Superintendent of Schools, Hubert C. Newland, and child developmentalists such as Donald Dickie, Normal School instructor and author (Coulter, 2005). As a result, curriculum and pedagogical reforms were the focus of their attentions. Although they, like other Alberta educators, emphasized that the new progressive curriculum was designed in Alberta for Alberta's children, it obviously drew heavily on the experience and ideas of American educators. Many Alberta progressives did graduate with degrees from American universities such as Columbia and Stanford with leading researchers and writers in the progressive movement. There were close ties among Canadian and American progressive educators through organizations such as the Progressive Education Association. Although virtually every Canadian province implemented progressive curriculum reforms in the name of increased relevance for children, only Alberta's program embodied specific messages about the province's regional uniqueness and only its classroom resources reinterpreted the nation's history to reflect the province's political and economic grievances (see Patterson 1986a, 1986b).

³ Osborne (1996) provides an excellent analysis of the Canada Studies Foundation and its commitment to education about Canada's "limited identities." (pp. 50-51).

REFERENCES

- Alberta Education. (1977-78). *Annual report*. Edmonton: Alberta Education.
- Alberta Education. (1981). *1981 Alberta social studies curriculum*. Edmonton: Curriculum Branch, Alberta Education.

- Alberta Heritage Learning Resources Project. (1979). *Canadian families: Do we know each other?* Edmonton: Curriculum Branch, Alberta Education.
- Alberta Heritage Learning Resources Project. (1980a). *Alberta's people: How should we adjust to change?* Edmonton: Curriculum Branch, Alberta Education.
- Alberta Heritage Learning Resources Project. (1980b). *Canada's railroads: Whose needs are served?* Edmonton: Curriculum Branch, Alberta Education.
- Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (rev. ed). London, UK: Verso.
- Apple, M. (2004). *Ideology and curriculum* (3rd ed). New York: RoutledgeFalmer.
- Apple, M. (Ed). (1991). *The politics of the textbook*. New York: Routledge.
- Bercuson, D. (1980). Regionalism and the 'unlimited identity' in western Canada. *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 15(2), 121-126.
- Bliss, M. (1991-2). Privatizing the mind: The sundering of Canadian history, the sundering of Canada. *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 26(4), 5-17.
- Bohnec, R. (1979). *Pages from the past*. Edmonton: Alberta Education.
- Brown, G. W. (1942). *Building the Canadian nation*. Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons Limited.
- Bunner, P. (Ed.). (2003). *Alberta in the twentieth century: Vol. 11. Lougheed and the war with Ottawa, 1971-1984*. Edmonton: United Western Communications.
- Cavanagh, S. (2001). The pedagogy of the pastor: The formation of the social studies curriculum in Ontario. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 26(4), 401-17.
- Chafe, J. W., & Lower, A. R. M. (1948). *Canada – A nation and how it came to be*. Toronto: Longman, Green & Co.
- Chevraux, S. (1979). *From the ground up*. Edmonton: Alberta Education.
- Coman, P. (1996). Reading about the enemy: School textbooks representation of Germany's role in the war with Britain during the period from April 1940 to May 1941. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 17(3), 327-340.
- Cooper, B. (1984). Western political consciousness. In S. Brooks (Ed.), *Political thought in Canada* (pp. 213-38). Toronto: Irwin Publishing.

