

Imperialism and Education: A History of the Colonial Rule in India and Canada

DANIEL MOREAU¹

Assistant professor, University of Sherbrooke (Canada)

This paper addresses the question of school-community relation through a historical analysis of the colonial past of India and Canada. Following a critical pedagogy perspective, this analysis shed light on the power relation shaped throughout history, between Western political elites and Aboriginal populations. It shows that both countries share a common historical pattern ascribed to the implementation of the colonial rule, which contributed to the emergence of caste-like minorities. In Canada, interventions in education were the expression of imperialist policies that took place by the beginning of the French regime in the seventeenth century and extended by the British government. Economic impetus in the ninetieth century hasten the institutionalization of caste-like amongst Aboriginals, since the control of resource and territory was made easier through the creation of “Indian reserves” and the educative work of Christian missionaries.

The history of a society should always be understood as a psychology of a society as the psychology of a society is akin to its history. As Collingwood (1946) wrote, “all history is history of thought” (p.317), meaning that the functioning of a society through time is rooted in something this historian calls the “activity of human reason”. Human reason underlies all historical facts from the formal laws and institutions of a society to the mundane utterances and interactions of daily life. In this respect, the analysis of school-community relations in India provided by Chaudhary (2019) is an overview of human reason in the context of British colonial rule. They raise important questions about the motives of these relations and they invite us to question similar experiences such as those in Canada. Do school-community relations in India and Canada share common features through colonial history and if so what would be the reasons for these commonalities? Moreover, is it possible to identify a historical pattern? Finally, how do we conceive the relationship between school and community through time and for what purpose?

These questions will be addressed over the next few pages. Each of them will be treated separately in order to draw up some facts revealing a historical pattern set up by colonial authorities, expressing a part of human reason and activity. This pattern highlights some common features between Indian and Canadian colonies, but also a different historical experience of schooling with the Aboriginal communities of Canada. First, I will define the colonial rule through the lens of imperialism in education to explain the way it nurtured caste-like minorities in British colonies. Second, I will draft a historical picture of the school-community relationship in India and in Canada to reveal this process that created enduring

¹ You can reach the author at daniel.moreau@usherbrooke.ca

inequalities and social gaps under the colonial rule. Finally, I will tackle some sociopsychological theories to gain more insight into the school-community relationship, especially amongst Aboriginal communities.

IMPERIALISM AND EDUCATION

India and Canada share a common British colonial past from which they have emancipated during the twentieth century. Even if the context of this emancipation is different in each case, and at some point might be too complex to explain here, it is worth noticing that both countries have experienced many forms of racial discrimination caused by their school systems, endorsed by colonial or pro-colonial governments. It is important here to distinguish educational systems and governments. The former broadly describes the structures, curriculum and professional personnel hired to educate the people of a country according to learnings defined by the latter (Legendre, 1993). Culture and ideology shape the provision of education and expresses issues of power relations (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery and Taubman, 1995). We continue along the lines of critical curriculum movement that is avowedly Marxist, initiated by Apple (1979) or Giroux (1981), conceiving education as “relational” to analyze “the connections between our educational institutions and differential cultural, political, and economic power”. (Beyer and Apple, 1998, p.5). Education is then the expression of a “symbolic violence” based on the arbitrariness of a power of a group belonging to a specific race or class to impose its meanings while hiding the power relations beneath (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1970).

According to Ogbu (1991), this power relation must be distinguished between voluntary minorities and involuntary minorities. The former describes populations such as migrants who choose to live in a society while being aware of their minority status. Their academic performance is quite good even though this observation may vary across countries. Involuntary minorities are composed of indigenous populations such as Aboriginals and African-American people who are the target of symbolic violence through intercultural encounters. Forced to live under a cultural order, their fate may be different if they are autonomous minorities or caste-like minorities. The former “are primarily minorities in a numerical sense” (Ogbu, 1987, p.258) like religious groups such as the Mormons, enjoying a position similar to that of a majority in the social structure of a given society. In this respect, they “may be victims of prejudice but not stratification.” (Ogbu, 1987, p.258) Caste-like minorities are those incorporated in a society on an ongoing basis against their will through slavery, conquest and colonization. Aboriginals of India and North America can fall in this category because they are subordinate groups in a stratification system outside the dominant social class structure (Ogbu, 1978). According to Bourque (2004), it would also be the case for the Aboriginal population of Canada. These minorities developed over time an oppositional identity to the mainstream culture of the “white” society involving attitudes, behaviours, and speech styles branded by the latter. Oppositional identity is a harbinger of lower academic performance, which is an epiphenomenon of the opposition to the dominant culture, the social class system and its schooling system (Ogbu, 1978). This system lends upward social mobility to the “white” society but is not a realistic option for caste-like minorities left out of the adult opportunity structure (Ogbu & Simons, 1998). In other words,

logical linkages between schooling, academic achievement and job opportunities are at best weak, if not simply missing.

