School Texts and the Political Culture of British Columbia, 1880-1980[*]

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Although schools are not political institutions, they play a crucial role in the overall political socialization process of any society. Textbooks used in them can thus be expected to contain symbols and images that express directly or indirectly, if not the whole, at least certain aspects of a society's political culture. Can, however, these texts be said to reflect reality as it is, or are they manipulated by their authors to suit the requirements of the public authority responsible for selecting them? Scholars who have dealt with this problem contend that since the stories in children's readers are written to transmit cultural values, their use depends on a general acceptance of the values they contain.[1] Even if, therefore, their content is manipulated, the degree of manipulation cannot go beyond limits defined by what teachers, children and parents will accept. Since, then, a radical departure from prevailing norms could be expected to produce controversy, it can usually be assumed that examination of such texts will enable one to trace the dominant political culture of a given society.

Research Method

The research method used in this project is content analysis, a technique of quantifying messages embodied in words and images.

Previous Findings

A survey of the literature on content analysis of school texts indicates that they can be used to measure cultural if not societal evolution. A

[1] R. De Charms and G. H. Moeller, "Values Expressed in American Children's Readers: 1800-1950," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 64, no. 2 (1962): 137.

variety of studies, mostly done in North America, considered such variables as secularization, egalitarianism, militarism and achievement orientation.[2] All of them concluded that school texts were useful in measuring the extent to which given communities were encouraged to think or discouraged from thinking in terms of certain values or norms. There is no guarantee that the same result will emerge in the case of British Columbia. But this survey does provide some evidence that in British Columbia, too, school texts are useful indicators of the extent to which children in the community are encouraged to adopt certain ways of thinking about it.

Hypotheses

This study proposes to examine the extent to which school texts in use in British Columbia reflect the changing character of British Columbian society, the altering sense of how it was to be viewed by its members, and the shifting manner in which patterns of behaviour and attitude deemed acceptable in it disintegrated and re-formed. It singles out three themes as being of special importance: first, the extent to which an egalitarian message found increasing expression in school texts; second, the extent to which, over time, texts encouraged acceptance of ethnic and racial pluralism; and, third, the extent to which they suggest British Columbia society was becoming increasingly secularized.

There seems, it should first of all be noted, ample evidence to suggest that change in each of these three directions has in fact occurred in British Columbia society. Work done by historians, political scientists and sociologists shows the extent to which the evolution of politics,

² This survey applies techniques drawn from the following studies: S. M. J. Snyder, "Crosses, Crowns and Crayons: A Content Analysis of School Primers for Quebec and Ontario 1830 to 1970" (unpublished paper, Department of Political Science, University of British Columbia, 1970); V. Hamm, "Comparative Content Analysis of Two Grade 1 Primers" (unpublished paper, Department of Political Science, University of British Columbia, 1968); R. R. Woodsworth, "A Content Analysis of Two Elementary Grade One Readers (unpublished paper, Department of Political Science, University of British Columbia, 1968); G. E. Blom *et al.*, "Content of first grade reading books," *The Reading Teacher* 21, no. 4 (1968): 317-23; J. L. Wiberg and G. E. Blom, "A Cross-National Study of Attitude Content in Reading Primers," *International Journal of Psychology* 5, no. 2 (1970): 109-22; G. E. Blom and J. L. Wiberg, "Attitude Contents in Reading Primers," in J. Downing, ed., *Comparative Reading* (New York: Macmillan, 1973), pp. 85-104; R. De Charms and G. H. Moeller, "Values Expressed in American Children's Readers: 1800-1950," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 64, no. 2 (1962): 136-42; D. C. McClelland, *The Achieving Society* (New York: The Free Press, 1961).

parties and policies in British Columbia has been in a broadly egalitarian direction.[3] It has been made equally clear that, especially since World War II, ethnic and racial pluralism have become basic realities in the province's social life.[4] Less obvious is the extent to which the literature shows British Columbia to have become a secular society, but even here evidence exists to warrant the assumption that change has also taken place in this direction.[5]

Let us now turn to the texts themselves. To what extent does their content warrant the conclusion that they at once reflect and reinforce tendencies in the above directions?

