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thesis entitled

VILLAGE BASED TEACHER EDUCATION PROJECT
FOR RURAL CANADIANS: A STUDY OF
THE BRANDON UNIVERSITY NORTHERN TEACHER EDUCATION PROJECT

presented by

A. Rae McCombs

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Comparative and
International Education

Major professor

Date January 5, 1979.

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VILLAGE BASED TEACHER EDUCATION PROJECT FOR RURAL CANADIANS: A STUDY OF THE BRANDON UNIVERSITY NORTHERN TEACHER EDUCATION PROJECT

By

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A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Comparative and International Education

1979

ABSTRACT

VILLAGE BASED TEACHER EDUCATION PROJECT
FOR RURAL CANADIANS:
A STUDY OF THE BRANDON UNIVERSITY NORTHERN TEACHER EDUCATION PROJECT

By

Arthur Rae McCombs

The Brandon University Northern Teacher Education Project (B.U.N.T.E.P.) was established, using federal and provincial monies, in order to offer adults who previously had not had any real opportunity to pursue university level study, the opportunity to gain teacher certification. The purpose was to encourage and realistically assist people resident in northern communities to enter the teaching profession. The hope was that they could better obtain employment in isolated northern Manitoban communities and Indian reserves which did not possess viable economic bases and break the vicious circle which had existed in Indian education until then. In short, Indian children were very unsuccessful in schools, very few Indians were qualified teachers and very few sought university admission or successfully gained qualifications and credentials.

The writer's purpose in doing this research was to study the progress and development of the B.U.N.T.E.P. program as it was implemented on one Canadian Indian reservation, to examine the factors which appeared to impede or assist the attainment of the program's goals and to examine those aspects of the program model which may be used to develop models for village based teacher education in other developing areas. Data for this research were obtained by participant observation during two years of residence and employment as the resident Center Coordinator at an isolated Cree Indian reservation in northern Manitoba, Canada.

This program was the first of its kind delivered to an isolated

Canadian Indian reservation, as well as one of the first rural based teacher education programs. It is therefore of interest to those studying or employing methods of alternative post-secondary educational programs in isolated rural areas.

Major findings:

1. The Brandon University Northern Teacher Education Project as a village based teacher education program was a viable format for providing educational opportunity of high standard to adults living in an isolated, rural community.

2. The open entrance option to the University is a realistic entry point for adults but requires provision of special academic and personal support to overcome English language and general knowledge deficits.

3. Successful completion of the university teacher education program by the first local graduates and their immediate employment and teaching success was a strong inducement to others to join the program.

4. The establishment of a mini-campus in the remote community is sound. The resident university professor, as Center Coordinator, supported by a well-equipped teaching center and special southern support staff, can provide a university presence in the remote community which is essential to the credibility and effective functioning of the program.

5. The teaching center, supplies, and professional development workshops helped maintain the essential support of the teachers and were an important assistance to the program.

6. The delivery of university courses of high standard to remote northern communities is possible by flying professors into the centers to deliver three credit hour courses in blocks of three to five weeks on an all-day basis.

7. Flexibility in course delivery was essential to the successful

operation of the program.

8. The extended field experience component of 24-30 weeks provided adequate time for students to acquire requisite teaching skills.

9. The fostering of a special supportive learning environment in the Center and the provision of full support for first year students allowed apparently weak students, including those who considered leaving the program, to become strong confident teachers.

10. The concept of examining the local situation and generating special policies to address local problems is sound. The special policies regarding student support were essential.

11. Community involvement in the admission of individuals to teacher education was an important component in the B.U.N.T.E.P. program.

12. The local B.U.N.T.E.P. steering committee did not operate effectively.

13. The B.U.N.T.E.P. model for a teacher education program was successfully employed in a remote, developing area. Its basic features which appear particularly relevant for other developing areas are its: mission, program format, responsiveness to local conditions and provision of special compensating policies, the resident Center Coordinator and mini-campus concept, and local community involvement in all aspects of the program.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a pleasure to express the writer's appreciation to the individuals and groups who have made this study possible.

The writer is indebted to Dr. Carl H. Gross, Professor and Chairman Emeritus of the Department of Secondary Education and Curriculum in the College of Education at Michigan State University, for his continuing advice, support and welcome encouragement, not only for this project, but during my years of study under his guidance as chairman of my doctoral program.

Dr. David Heenan, committee member who provided wise insights and generous support; Dr. August Benson and Dr. Robert McKinley, members of the doctoral committee, for their valuable advice, comments and encouragement.