The purpose of this paper is to question Indian and Canadian colonial experiences in order to shed light on the emergence of caste-like minorities and their relationship to schooling. Both phenomena are culturally interwoven. They emerged through important historical events that strongly affected the social life of these minorities, and had enduring consequences for their future. In both India and Canada, these events share the common concept of British imperialism depicting the process by which the British took over the Aboriginal population through the implementation of a colonial rule. The description provided by Chaudhary (2019) is congruent in this respect and shows how this gradually sanctioned “the social superiority of an English-speaking individual”. Imperialist ideology is broadly defined as a “habit of mind, a dominant idea in the era of European world supremacy which had widespread intellectual, cultural and technical expressions.” (MacKenzie, 1988, p.ix) However, this concept is hard to pin down due to its close connections with other concepts such as capitalism, domination, power or racism (Johnson, 2003). In addition to this, the very meaning of this concept is changing through time and societies according to values and attitudes. This is the reason why James Mill harshly considers the “‘crimes’ of India’s conquerors”, for instance (Hutchins, 1967, p.4) and, on the other hand, the Earl of Carnarvon envisions “an imperialism which bound together ‘a great English-speaking community’ and delivered ‘wise laws, good government, and a well ordered finance... a system where the humblest may enjoy freedom from oppression and wrong equally with the greatest; where the light of religion and morality can penetrate into the darkest dwelling places” (quoted by Johnson, 2003, p.3). In this respect, I will define imperialism as a belief in the superiority of European culture strongly held by the British elite who endeavored to implement and expand a system of exploitation by the use of force for the purpose of the political and economic metropolitan’s interests.

For the purpose of this paper, we will say that this colonial rule consisted of two executive bodies that sequentially contributed in time to strongly shaping the colonial era in India and in Canada: the Company rule, firstly, and state-building, secondly. If the former had occasional, if not vicarious, implications in schooling, the latter executive body involved the State resources to gradually intervene in education, working hand in hand with missionaries to educate industrious and obedient citizens. We recognize the aftermath of the American Revolution in 1783 as the starting point of this executive body, along with a greater economic integration and the creation of the Colonial Office in 1801 (Johnson, 2003). In this respect, missionary education spread throughout British colonies not only for Aboriginal people but also for colonial populations (May, Kaur and Prochner, 2014). Educational practices aimed to “civilize” children the same way they were developed in Great Britain to train working-class children, both conceived as primitives living in “jungles” of their own. The objective was to educate younger children by creating an ordered and industrious educational environment regarded as appropriate, and above all, secluded from their home environment. Discontinuation with the latter could preserve them of the values and hopes shared by their parents and their disorganized cultural milieu to promote European values and customs.

This is the reason why missionary schools cheerfully fostered orphans, parted of family and community ties (May, Kaur and Prochner, 2014).

THE COLONIAL RULE IN INDIA

Chaudary (2019) provides a fairly accurate description of the Company and legal rules, highlighting the two stages of imperialism. Company rule lasted in India nearly one and a half centuries, from 1717 to 1858. Under the auspice of the *East India Company*, the British took advantage of political tensions by following a policy of divide and rule, which consisted of intervening in political structures to break concentration of power and prevent groups from linking up (Bowen, 2008). Concretely, this policy was gradually applied from the signature of duty-free trade permits in Bengal in 1717 until the Battle of Plassey of 1757 during the Seven Years' War. This battle, won by Great Britain against France, allowed for the former to have a foothold in India for the first time, with the acquisition of the territory of the French-allied Nawab of Bengal (Siraj Ud Daulah) and the appointment of Robert Clive – the general who won this battle – as Governor of Bengal (Rickard, 2000).

To make a long story short, we can assert that this basic scam has been used systematically throughout the following decades. Tensions and conflicts between various tribes, religious groups and princely states will serve as a stepping stone to take over India. During this time period, it is important to have in mind the British came to India in search of profit and they did not despise its various cultures and institutions: “They knew from personal experience that traditional Indian society and political institutions were viable, and in many respects admirable, and did not pretend that their military conquests had produced anything more than the ascendancy of a particular dynasty.” (Hutchins, 1967, p.3) We have to wait until after the suppression of the uprising of 1857, driven by soldiers of the *East India Company* against the company's rule to see a change of government, which gave rise to legal rule. To prevent rebellions of such size, the British Crown withdrew the Company's privileges and directly took over the Indian territories, from now on administered as provinces, by establishing a colonial government that lasted from 1858 to 1947. This political entity gradually called British Raj of the Indian Empire was made up of various areas either governed by direct administration of the British Crown or by tutelage of princely states. As such, this is a period of state building, characterized by an intensification of legislative activity, the development of institutions and massive construction of infrastructures. For instance, a Penal Code inspired by English law is adopted. Concomitantly, acculturation is promoted by the presence of missionary schools, which can be understood as an expression of an imperialist ideology that permeated throughout the territories ruled by Great Britain (May, Kaur and Prochner, 2014). In this respect, Thomas Babington Macaulay, who sat at the Supreme Council of India between 1834 and 1838, introduced the foundations of an imperialist perspective on schooling. He spurred the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, to promote Western culture in secondary education and impose the use of English as the language of instruction. Institutions of education are then supported by the East India Company and teaching is done in either Sanskrit or Persian. Pleading for ‘useful learning’ in his *Minute on Indian Education* in 1835, Macaulay wrote in the eighteenth paragraph:

"I can by no means admit that, when a nation of high intellectual attainments undertakes to superintend the education of a nation comparatively ignorant, the learners are absolutely to prescribe the course which is to be taken by the teachers. It is not necessary however to say anything on this subject. For it is proved by unanswerable evidence, that we are not at present securing the co-operation of the natives. It would be bad enough to consult their intellectual taste at the expense of their intellectual health. But we are consulting neither. We are withholding from them the learning which is palatable to them. We are forcing on them the mock learning which they nauseate." (Macaulay, 1835)

Chaudhary (2019) describes the social and educational consequences of this guiding premise once implemented. Most importantly is the reappointment of religion in education from a Christian perspective, with the disseminating of missionary schools as vehicles of moral education. The purpose of missionary schools is that "English Protestantism might keep Indians passive, just as it induced contentment in the English lower orders." (Hutchins, 1967, p.13). The second consequence is the dual inequality that came along during colonial and post-colonial India, "between the occident and orient, and within India between the educated and others" (Chaudhary, 2019). Much like when the English used India to satisfy the metropolis' interest at the expense of the Indian society, so a part of the Indian élite "took advantage of British ethnocentricity – the use of English language as the medium of instruction – and used their influence gradually to advance their own position within government and society in the period after 1857" (Mangan, 1990, p.11; May, Kaur and Prochner, 2014). In a context of a caste society, which is depicted by Lévi-Strauss (1962) as endogamous, this situation gives a good example of the "calcul sauvage" consisting of the élite shifting away from the British ruler without necessarily committing with the rest of the population. Thus, post-independence India "had become two nations, irreconcilably divided: a privileged minority with uninterrupted access to English and the majority with access mostly to the regional languages." (Mangan, 1990, p.11) Caste-like minorities are then developed through segregation and ensured by a schooling system hindering social mobility. The same phenomenon can be found in Canada, where two colonial powers struggled to take over the continent. Our description will be longer, though, due to the complexity of the events and process involved.

THE COLONIAL RULE IN CANADA

From a Canadian point of view, it is interesting to see how Canada displayed the two executive bodies of the colonial rule previously explained. The Company rule can be retraced with the beginning of the French regime that can be roughly identified around 1600 with the establishment of a fur trading post at Tadoussac. For the same purpose, Québec City, Trois-Rivières and Ville-Marie (Montréal) were established in 1608, 1634 and 1642, respectively, deeper on the mainland along the St-Lawrence River. In 1627, the *Compagnie des Cent-Associés* received the monopoly of fur trade in America by Louis XIII but in turn was redeemed to develop a French colony. The St-Lawrence Iroquoians² gradually came to these

² It is the native people of the north east America, occupying a vast territory spreading roughly from Lake Ontario to Québec city.

trading posts to barter furs for various European items such as mirrors, knives, cauldrons, etc. Meanwhile, the English were doing the same with the Haudenosaunee, a Confederation of five nations consisting of the Seneca, Cayuga, Oneida, Onondaga and Mohawks³. This was a branch of the Iroquoians located at the northern part of New York State. From the 1640s onward, the First Nation people's wars began to wreak havoc unabated for the stake of fur trade and eventually gave advantage to the five nations of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy allied to the English. War was over in 1701 by the ratification of the Great Peace of Montréal under the auspice of the French governor Callière, but, along with the consequences of viral diseases, it caused harsh losses for all the Aboriginal populations (Lacoursière, Provencher & Vaugeois, 2000). The French allies, the Wendats of the Great lakes, were scattered in three parts from the mid seventeenth century on. Many were made prisoners by the Iroquois of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy and ended up either married or tortured to death. Another group went west and became Wyandots. The last one, who had the first glimpse of imperialism, converted to Catholic religion, and chose to leave the Great lakes in hope of a better life in New France, along the borders of the St-Lawrence River.

The development of colonial administration and the efforts of Catholic orders to convert Aboriginal people during the French regime had a deep cultural impact by setting forth the "father metaphor" which is the ground of European imperialisms (Cook, 2008). This metaphor was introduced by the political title of "Oenontio", that was originally given to the first French governor (Charles Jacques Huault de Montmagny in office from 1636 to 1648⁴), to describe a hierarchical relationship between the Aboriginal leaders – especially amongst Iroquois and Algonquian tribes – and colonial authorities. As Cook (2008) explains: "The alliance of fathers and children was destined for a long life. In the eighteenth century this far-flung French-Native alliance network became the keystone of French imperial policy in North America" (p.497-498). The rise of the French fatherhood from the midst of the seventeenth century can be attributed to various causes such as the increase of French settlements and a common understanding of paternity with the Algonquians, either as a form of authority or providence (White, 1991). This cultural congruence strengthened a political alliance of economic necessity against the Haudenosaunee for the control of the Great Lakes fur trade. In addition to this, French governors varyingly insisted to be called "Father" of the subjects of New France, the same way the French King they represent is called "Oenontio Goa", meaning the "greatest mountain". Count Frontenac, who ruled the colony from 1672 to 1682 and from 1689 through 1698, was particularly committed to this father metaphor: "Count Frontenac addressed the Iroquois as children and required them to call him father, intending thereby to establish them as subjects owing him obedience. Since he was rigid on this point, they went along with the terms in order to be able to negotiate with him" (Jennings, Fenton, Druke and Miller, 1985, p.119-120).