The Limitations of the Sources

The sources for this study have certain limitations. First, most of the texts were not produced in B.C. Most of them were, however, intended for use either in western Canada or English Canada as a whole. Texts of foreign origin were revised for use in B.C. and/or other parts of Canada. The process of selection, moreover, does not, except in quite recent times, indicate much explicit concern that texts reflect the political culture of B.C. All these observations indicate that the texts may be of only limited use in the search for cultural values and attitudes. Equally, however, it is important to remember that the authorities responsible for the selection of these texts found nothing in them so unacceptable as to warrant their rejection. Their acceptance by those authorities, coupled with their acceptance by the public does, then, suggest that they reflect B.C. culture, if not in minutest details, at least in a general way. Let us now see to what extent this assumption seems warranted.

[3] M. A. Ormsby, *British Columbia: A History* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1958), pp. 143, 396, 465, 479; M. A. Ormsby, "Canada and the New British Columbia," in J. Friesen and H. K. Ralston, eds., *Historical Essays on British Columbia* (Toronto: Gage, 1980), p. 97; Stuart Jamieson, "Regional Factors in Industrial Conflict: The Case of British Columbia," in W. P. Ward and R. A. J. McDonald, eds., *British Columbia: Historical Readings* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1981), p. 505; Philip Resnick, "Social Democracy in Power: The Case of British Columbia," in *BC Studies* 37 (Spring 1978): 4, 7.

[4] F. W. Howay, "The Settlement and Progress of British Columbia, 1871-1914," in J. Friesen and H. K. Ralston, eds., *Historical Essays on British Columbia*, p. 39; W. P. Ward, *White Canada Forever* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's, 1978), pp. 19, 31, 32, 142, 169; P. E. Roy, "British Columbia's Fear of Asians, 1900-1950," in W. P. Ward and R. A. J. McDonald, *British Columbia: Historical Readings*, pp. 659, 667.

[5] See footnote 2 for details.

*Hypothesis No. 1: B.C. Primers Will Picture An Increasingly
Egalitarian Society*

Egalitarianism, in conformity with procedures established by Victor
Hamm, and G. E. Blom *et al.*,[6] is measured by three indicators:
(a) percentage of children, adults and animals in both text and pictures;
(b) percentage of active actors; and (c) percentage of authority symbols.

If children appear increasingly in peer groups, rather than with adults,
the inference is that both family and society are becoming less hierarchi-
cal. Animals are considered to represent an inferior group. Therefore an
increase in the appearances of animals is likely to indicate a trend to-
wards egalitarianism in the sense of an increased mingling of superior
and inferior groups.

The percentage of animals, children and adults appearing as active
and passive actors is another indicator to test the subhypothesis concern-
ing a less hierarchical structure of family and society in B.C. An increase
in the number of children and animals appearing as active actors is taken
to denote a less hierarchical family and social structure.

The Findings

The findings in this study, represented in Figures 1, 2, 3, 4 5 and 6,
reject partially the subhypothesis concerning a less hieracrchical family
and social structure in B.C.

The percentage of children increases in the 1980s from the 1880s
only in three cases (Figures 1, 4 and 6). But at the same time the per-
centage of animals declines over time and that of adults increases
(Figures 1 and 4). In counts measuring action, the percentage of chil-
dren as active actors increases over time, though there is a sudden decline
in the 1980s. However, even here, the percentage is higher than that of
the 1880s (Figure 6). At the same time, the percentage of animals as
active actors declines sharply in the 1980s from what it was in the
1880s and that of adults increases rapidly in the 1980s from what it was
in the 1880s (Figure 6).