- Coulter, R. P. (2005). Getting things done: Donalda J. Dickie and leadership through practice. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 28(4), 669-699.
- Department of Education. (1935). *Programme of studies for the intermediate school*. Edmonton: The Author.
- Department of Education. (1939). *Programme of studies for the high school, Bulletin III*. Edmonton: The Author.
- Department of Education. (1942). *Programme of studies for the elementary schools*. Edmonton: The Author.
- Doucette, A. L. (1948). In defense of newer education. Box 2: Public Addresses, Doucette Papers, University of Calgary Archives.
- Dueck, K. (1979). *How should Albertans use their natural resources?* Social studies teaching unit project. Edmonton: Alberta Education.
- Ford, T. M. (1979). *Western Canadian literature for youth*. 12 volumes. Edmonton: Alberta Education.
- Ford, T. M. (Ed). (1979a). *Panorama*. Edmonton: Alberta Education.
- Ford, T. M. (1979b). *Road to yesterday*. Edmonton: Alberta Education.
- Foster, S. J. (1999). The struggle for American identity: Treatment of ethnic groups in United States history textbooks. *History of Education*, 28(3), 251-278.
- Francis, D. (1997). *National dreams: Myth, memory and Canadian history*. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press.
- Francis, R. D. (1989). *Images of the west*. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books.
- Francis, R. D. (1992). In search of a prairie myth: A survey of the intellectual and cultural historiography of prairie Canada. In G. Melnyk (Ed.), *Riel to reform: A history of protest in western Canada* (pp. 20-42). Saskatoon, SK: Fifth House Publishers.
- Friesen, G. (1999). *The West*. Toronto: Penguin Books.
- Gilbert, R. (1989). Text analysis and ideology critique of curriculum content. In S. de Castell, A. Luke, & C. Luke (Eds.), *Language, authority, and criticism: Readings on the school textbook* (pp. 61-73). London, UK: Falmer Press.
- Granatstein, J. L. (1998). *Who killed Canadian history?* Toronto: Harper Collins.

- Harrison, D. (1977). *Unnamed country: The struggle for a Canadian prairie fiction*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press.
- Heathorn, S. (1995). "Let us remember that we, too, are English": Constructions of citizenship and national identity in English elementary school reading books, 1880-1914. *Victorian Studies*, 38(3), 395-427.
- Highroads to reading, Book VI*. (1932). Toronto: W.J. Gage & Co., Limited.
- Hodgetts, A. B. (1968). *What culture? What heritage? A study of civic education in Canada*. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.
- Kirbyson, R. (1977). *In search of Canada*. Vol. II. Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall Canada Ltd.
- Kliebard, H. M. (1995). *The struggle for the American curriculum, 1893-1958* (2nd ed). New York: Routledge.
- Mazurek, K. (1999). Passing fancies: Educational changes in Alberta. In T. W. Harrison & J. L. Kachur (Eds.), *Contested classrooms* (pp. 3-20). Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press and the Parkland Institute.
- McDougall, W. D. & Paterson, G. (1937). *Our empire and its neighbours*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press.
- McDougall, W. D. & Paterson, G. (1938a). *Our country and its people*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press.
- McDougall, W. D. & Paterson, G. (1938b). *The world of today*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press.
- Mitchner, E. A. (Ed). (1979-1980). *Alberta heritage books for young readers*. 9 volumes. Edmonton: Alberta Education.
- Osborne, K. (1996). Education is the best national insurance: Citizenship education in Canadian schools, past and present. *Canadian and International Education*, 25(2), 31-58.
- Osborne, K. (2000). Public schooling and citizenship education in Canada. *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 32(1), 8-37.
- Palmer, H., & Palmer, T. (1990). *Alberta: A new history*. Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers Ltd.
- Patterson, R. S. (1986a). The Canadian response to progressive education. In N. Kach, K. Mazurek, R. S. Patterson, & I. Defaveri (Eds.), *Essays on*

- Canadian education*, (pp. 61-77). Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises Limited.
- Patterson, R. S. (1986b). The implementation of progressive education in Canada, 1930 to 1945. In N. Kach, R. S. Patterson, I. Defaveri, & K. Masurek (Eds.), *Essays on Canadian education*, (pp. 79-96). Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises Limited.
- Patterson, R. S., & Card, B. Y. (1977). A Socio-historical view of changing social values in western Canada with special reference to education. In R. A. Carlton, L. A. Colley, & N. J. MacKinnon (Eds.), *Education, change and society: A sociology of Canadian education* (pp. 89-104). Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing Limited.
- Prokop, M. (1989). Canadianization of immigrant children. *Alberta History*, 37(2), 1-10.
- Richards, J., & Pratt, L. (1979). *Prairie capitalism: Power and influence in the NewWest*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart.
- Sheehan, N. (1979). Character training and the cultural heritage: An historical comparison of Canadian elementary readers. In G. Tomkins (Ed.), *The curriculum in Canada in historical perspective* (pp. 77-84). Vancouver: Canadian Society for the Study of Education, University of British Columbia.
- Smith, D. E. (1981). Political culture in the West. In D. J. Bercuson & P. A. Buckner (Eds.), *Eastern and western perspectives* (pp. 169-82). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Stamp, R. (1977). Canadian education and the national identity. In A. Chaiton & N. McDonald (Eds.), *Canadian schools and the Canadian identity* (pp. 29-37). Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing.
- Stiles, J. A. (1990). Descended from heroes: The frontier myth in rural Alberta. *Alberta*, 20(20), 27-46.
- Symons, T. H. B. (1975). *To know ourselves: The report of the commission on Canadian studies*. Ottawa: Association of Universities and Colleges.
- Thompson, J. H. (1998). *Forging the prairie west*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Tomkins, G. (1986). *A common countenance: Stability and change in the Canadian curriculum..* Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc.