Catholic orders also contributed to promoting the father metaphor through evangelization and implementation of missionary schools in New France. In this respect, it is worth noticing that unlike the native people of India, those of Canada aroused durable interest, if not

³ We could also add that the French were symmetrically doing the same in India by appointment of the Compagnie des Indes orientales, at Pondichéry from 1673 to the end of Seven Years' War.

⁴ This word means "great mountain" in Mohawk in literal translation of "Montmagny".

curiosity, in France. Catholic evangelization began with the arrival of the Recollets in 1615 and was supported by the Jesuits from 1625 onward, who became the most influential religious order in New France (Lacoursière, Provencher & Vaugeois, 2000). The Ursulines, a female Catholic order, settled in 1639 for the purpose of educating young girls, either Aboriginal or French. The overall aim of these missionaries was to convert the Iroquoians to Catholic religion by establishing missionary schools providing French and Catholic instruction with the settlers' children. Some institutions of education from this period have lasted until today, such as l'École des Ursulines or the Collège des Jésuites, even if a few have changed their names through time (the latter is now known as the Collège Saint-Charles Garnier). However, these institutions obtained mixed results. In fact, these schools mostly educated French settlers, and yet it was not easy to keep them in the colony. As missionaries used to say, "it is easier to make a French an Aboriginal than the other way round" (Mathieu & Lacoursière, 1991, loose translation).

Nonetheless, the Jesuits achieved some success towards the Wendats using a pedagogy that was partly Socratic, partly ritualistic. The Socratic counterpart of this instruction was inspired by European humanism, using dialogue as a means to raise questions in search of truth: "Their task was not only to convert the Huron to the Christian faith, but to convince people of why they should. Discussions with the populace, as well as village shamans, had a large role to play in this." (Hill, 2005, p.92) The ritualistic counterpart was made of ceremonies and pious exercises compliant with the Jesuits' *Ratio Studiorum* defining pedagogical principles to follow for nurturing the spiritual life of pupils. If evangelization had not been as successful as hoped, it seems to have been more effective than the overall protestant missions for pedagogical reasons (Hill, 2005). Instruction provided by the latter was too closely rooted in the "Word" of the Bible, "that is, pure discussion and reasoning, while the Catholic missionaries depended more on ritual, a more tangible form of religion than simply words." (Hill, 2005, p.93)

This colonial experience has been a fertile ground for British imperialism at the end of the Seven Years' War, a war that could actually be considered as the real "first world war" by its scale and its scope. It ended with the capitulation of Québec and Montréal under British siege in 1759 and 1760 respectively (Eccles, 2006). As soon as the hostilities began, the British officials tried to ensure neutrality amongst Aboriginal nations and, after the fall of Québec, September 13, "military commanders were in a strong position to negotiate" (Peace, 2011, p.284). These negotiations had been held under the auspice of the Indian Department established in 1755 and were directed by Sir William Johnson. The well-conducted treaty-making process led promptly to the signature of four agreements, namely the Treaty of Oswegatchie (1760), the Murray Treaty (1760), the Treaty of Kahnawake (1760) and the Royal Proclamation (1763). The latter followed the Treaty of Paris, also ratified in 1763, by which France ceded New France to Britain. Overall, the purpose of these treaties was to avoid military confrontation and to minimize the impact of the conquest. For instance, the Wendats of Jeune-Lorette "still had access to the same resources and territory, the Jesuits continued to have a presence in the village, and the Indian Department maintained many elements that defined the French/Huron-Wendat relationship." (Peace, 2011, p.318). Gradually, however, the presence and influence of the Jesuits declined due to prohibition of recruitment, and by

the 1790s, “it was no longer a Jesuit mission.” (Peace, 2011, p.318) From the 1760s to the 1800s, Wendats were “united by their language, culture and place” (p.318), even though they still followed Catholic traditions.

The enactment of the Royal Proclamation in 1763 by George III set forth the basis of administration and territorial organization, which established the “Province of Quebec” (limited to the borders of the St-Lawrence River) and withdrew the privileges of Catholic missions. Most importantly, this Proclamation (also called the *Indian Magna Carta* or the *Indian Bill of Rights*, which is still present in the section 25 of the Constitution Act of Canada of 1982) set the framework of negotiation with the Aboriginal nations and the attribution of the large geographic area at the West of the Appalachian Mountains (thereafter called *Indian Reserve*). At first glance, the *Indian Magna Carta* seems to protect Native societies by granting them sovereignty and rights on their lands. Furthermore, even if people were allowed to circulate on these for trade purposes, it banned any settlement. At a second glance, however, this Act expresses a policy of imperialism through the recognition of a fiduciary duty of protection by the British crown toward Aboriginal people, in order to prevent more dissensions with American settlers eager to expand in the West (Francis, Jones and Smith, 2009). By taking side with Aboriginal nations about territorial issues, the British aroused the wrath of the Thirteen colonies, which was one of the main causes of the American Revolution (Lacoursière, Provencher & Vaugeois, 2000). Until 1783, maintaining a good relationship with Native people was an issue of great importance, to avoid them to join the insurrectional movement. In this respect, the Indian Department played a comparable role as the Jesuits during the French regime, in order to “change the position of Aboriginal people from one of alliance to subjecthood.” (Peace, 2011, p.343-344) Native nations saw themselves as allies in a context of turmoil, but the British treated them as subjects to be granted with protection, diplomatic advocacy (between nations) and gifts that eroded their autonomy. In addition to this, interactions proceeded under the auspice of Indian Department and not directly with the Governor in order to institutionalize imperialistic policy: “British/Huron-Wendat interactions during the 1760s and early 1770s demonstrate how the new colonial power maintained many of the imperial relationships from the French regime. The Indian Department reinforced many French practices and minimized the transition to British administration.” (Peace, 2011, p.348)