The indicators do not, it is clear, uniformly support the assumption
that the structure of family and society is becoming less hierarchical.
This is evident from the fact that the percentage of adults increases over
time, particularly in the 1980s. Only in a few cases do children appear in

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[6] Victor Hamm, "Comparative Content Analysis of Two Grade 1 Primers" (un-
published paper, Department of Political Science, University of British Columbia,
1968); G. E. Blom *et al.*, "Content of first grade reading books," *The Reading
Teacher* 21, no. 4 (1968): 317-23.

FIGURE 1

Animals, Children and Adults Appearing in Pictures in Texts Used

Pictures as content units.

Period	Total number of characters (including animals, children and adults)	% of animals	% of children	% of adults
1880s	203	61	24	14
1890s	203	61	24	14
1900-1909	127	49	37	12
1910s	309	55	33	11
1920s	240	70	26	3
1930s	240	70	26	3
1940s	253	31	58	9
1950s	1014	24	59	16
1960s	320	48	44	7
1970s	320	48	44	7
1980s	251	27	33	38

greater percentages in the 1980s than in the 1880s. Similarly, animals are not pictured as mingling increasingly with members of superior groups, i.e., children or adults, with the passage of time.

In Figures 1, 3, 4 and 5 the percentage of animals declines from the 1880s to the 1980s. The percentage of adults increases through the same period. The percentage of adults as active actors is much higher in the 1980s than the 1880s. All these data negate the assumption that the picture of family and society in B.C. projected by the texts is becoming less hierarchical. Hence the subhypothesis concerning a gradual trend toward egalitarianism measured by a gradual decline in hierarchical structure of family and society is not confirmed.

To ascertain whether the absence of animals is important, animals were eliminated from one count. The results as shown in Figure 2 are a little different from those in Figure 1. In Figure 1 (which is based on the same criteria as Figure 2 except that the animals are counted along with children and adults) the percentage of children in the 1980s does not fall below that of the 1880s. But in Figure 2 the percentage of children in the 1980s does fall below that of the 1880s. In the case of

FIGURE 2

Children and Adults Appearing in Pictures in Texts Used

Pictures as content units.

Period	Total number of characters (including children and adults)	% of children	% of adults
1880s	79	62	38
1890s	79	62	38
1900-1909	64	73	27
1910s	139	73	27
1920s	72	86	14
1930s	72	86	14
1940s	174	84	16
1950s	770	78	22
1960s	166	84	16
1970s	166	84	16
1980s	183	46	54

FIGURE 3

Proportion of Illustrations in Texts Used Containing at least One Animal, Child or Adult

Pictures as content units.

Period	Total number of pictures	Percentage of pictures in which at least one animal appears	Percentage of pictures in which at least one child appears	Percentage of pictures in which at least one adult appears
1880s	77	63	35	18
1890s	77	63	35	18
1900-1909	98	60	30	14
1910s	117	65	51	20
1920s	90	63	40	10
1930s	90	63	40	10
1940s	86	55	79	23
1950s	322	43	75	32
1960s	118	66	51	16
1970s	118	66	51	16
1980s	67	35	32	55

FIGURE 4

Proportion of Textual References to Animals, Children and Adults in Texts Used

Words as content units.

Period	Total number of characters	Percentage of references represented by animals	Percentage of references represented by children	Percentage of references represented by adults
1880s	288	58	28	12
1890s	288	58	28	12
1900-1909	281	50	30	19
1910s	403	43	37	18
1920s	373	57	29	13
1930s	373	57	29	13
1940s	293	37	46	16
1950s	948	26	55	17
1960s	469	38	49	11
1970s	469	38	49	11
1980s	124	30	45	24

FIGURE 5

Frequency with which References to Animals, Children and Adults Appear in Texts Used

Words as content units.

Period	Total number of pages	Percentage of pages containing at least one reference to animals	Percentage of pages containing at least one reference to children	Percentage of pages containing at least one reference to adults
1880s	96	53	52	25
1890s	96	53	52	25
1900-1909	131	59	42	25
1910s	128	69	61	34
1920s	149	69	44	28
1930s	149	69	44	28
1940s	120	57	75	34
1950s	346	43	84	37
1960s	153	64	64	23
1970s	153	64	64	23
1980s	78	48	37	32

FIGURE 6

Frequency with which Animals, Children and Adults Appear as Active Actors in Pictures in Texts Used

Pictures as content units.