- Trudel, M., & Jain, G. (1970). *Canadian history textbooks: A comparative study*. Studies of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 5. Ottawa: Queen's Printer.
- von Heyking, A. (2006). *Creating citizens: History and identity in Alberta's schools, 1905 to 1980*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press.
- von Heyking, A. (1998). Selling progressive education to Albertans, 1935 to 1953. *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation*, 10 (1&2), 67-84.
- Wray, R. (1979). *Should Canada's regions share their natural resources?* Social studies teaching unit project. Edmonton: Alberta Education.

Appendix A**Textbooks and Teaching Resources Reviewed****Before 1930s**

- The Canadian readers.* (1922). 5 volumes. Toronto: W.J. Gage & Co., Ltd.
- Clement, W. H. P. (1898). *The history of the dominion of Canada.* Toronto: The Copp, Clark Company, Limited.
- Duncan, D. M. (1913). *The story of the Canadian people.* Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada, Limited.
- Grant, W. L. (1923). *History of Canada* (new and revised edition). London: William Heinemann.
- Jenkins, R. S. (1912). *Canadian civics* (Alberta edition). Toronto: The Copp Clark Company, Limited.
- McCaig, J. (1927). *Studies in citizenship.* Toronto: The Educational Book Co., Limited.
- McIntyre, W. A., Dearness, J., & Saul, J.C. (1908). *Alexandra readers.* 5 volumes. Toronto: Morang Educational Company Ltd.
- Wallace, W. S. *A new history of Great Britain and Canada.* Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada, 1925.

Progressive Curriculum (1935 to 1945)

- Highroads to reading.* (1932). 7 volumes. Toronto: W.J. Gage & Co., Limited.
- McDougall, W. D., & Paterson, G. (1938). *Our country and its people.* Toronto: The Ryerson Press.
- McDougall, W. D., & Paterson, G. (1937). *Our empire and its neighbours.* Toronto: The Ryerson Press.
- McDougall, W. D., & Paterson, G. (1938). *The world of today.* Toronto: The Ryerson Press.
- Schapiro, J. S., Morris, R. B. & Soward, F.H. (1938). *Civilisation in Europe and the world.* Toronto: The Copp, Clark Company Limited.
- Scott, F. R. (1938). *Canada today.* London: Oxford University Press.

Seary, V. P., & Paterson, G. (1934). *The story of civilization*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press.

1945 to 1970s

Baker, L. D. & Brown, J. M. (1961). *Civics and citizenship: A sourcebook for schools* (Alberta edition). Regina, SK: School Aids and Text Book Publishing Company Ltd.

Brown, G. W. (1942). *Building the Canadian nation*. Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons Limited.

Brown, G. W., Harmon, E., & Jeanneret, M. (1950). *The story of Canada*. Toronto: The Copp Clark Publishing Co. Limited.

Chafe, J. W. & Lower, A. R. M. (1948). *Canada – A nation and how it came to be*. Toronto: Longman, Green & Co.

Cornell, P., Hamelin, J, Ouellet, F. & Trudel, M. (1967). *Canada: Unity in diversity*. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada Limited.

Dickie, D. *The great adventure*. (1950). Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons Limited.

Hardy, W. G. (1964). *Our heritage from the past*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited Publishers.