School-community relations and education were broadly for the purpose of imperial relationships. At the Great Awakening of the Thirteen colonies, Eleazar Wheelock, a Congregational minister and educator founded Dartmouth College in New Hampshire to evangelize and educate young Aboriginals, aimed to nurture students who would work as “Protestant intermediaries” in their own communities, especially where the Jesuits were active. Success was mitigated, though. We know that by 1800, only five Aboriginal students had graduated from the American college system, even if fifty of them did enroll. Some cases, such as Sawantanan (Peace, 2011), are documented and show how education became a transmission belt in the dissemination of knowledge about British administration amongst Aboriginal nations. Sawantanan returned to Jeune-Lorette in 1791 as a school teacher, knowing how “to manipulate the British system through European-style petitioning of the crown and its Canadian agents” (Peace, 2011, p.30). Building upon the legacy of the Jesuits,

he contributed to the significant raise in literacy rates and developed a “local culture of European-based education” before their French neighbours (Peace, 2011). Surprisingly, research indicates that circa 1790s, the literacy rate was actually higher for Jeune-Lorette and overall St. Lawrence Aboriginal than it was for the French Canadians (Verrette, 2002). The end of the French regime had left the school system in decay in the Province of Quebec since the Catholic communities lost their privileges and could not recruit in France.

Thus, Sawantanan helped his peers solve recurring problems – territorial claims, for instance, and access to higher education at the Petit Séminaire de Québec – with colonial administration, by submitting formal petition. Of course, the communication skills acquired by the Aboriginal elite became bothersome as the American Revolution was looming and the British officials were aware of communications with the Revolutionary Army. Sawantanan, for instance fought for the latter and had been sent to Canada by Wheelock to advocate for the American cause after the failed invasion of the Province of Quebec in 1775 by Montgomery and Arnold (Peace, 2011). Nonetheless, his statement in favor of the American Revolution, even if his tribe did not support the uprising, did not create division or harsh feelings when he took office as a teacher afterwards. After all, the struggle between the British and the Revolutionary Army served the interest of Aboriginals, who used their knowledge of British administration for their own purposes, well. This situation left British officials puzzled, according to the governor Frederick Haldimand who wrote bitterly to John Johnson at the head of the Indian Department in 1783: “these People consider Themselves, and in fact are, free and independent, unacquainted with Control and Subordination, their Passions and Conduct are alone to be governed by Persuasion and Address. [sic.]” (Haldimand, 1783 in Peace, 2011, p.357) Urging for massive budget cutbacks in the Indian Department, this governor expressed a concern for subjugation of Aboriginals, Aboriginals who “in fact” lived freely according to their culture and their rules, but on lands they did not own anymore.

The nineteenth century witnessed the deterioration of freedom and independence amongst Aboriginal people, as they faced territorial losses and cultural assimilation in addition to demographic decline. These are consequences of imperial state-building in conjunction with the conquest of a rich and vast territory, competing with Americans’ claims over western territories underlaid by their doctrine of “manifest destiny” (Francis, Jones and Smith, 2009). Like British “infant schools” providing education for those between two and seven years old, residential schools had been set across Canada in order to create respectful subjects and faithful Christians obedient to the colonizers’ rule (May, Kaur and Prochner, 2014). This jungle analogy gave rise to a fledging educational movement across Canada, dissimilar to the previous one based on the father analogy. The Aboriginals were no longer children of the crown, but instead primitives at a lower scale of an evolutionary ladder, as caste-like minorities. The fiduciary duty of protection of the British crown gradually encompassed the education of Aboriginal people, which would be left to Anglican, Methodist and Catholic missions from the 1830s onward, and then be assumed by Canadian government from the 1880s to the end of the twentieth century with the closure of the last residential school in 1996 (Miller, 2012). The number of Aboriginal children, whether First Nation, Inuit or Métis, who attended residential school is estimated to be around 150 000.