Period	Total number of pictures	Percentage of pictures in which at least one animal appears as active actor	Percentage of pictures in which all animals shown appear as passive actors	Percentage of pictures in which at least one child appears as active actor	Percentage of pictures in which all children shown appear as passive actors	Percentage of pictures in which at least one adult appears as active actor	Percentage of pictures in which all adults shown appear as passive actors
1880s	77	42	20	20	9	14	3
1890s	77	42	20	20	9	14	3
1900-1909	98	20	39	18	12	10	4
1910s	117	34	31	41	10	15	5
1920s	90	56	6	32	7	5	4
1930s	90	56	6	32	7	5	4
1940s	86	23	32	70	8	20	2
1950s	322	33	10	72	3	31	1
1960s	118	43	22	48	3	16	0
1970s	118	43	22	48	3	16	0
1980s	67	7	28	26	7	40	7

adults the results are similar. Hence Figure 2 rejects again the subhypothesis concerning a less hierarchical structure of family and society.

Why is the subhypothesis not confirmed? In older texts, the rural-pastoral setting (for example, farmland, garden, skyline) occurred frequently. In such rural or pastoral settings, none of the three categories of actors (children, animals and adults) was allowed scope for much interaction. Modern texts (for example, the one used in the 1980s) frequently portray public places and real life situations (i.e., people boarding a bus, waiting in an airport). In these situations it is likely that adults will appear more frequently than children or animals. Hence, a shift from a rural past to an urban present will bring changes in the ratio variance actors bear to each other.

The last aspect of the first hypothesis, concerning the extent to which the texts warrant the view that society is being seen as increasingly less influenced by authority figures and symbols, will now be examined. If the percentage of authority figures and symbols — policemen, judges, kings, queens, crowns — declines over time, the hypothesis of a declining authoritarian orientation will be upheld.

A look at Figures 7 and 8 shows a decline in the percentage of sym-

FIGURE 7

Percentage of Pictures in Texts Used in which Authority Figures and Symbols Appear

Pictures as content units.

Period	Total number of pictures	Percentage of pictures in which at least one public authority figure or symbol appears
1880s	77	2.5
1890s	77	2.5
1900-1909	98	2
1910s	117	2.5
1920s	90	X
1930s	90	X
1940s	86	X
1950s	322	.3
1960s	118	X
1970s	118	X
1980s	67	X

FIGURE 8

Percentage of Pages in Texts Used in which Reference to Authority Figures and Symbols Appear

Words as content units.

Period	Total number of pages	Percentage of pages on which reference is made to at least one authority figure or symbol
1880s	96	3.1
1890s	96	3.1
1900-1909	131	2.2
1910s	128	3.9
1920s	149	7.3
1930s	149	7.3
1940s	120	X
1950s	346	X
1960s	153	X
1970s	153	X
1980s	78	X

bols and figures of public authority. Pictorial representations of public authority have been absent since the 1920s, except for a brief reappearance in the 1950s (Figure 7). Textual references to public authority increased markedly between 1910 and 1930 but have since then disappeared (Figure 8). The subhypothesis is therefore clearly upheld. This last indicator suggests that B.C. society has been moving towards egalitarianism since the mid-twentieth century, in the sense of a decline in orientation to authority figures and symbols.

On the whole the hypothesis concerning egalitarianism is not clearly verified; in one dimension (hierarchical structure of family and society) the culture seems to be becoming non-egalitarian, and in another dimension (authoritarian orientation) it seems to be becoming egalitarian. Perhaps our indicators do not accurately measure egalitarianism; perhaps the view, expressed by such commentators as Martin Robin,[7] that contemporary B.C. society is split on ideological lines is given confirmation by them. If the latter is true, then the split or lack of unanimity in ideological and policy directions in B.C. society will make it very difficult

[7] Martin Robin, "British Columbia: The Politics of Class Conflict," in M. Robin, ed., *Canadian Provincial Politics*, p. 40.

indeed to obtain unidimensional results in testing the hypothesis that texts in B.C. will picture an increasingly egalitarian society.