Herstein, H. H., Hughes, L. J. & Kirbyson, R. C. (1970). *Challenge and survival: The history of Canada*. Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall of Canada.

Lawrence, B., & McInnis, E. (1955). *Canada in the modern world*. Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons (Canada) Limited.

McDougall, W. D. (1952). *The commonwealth of nations*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press.

McDougall, W. D. (1946). *Our provincial government*. Edmonton: Department of Education.

McDougall, W. D., & Finn, T. G. (1955). *Canada in the western world*. Toronto: W.J. Gage and Company Limited.

Moir, J. S. ,& Farr, D. M. L. (1969). *The Canadian experience*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press.

Moore, E. (1968-1973). *People and places in Canada series*. 10 vols. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada.

- Taylor, G., Seivereight, D. J., & Lloyd, T. (1958). *Canada and her neighbours* (rev. ed.). Toronto: Ginn and Company.
- Tomkins, D. M. (1966). *Discovering our land*. Toronto: W.J. Gage Limited.
- Wiley, W., Hacker, C., & Thomas, G. (1970). *Canada: This land of ours*. Toronto: Ginn and Company.
- Willows, D. C., & Richmond, S. (1970). *Canada, colony to centennial*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Co. of Canada.

1980s

- Alberta Education & University of Alberta Dept. of Geography. (1979). *Junior atlas of Alberta: Our place on earth and how we live*. Edmonton: Curriculum Branch, Alberta Education.
- Alberta Heritage Learning Resources Project. (1980a). *Alberta's people: How should we adjust to change?* Edmonton: Curriculum Branch, Alberta Education.
- Alberta Heritage Learning Resources Project. (1980b). *Canada: A meeting of cultures?* Edmonton: Curriculum Branch, Alberta Education.
- Alberta Heritage Learning Resources Project. (1980c). *Canada's railroads: Whose needs are served?* Edmonton: Curriculum Branch, Alberta Education.
- Alberta Heritage Learning Resources Project. (1979a). *Canadian communities: The same or different?* Edmonton: Curriculum Branch, Alberta Education.
- Alberta Heritage Learning Resources Project. (1979b). *Canadian families: Do we know each other?* Edmonton: Curriculum Branch, Alberta Education.
- Alberta Heritage Learning Resources Project. (1980d). *Provincial resources: How should they be shared?* Edmonton: Curriculum Branch, Alberta Education.
- Alberta Heritage Learning Resources Project. (1979c). *Three Alberta communities: What can we learn?* Edmonton: Curriculum Branch, Alberta Education.
- Baldwin, D., & Odynak, E. (1985). *Canada's political heritage: Conflict and change*. Edmonton: Weigl Educational Publishers.
- Buchignani, N., and Engel, J. (1984). *Cultures in Canada: Strength in diversity*. Edmonton: Weigl Publishers Ltd.

- Campbell, A., & Fretts, D. (1985). *Canada in the world: Choosing a role*. Edmonton: Weigl Educational Publishers.
- Coull, A. B. (1980). *Albertans all: Teacher's guide*. Edmonton: Alberta Education.
- Dueck, K. (1979). *How should Albertans use their natural resources?* Social studies teaching unit project. Edmonton: Alberta Education.
- Ford, T. M. (1979). *Western Canadian literature for youth*. 12 volumes. Edmonton: Alberta Education.
- Kirbyson, R. (1977). *In search of Canada*. Vol. II. Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd.
- McDevitt, D. J., Scully, A.L., & Smith, C.F. (1979). *Canada today*. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall.
- Mitchner, E. A. (Ed). (1979-1980). *Alberta heritage books for young readers*. 9 volumes. Edmonton: Alberta Education.
- Mulligan, V. B. (1984). *Teacher guide for cultures in Canada*. Edmonton: Weigl Publishers Ltd.
- Odynak, E. S. (1984). *Canadian families*. Edmonton: Weigl Educational Publishers.
- Schemenauer, E. (1988). *Special Canadian communities*. Edmonton: Weigl Educational Publishers.
- Wray, R. (1979). *Should Canada's regions share their natural resources?* Social studies teaching unit project. Edmonton: Alberta Education.