Differently from India, the purpose of Canadian missionary schools was not the creation of Aboriginal elite to act as intermediary agents between the British ruler and the ruled. Instead, missionaries significantly contributed both as educators and priests in Aboriginal communities to aggressively provoke a breakup with their own cultural heritage and way of living along with a transformation of their environment and the promotion of Christianity and, overall, a European culture. The example of Reverend William Case from 1826 onward shows how education was used to convert the Mississauga of Quinte Bay and develop a Mississauga Christian clergy who would establish schools in surrounding areas and disseminate education in Ojibwa language (May, Kaur and Prochner, 2014). Meanwhile, British officials were about to conclude an agreement after years of pressure put upon the Aboriginals for the selling of important territories, which had a lasting impact on community tradition and family life. In this respect, the premise of Case turned out to be right, “Christianization and Westernization [are] integral parts of a same process” (French, 1985). Furthermore, Aboriginals were set apart from the political issues and debates occurring in the fledgling colonial government. Canada had a House of Assembly since 1791 and was separated into Upper and Lower Canada before 1840. Both colonies went through rebellions from 1837 to 1839, twenty years before India. However, the reasons of uprising were different in Canada, where nationalistic and political issues were at stake between two social groups struggling for their own sake. At the House of Assembly of Lower Canada, the Tory Party (or British Party) represented the minority of English speaking members and the *Parti Canadien* represented the French-speaking majority. Tensions exacerbated as representational and subsidy issues raised and lead to armed confrontation. Throughout these tragic events, neither Aboriginal nations were politically represented, nor was their fate truly echoed in debates. They were also not significant players that colonial administration had to worry about in order to prevent any armed engagement, such as during the American Revolution.

The establishment of Canada in 1867 by the British North America Act enacted by the British Parliament gave a new impetus to imperialistic policies, as the country expanded in the West in particular. The purpose of these policies was, in short, to create a genuine westernized society by the establishment of provinces and the opening of arable lands for European settlers (Lacoursière, Provencher & Vaugeois, 2000). The very presence of Aboriginal people became a problem since land distribution and railroad construction needed significant public grants and private investments and could not be impeded by nomadic populations or the recognition of hunting territories. The Canadian government, led by John A. Macdonald, engaged in an “aggressive assimilation” policy with the Indian Act of 1876, which not only legalized previous assimilation practices aiming to eradicate First Nation culture (Inuit and Métis were not covered by this Act) but also institutionalized discrimination under legal statements (Henderson, 2006). Perhaps the most important factor is the official recognition of land ownership by the British crown, meaning that lands do not have to be purchased anymore from First Nations. Property matters are of federal jurisdiction and have to be regulated under the authority of the Department of Indian Affairs, its official agent, namely the Superintendent. The second statement is the recognition of an Indian status and First Nation heritage. This status gives the right to First Nations to conserve their culture and way

of living on a reserve that cannot be sold or modified without the approval of the Superintendent. Furthermore, political structures and decisions adopted by First Nation government had to be approved by the Superintendent (Henderson, 2006). This Act institutionalized segregation across Canada in denying citizen's rights to First Nations. Consistent with the fiduciary rule, the federal government recognized its educational duty toward them by establishing conditions of "emancipation" toward Canadian citizenship (Government of Canada, 1876).

Education is understood in terms of nurturing "good moral character" through the acquisition or westernized moral values and skills. In practice, however, it essentially meant to "kill the Indian in the child" as Jack Layton a former leader of a political party of Canada said once (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015, p.577)... Residential schools were conceived as a transmission belt of civil and professional integration that spanned across the country. Most of the provinces of Canada – where education is of provincial jurisdiction – had residential schools, except New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island where "the government assumed that Indigenous people there were sufficiently acculturated." (Miller, 2012). At its height in 1931, the residential school system comprised 80 schools across the country. From the 1880s to the late 1950s, children lived all year long in school and were not allowed to leave for holidays or, occasionally, to speak in their native language. The daily schedule centered on classroom activities in the morning and vocational training in the afternoon. However, it is not clear whether the latter effectively provided the skills needed for professional integration since funding was a constant concern: "From the 1890s until the 1950s, the government tried constantly to shift the burden of the schools onto the churches and onto the students, whose labour was a financial contribution." (Miller, 2012).

For the most part, by the 1940s the residential school system turned out not only to be ineffective in providing education and training, but it left bad memories above all. Many children were separated from parents and siblings, in addition to being segregated from their own culture. Class were overcrowded, curricula were deficient, educational treatments were often harsh and education was taught in a language, either in English or in French, that many did not speak. Cases of malnutrition, physical abuse and even sexual abuse have been declared, which exposed children to diseases such tuberculosis and influenza (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015). Overall, it is estimated that about 3200 children died in the residential schools of Canada between the 1880s and the late 1950s.

COMPARISONS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

This historical outlook sheds light on colonial schooling experiences in India and Canada to identify a common historical pattern based on the Company rule lasting until the uprising of 1858 in India and the Seven Years' War in Canada, concluded by the Treaty of Paris in 1763. This executive body allowed British to take a foothold on both territories building political and commercial relations with Aboriginal people. The French did the same in New France upon the Iroquoians of the St. Lawrence valley. In both cases, this executive body enabled Europeans to put forth cultural referents setting the bedrock of Western education and globalization overall. In Canada, the "father metaphor" was the touchstone of religious

relations at first, which set the path of diplomatic and political relations afterwards. The British built upon this metaphor to define the fiduciary duty of the crown toward Aboriginal people and thus establish guidelines of state-building in Canada. Canadian territorial and economic expansion was made possible, at least partially, through the educational work of missionaries who promoted Westernized values. Meanwhile, this process created a caste-like minority that has been institutionalized by the Indian Act of 1876 and the Department of Indian Affairs as its bureaucratic corollary. In this respect, it is possible that the development of caste-like minorities in Canada has been more harmful than in India.