Hypothesis No. 2: B.C. Primers Will Picture An Increasing Tolerance Of Ethnic Diversity

The second hypothesis calls for examination of the extent to which texts encourage tolerance of ethnic heterogeneity. This can be gauged by investigating the percentages of non-Anglo-Saxon names or other references to non-Anglo-Saxons in the text, and by considering the frequencies of pictorial representations of non-whites.

Though not all whites in B.C. are Anglo-Saxons, textual reference to whites of non-Anglo-Saxon origin do not appear at all. This perhaps implies that non-Anglo-Saxon whites in B.C. acculturate quickly; it may also mean that those responsible for the composition and selection of texts in B.C. would like to induce these persons to acculturate quickly and so ensure that no mention is made of them as a distinct element in the population.

The Findings

The findings represented in Figures 11 and 12 verify the hypothesis, whereas those of Figures 9 and 10 reject the hypothesis.

The findings are not uniform because of different implications in the textual and the pictorial representations. This is discussed below. As far as the text is concerned, there are only two references to non-Anglo-Saxons (Figures 9 and 10). This, at most, shows some recognition of the fact that as far back as the first two decades of the twentieth century there were elements of ethnic heterogeneity in B.C. So far as pictorial representations were concerned, non-whites appeared rarely until the 1980s, when their number increased markedly (Figures 11 and 12).

The discrepancy between textual and pictorial representations arises partly from the fact that non-whites appear in a large number of pictures only in the 1980s. When they do show up they are mostly black. This, reflecting the fact that the text in which they appear is American, means that they will normally have Anglo-Saxon names. Still, the absolute lack of references to non-Anglo-Saxons in the text also indicate a tendency on the part of the dominant ethnic group (i.e., the Anglo-Saxons) in B.C. to tolerate the immigration of orientals and other non-Anglo-Saxon ethnic groups, but not to accept a plurality of culture. The ethnic minorities are indirectly induced to acculturate to the already

established cultural patterns in B.C. Certainly recent immigration figures suggest a need to integrate increasing numbers of non-white immigrants into B.C. society.

Immediately after World War II (see Appendix 1) a huge European immigration to British Columbia altered the ratio between non-white and white population for the 1950s and 1960s; i.e., the ratio to non-white to white decreased. But since the 1970s the percentage of the population which is non-white has been increasing as a result of substantial oriental immigration so that by the 1980s non-whites had grown from 2.6 per cent to 7.5 per cent of the population. Whether school texts will adjust to this reality by picturing increasing numbers of non-whites, or whether they will become part of a subtle program of acculturation, remains to be seen.

FIGURE 9

Percentage of Non-Anglo-Saxons Appearing in Texts Used in Relation to the Composition of B.C.'s Population

Words as content units. Count I.

Period	Total number of people (including adults and children)	Percentage of total represented by non-Anglo-Saxons	Percentage of B.C. population represented by non-whites*
1880s	119	X	60.7
1890s	119	X	45
1900-1909	140	.7	25.2
1910s	227	.4	12.9
1920s	160	X	11.8
1930s	160	X	10.8
1940s	183	X	8.2
1950s	550	X	4.6
1960s	287	X	4.9
1970s	287	X	6
1980s	86	X	9.8

* See W. P. Ward, "Class and Race in the Social Structure of British Columbia," in W. P. Ward, R. A. J. McDonald, eds., *British Columbia: Historical Readings* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1981), p. 590; *1951 Census of Canada*, vol. I; *1961 Census of Canada*, vol. I; *1971 Census of Canada*, vol. I; *1981 Census of Canada Information Bulletin* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada).

FIGURE 10

Percentage of Pages Containing Reference to People in Texts Used
in which Non-Anglo-Saxons Appear

Words as content units. Count II.

Period	Total number of pages in which reference is made to at least one person	Percentage of pages containing at least one reference to non-Anglo-Saxons	Percentage of non-white population of B.C. according to census
1880s	55	X	60.7
1890s	55	X	45
1900-1909	72	1.38	25.2
1910s	94	1	12.9
1920s	95	X	11.8
1930s	95	X	10.8
1940s	90	X	8.2
1950s	309	X	4.6
1960s	102	X	4.9
1970s	102	X	6
1980s	45	X	9.8

FIGURE 11

Percentage of Persons Appearing in Pictures in Texts Used
who are Non-white

Pictures as content units. Count I.

Period	Total number of people (including adults and children)	Percentage of non-white	Percentage of of non-white population of B.C. according to census
1880s	79	X	60.7
1890s	79	X	45
1900-1909	66	1.5	25.2
1910s	136	2.94	12.9
1920s	72	X	11.8
1930s	72	X	10.8
1940s	174	X	8.2
1950s	780	X	4.6
1960s	164	X	4.9
1970s	164	X	6
1980s	182	24.7	9.8

FIGURE 12

Percentage of Pictures Appearing in Texts Used which Contain at least One Non-white

Pictures as content units. Count II.

Period	Total number of pictures in which at least one adult or child appears	Percentage of pictures in which at least one non-white adult or child appears	Percentage of non-white population of B.C. according to census
1880s	36	X	60.7
1890s	36	X	45
1900-1909	40	2.5	25.2
1910s	69	5.7	12.9
1920s	40	X	11.8
1930s	40	X	10.8
1940s	72	X	8.2
1950s	265	X	4.6
1960s	66	X	4.9
1970s	66	X	6
1980s	42	52.3	9.8

Hypothesis No. 3: B.C. Primers Will Picture An Increasingly Secular Society

The indicator used to test the hypothesis concerning a gradual secularization of B.C. culture is the percentage of religious figures and symbols appearing in the text and pictures. A decline in the percentages of religious figures and symbols over time should confirm the hypothesis. As far as the indicators to test this hypothesis are concerned, we had no problem in coding from the text and pictures. Religious figures, symbols and themes appearing in the text and pictures of the primers were easy to identify.

The Findings

The findings presented in Figure 13 verify the hypothesis; those of Figure 14 partially verify it.

The findings are not uniform because of changes in forms and ways through which religious symbols and themes have been manifested. As far as pictorial representation is concerned, references to religion appear

FIGURE 13

Percentage of Pictures Appearing in Texts Used which Contain Religious Figures and Symbols

Pictures as content units.

Period	Total number of pictures	Percentage of pictures containing at least one religious figure or symbol
1880s	77	X
1890s	77	X
1900-1909	98	3
1910s	117	3.4
1920s	90	1.1
1930s	90	1.1
1940s	86	X
1950s	322	X
1960s	118	X
1970s	118	X
1980s	67	X

FIGURE 14

Percentage of Pages of Texts Used which Contain Reference to Religious Symbols and Figures

Words as content units.

Period	Total number of pages	Percentage of pages containing references to at least one religious figure or symbol
1880s	96	5.2
1890s	96	5.2
1900-1909	131	4.5
1910s	128	6.2
1920s	149	2
1930s	149	2
1940s	120	X
1950s	346	X
1960s	153	6.5
1970s	153	6.5
1980s	78	X

in low frequencies from 1900 to the 1930s and then disappear alto-
gether (Figure 13). In the text, references to religion appear in low
frequency from the 1880s to the 1930s. In the 1940s and the 1950s,
references to religion are non-existent. In the 1960s and the 1970s they
reappear. In the 1980s they go again (Figure 14). On the basis of
textual presentation alone it is thus difficult to uphold the hypothesis.
When both textual and pictorial representations are combined, the indi-
cators again fail to show a gradual evolution towards secularization;
they suggest instead a culture fluctuating between the secular and the
religious. It is now in a secular phase.