But human beings can change and they do through the transformation of their thought. This is the very meaning of freedom that is “power to solve its own problems for itself by its own methods.” (Collingwood, 1946, p.318). Considering social problems differently makes a future eventually discarded of the previous mistakes possible. In this respect, the relationship between school and community is conceived as a “method” to both know and take action against these problems. The remarkable diversity of Aboriginal culture and forms of government – which perhaps I have overlooked in this historical account – could be a helpful source of human reason. This diversity is outlined in the case of India, where “the immense ecological, social and economic diversity, makes any generalization about the Indian system of education an arduous, if not impossible task.” (Chaudhary, 2019). Education is rooted in a long and rich tradition spanning through five millennia until now, characterized by different forms of schools like the *gurukul* and educational influences, Islamic for instance, during the middle ages. This tradition can give guidance and meaning for solutions to present problems. It is no surprise that Indian culture and tradition of education were recognized by the British in 1891, and are still useful to fathom school-community relationships through time. In this respect, solutions suggested by Chaudhary (2019) to overcome the fragmentation of Indian society through a caste system and regional disparities express the interrelation of culture and education.

School-community relationships might be somewhat harder to envision for the Aboriginal population of Canada. On one hand, a Canadian population of European origin is broadly aware that Aboriginal culture exists but neither easily recognize the diversity of this culture nor the related tradition of education. Closing residential schools solely ended a policy of “aggressive assimilation” based on racism and exclusion. This, by no means, ensures recognition and social acceptance of educational values and practices of Aboriginals. Between these two sides, probability that Canadians conceive Aboriginal education as no more than something missing, lacking – or abstract at best – increase. On the other hand, the government of Canada is no longer dictating criteria for “emancipation” upon Aboriginals and officially recognize their culture, but does that mean that emancipatory education is left out? At the moment of writing this, Canadian PM Justin Trudeau is asking that the Pope Francisco apologizes for child abuse in residential schools. The latter would be ready to do so and it certainly would help both federal and provincial governments develop a new collaboration with Aboriginal nations. Furthermore, provincial governments throughout the country work the established collaboration with communities to provide health and educational services. Thus, the seeds of collaboration are sown, but there might still be a long way to go before having fruitful relations between schools and Aboriginal communities.

Basically, even if there are no residential schools anymore, school curriculum and materials – if not teaching certificates – are still imposed upon these communities by provincial governments. Then, how do we conceive the relationship between the school and the community based on the interrelation of Aboriginal culture and education?

More than ever, the emancipatory principle should lead any theoretical discussions about school-community relationships in Aboriginal territories, since emancipatory education aims for transformation of the world and the formation of human subjects by the practice of dialogue (Freire, 1970). Through dialogue, human subjects raise issues about their living condition in order to both critically develop a conscious understanding of the world and power relationships on which it is based. Emancipatory education contributes to humanization and conscientization of communities through a problem-posing pedagogy through which they “learn to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality” (Freire, 1970, p.17). In this respect, Aboriginal communities are facing enduring social problems, and disengagement toward schooling is noticeable through absenteeism, truancy, and withdrawal of school life, which has consequences on their living, especially their health (Davison & Hawe, 2012). For instance, teen suicide rates are three times the Canadian average (Aldridge & St-John, 1991). Also, school dropout rates are about 65.8% (Larose, Bourque, Terrisse & Kurtness, 2001) yet this emancipatory statement needs more than good intentions or financial means to build schools or hire teachers in Aboriginal communities. It requires self-determination to use culture as the critical means of education and social transformation. In this respect, schools are integral parts of communities and their culture: they are mirrors of shared values, knowledge and social relations. Before governments, schools were searching for collaborations with the community they belonged to in order to dynamically develop relations amongst actors (principals, school staff, parents, students, etc.) and thus contribute to the vitality of the whole community (Bordage & Clavel; Daniel-Lacome & Raynal, 2005). Conversely, “community schools connect students to resources and relationships that can help solve problems and open doors to opportunity” (Shah & Blank, 2004, p .35)

From that point, the development of relations between school and community rests upon theoretical considerations. Two models are selected on the grounds of their wide dissemination. Both define different loci of action and research variables. The Epstein’s partnership model describes overlapping spheres of influence between school, family and community, which are the stakeholders of the children’s education. Even if they have different responsibilities, these agents can combine their efforts in a sequential relationship to sustain child development. In this respect, this relationship is made of shared interests influencing values, actions, beliefs, attitudes and policies toward schooling (Epstein, Sanders, Simon, Salinas, Jansorn, & Van Voorhis, 2002). Mutual interests and influences expressing closer relationships between the spheres are influenced by two key factors such as the age of children and the time they spend in schools, and their educational experiences in the family and in school. For instance, the closer the family educational activities are associated with schools, the degree of mutual interests increases. For research purposes, this model is looking for common characteristics and educational practices of families and schools to explain closer relationships depicting “school-like families” and “family-like schools”. This

model aims for interpersonal relationships both within (such as between parents and teachers) and between organizations to take action for child development.