An interesting question arises here. Did B.C. (or Canadian) texts
return to an emphasis on religion as an ingredient of culture in the
1960s and 1970s even after it had disappeared for two decades (1940s
and 1950s). Perhaps post-World War II experiences such as high di-
vorce rates and the threat of atheistic ideologies, communism in par-
ticular, made it seem desirable to reinstill religious values in the sociali-
zation process.

All the religious themes, symbols and images are Christian. They are
also non-denominational; it is not possible to ascertain whether they are
Catholic or Protestant.

Limitations of this Study

The simplicity of the texts consulted has prevented the use of the
more nuanced social indicators that sophisticated texts would have pro-
vided: whether, for example, society was being portrayed in terms of
middle class, working class, white collar or blue collar values. So far as
method is concerned, perhaps it would have made sense to determine
who initiates actions rather than counting active and passive actors, as
has been done in this study. Beyond this, the ratio of adult males to
females could have been established in order to measure the role of
women in society as an indicator of egalitarianism.

To measure an authoritarian orientation, the presence of adults in
front of children could have been taken as symbols of authority. In the
case of secularization, indicators could have been chosen to measure
evolution towards modern society on the assumption that the traditional
is linked to the religious.

On balance, however, it can be claimed that though the indicators and
the methods used have obvious limitations in measuring the political
culture of B.C., they provide interesting and relatively precise data.

Some of the indicators — use of the adult/children/animals ratio to measure attitudes towards family and social structure — were not as useful as had been expected. But others — those relating to authority, ethnic diversity and secularization — were found to be most satisfactory. B.C. texts do, in sum, yield useful information concerning the extent to which children are encouraged to form a picture of society consistent with the direction in which it is actually evolving.

APPENDIX 1

Percentage of B.C. Population Over Time which is Non-white (including Asians, Blacks, Native Indians, Eskimos, West Indians, Africans, Latin Americans, Pacific Islanders)

1870	75.1	(70.8 Native Indians + 4.3 Asians)
1881	60.7	(51.9 Native Indians + 8.8 Asians)
1891	45	(35.9 Native Indians + 9.1 Asians)
1901	25.2	(14.3 Native Indians + 10.9 Asians)
1911	12.9	(5.1 Native Indians + 7.8 Asians)
1921	11.8	(4.3 Native Indians + 7.5 Asians)
1931	10.8	(3.5 Native Indians + 7.3 Asians)
1941	8.2	(3.0 Native Indians + 5.2 Asians)
1951	4.6	(2.4 Native Indians + 2.2 other non-whites)
1961	4.9	(2.3 Native Indians + 2.6 other non-whites)
1971	6	(2.3 Native Indians + 3.6 other non-whites)
1981	9.8	(2.3 Native Peoples + 7.5 other non-whites)

Absolute Size of Non-white B.C. Population Since 1961 (Excluding Native Indians and Eskimos)

1961	41,311	(i.e., the province's non-white population
1971	79,915	increased almost five-fold from 1961 to 1981
1981	203,525	and almost three-fold from 1971 to 1981)

SOURCES: W. P. Ward, "Class and Race in the Social Structure of British Columbia," in W. P. Ward, R. A. J. McDonald, *British Columbia: Historical Readings* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1981), p. 590; *1951 Census of Canada*, vol. I; *1961 Census of Canada*, vol. I; *1971 Census of Canada*, vol. I; *1981 Census of Canada Information Bulletin* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada).

APPENDIX 2

Size of B.C.'s Population Since 1871

1871	36,247	1931	694,263
1881	49,459	1941	817,861
1891	98,173	1951	1,165,210
1901	178,657	1961	1,629,082
1911	392,480	1971	2,184,620
1921	524,582	1981	2,713,615

SOURCES: N. MacDonald, "Population Growth and Change in Seattle and Vancouver, 1880-1960," in J. Friesen, H. K. Ralston, eds., *Historical Essays on British Columbia* (Toronto: Gage, 1980), p. 206; *1971 Census of Canada*, vol. I; *1981 Census of Canada*, vol. I (Ottawa: Statistics Canada).

APPENDIX 3

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