However, is this model appropriate to analyze and take action for a closer relationship between school and community in Aboriginal communities? It is not certain that Aboriginal values, beliefs, attitudes and educational practices amongst families are that homologous to those underlying school's practices and curriculum actually implemented. Contrary to some perception, Aboriginals are not resistant to Westernized schooling and even seem to have effective commitment toward their schools, which are places of socialization opening doors outside the Indian reserve (Gauthier, 2005). However, some evidence shows that they could have a holistic understanding of knowledge and be refractory to an analytical stance (Backes, 1993) generally promoted by curriculum, even if this claim would be questionable (Gauthier, 2005). Also, families and schools provide far-flung learning opportunities that do not converge. This point is essential: "it seems to have a 'sense of family deficit' competing with the 'sense of school deficit' as a learning place for Aboriginal teenagers" (loose translation, Gauthier, 2005, p.281). In other words, it looks as though Aboriginal culture based by family structures decline as school learnings increase, which seems to be strange relationship... Can the Epstein's partnership model – as efficient as it can be – solve this deficit issue in an emancipatory way?

The ecosystemic perspective promoted by Small and Supple (2001), for example, provides answers to this shortage on community concerns and family learnings. This perspective recognizes the community as a process and the locus of social relations and development. In this respect, family is one amongst a spectrum of social relations along which children learn a social capital made up of shared norms, values, common goals, knowledge, and a sense community belonging. The concept of community refers not only to a place of residence, but is also characterized by a state of being, defined by common attitudes and behaviours (Keyes & Gregg, 2001). According to these authors, community development is expressed through these factors and span across five steps ranging from a waiting stage to renewing. Community development and children learnings increase as interactions between microsystem (families and schools for example), mesosystem (community centers and other places where children can have an active role) and macrosystem (such as enterprises and political instances) get stronger and healthier. The sense of community belonging and collective efficiency set up the environmental context of child development. Gauthier (2005) observed this bond of trust toward the school amongst Betsiamites teenagers: "We think that a feature that distinguish them is their strong commitment toward this institution and their hopes for the future despite their concerns. Many have the sense of duty and want to contribute to the emancipation of the community. In these circumstances, this is no small feat!" (p.281)

As emancipation means setting hopes for education to overcome social issues, collaboration is the definition of educational objectives based on the expectations of the community. The purpose of schools toward the latter is to bear a society project ensuring cohesion and belonging through the transmission of values and knowledge triggering the participation and moral commitment of all members (Dandurand, 1996). In this respect, an ecosystemic

perspective can help leaders, who must nourish a clear sense of a community's purpose that is pivotal for the definition of school's contribution to the continuation of a common culture despite social upheavals (Willie, 2000). As Sergiovanni (1994) wrote, "we become connected for reason of commitment rather than compliance" (p.58), which raises some catalytic questions about the very meaning of this commitment. Of course, there are social and academic issues in Aboriginal communities, but should we develop school-community relationships simply to raise academic scores, feed children or build meaningful relations? Further, what are these meaningful relations inside the boundaries of the community and how do they differ and reconcile with these of the larger society? This question relies on the distinction between *Gemeinschaft* (or the "community") and *Gesellschaft* (or the formal "society" as a social contract) originally drawn by Ferdinand Tönnies (1887/1957) and used by Sergiovanni (1994) to conceive the relations between school and community. Even if he demonstrates that both extremes are not appropriate to design a model for school community, it appears suited to account for the situation of Aboriginal communities which are tied to governments precisely by a "contract" that is the Indian Bill of Rights of 1763... From this perspective, Aboriginal communities could express a case of pure *Gemeinschaft*, whereas they were historically left out of the Canadian society until "emancipation", meaning the quitting of Aboriginal community, tradition and culture.

Including Aboriginal communities inside Canadian society might be a more complex endeavor than expected, but it is necessary to overcome the imperialistic legacy. On another hand, it offers an inspiring challenge for both educators and researchers as it raises significant questions underlying the school-community relationship, such as the meaning of schooling, learning and knowing. In this respect, Chaudhary (2019) suggests interesting alternatives to schooling but not necessarily suited for Canada, since Aboriginal education is based on oral tradition without writing and bound to the land with which they had a strong affective commitment. We have to find answers to following questions that are crucial. What counts as genuine and significant educational practices for Aboriginals? Moreover, what counts as "knowledge" and knowledge-learning for these societies? Actually, without a common understanding of the very meaning of "knowledge", any collaboration with Aboriginal societies would (not?) be practicable (Guay, 2007).

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AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Daniel Moreau is a former high school teacher who completed his Ph.D. at University of Sherbrooke. He is currently professor at the Department of preschool and elementary school teaching of the University of Sherbrooke. His research activities in didactic focus on social studies in kindergarten and elementary education, lexicometric analysis of social studies curriculum and historical thinking and learning. He is also carrying his works toward the didactics of professional development in teacher education, especially about the development of teacher self-efficacy. Daniel.Moreau@USherbrooke.ca