I am particularly grateful to the Cross Lake B.U.N.T.E.P. students who accepted the challenge of a university education program, worked diligently and succeeded. Deepest appreciation is directed to those Cross Lake residents who helped me and my family feel at home in their community and who were willing to teach me about themselves.

Finally, I wish to thank my wife Anne, and our children, Brendan and Michelle, for their willingness to continue to accept unconventional challenges.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE VICIOUS CIRCLE

In 1972, Canadian Indians[1] presented to the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development a statement of the philosophy, goals, principles and directions which they felt must form the foundation of any school program for Indian children in Canada.[2] In addition, considering the great need that existed for professional people in Indian communities, the National Indian Brotherhood stressed that every effort should be made to encourage and assist Indian students to succeed in post-secondary studies so they, not itinerants, could take

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[1] People of Indian ancestry in Canada fall into two main categories in their position vis-a-vis government. One group, the status Indians are registered by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs and possess certain rights and are subject to some limitations set forth in the Indian Act. In western Canada, inclusion in the treaties came to be a mark of status: hence status Indians there are frequently referred to as treaty Indians. The government of Canada has assumed special responsibilities for education, health, welfare and economic development for status Indians.

Non-status Indians are people of Indian extraction who for varying reasons were not registered as Indians by the department and therefore hold a status no different from that of other Canadians. A particularly large group of non-status Indians are the Metis who form a distinct society with a group identity of their own. An historical definition of Metis includes only those of French-Indian ancestry while the modern definition includes anyone having any degree of Indian ancestry who is not a status or treaty Indian.

In this study, the term Indian is used to indicate status or treaty Indians. The more encompassing term native, includes all people of Indian ancestry whether they are legally Indian or Metis.

[2] National Indian Brotherhood, Indian Control of Indian Education (Ottawa: National Indian Brotherhood, 1972).

on the professional roles needed in their communities.

The Indian people were responding also to the equally disturbing fact that an alarming proportion of Indian boys and girls were failing to complete secondary schooling. Extremely few trained, certified teachers were available to teach in even those schools where the majority of students were Indian children and the maternal language for most was neither English nor French, but an indigenous Indian language. At that time, little evidence existed to indicate that the situation would improve. Very few Indian people were successfully pursuing or completing programs which would lead to the acquisition of the skills, attitudes and professional qualifications needed for acceptance into the teaching profession. Further, hardly any Indians, especially those from remote areas, were seeking admission to the universities and professional schools. The vicious circle had to be broken.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

A brief overview of Indian education in Canada provides an insight into some of the sources of this dismal state of affairs and the almost total absence of trained Indian teachers in Canada.

Church Involvement

In the period before the coming of the white man to this continent the Indian people, like most indigenous peoples, had their own traditional education structure. Knowledge necessary for the survival of their people, culture, and traditions was developed and passed on from generation to generation. Education was informal, traditional and very practical. Knowledge transmission was mainly by word of mouth, by observation, by indirect instruction, by example and trial and error.

This traditional education was adaptive and sufficient for life as it existed before the coming of the white man. However, since the coming of the white man the traditional way of life of the indigenous inhabitants has been undermined. Canadians have worked to provide education for Indian children. The Christian churches were active in Indian education before confederation in 1867. For example, mission schools were actively operated by Roman Catholics in 1632 and the other faiths, Anglicans, Methodists and Presbyterians were involved in the nineteenth century. Exceptions to the church domination existed, but were few.

In general, the education offered represented an education based on the traditions of the colonizers and there is considerable evidence to support the claim that the goals of the early colonizers in the education of the indigenous Indians were to "...Christianize, civilize and agrarianize" them.[3] In 1847 for example, the Chief Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada, Dr. Egerton Ryerson, stressed the need for an industrial, domestic and religious education with particular importance given to the latter for "...with him (the Indian child) nothing could be done to improve and elevate his character and conditions without the aid of religious feeling."[4] The Indian was to be assimilated or absorbed into the dominant society and its culture. Schools offering some form of "industrial education" were generally church operated boarding schools. This usually meant children spent part of the day in

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[3] Leslie Guy, "Patterns in Native Education in Canada," Yearbook of Canadian Society for the Study of Education, I (1974): 8.

[4] R. M. Connelly, "Missionaries and Indian Education," in The Canadian Superintendent 1965, The Education of Indian Children in Canada (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1965): 13.

the classroom and part of the day in agricultural or other labor in or around the church mission. Church controlled boarding or residential schools influenced Indian education for over 100 years and segregation of students, which they encouraged, became the rule rather than the exception. This combination of missionary devotion and agricultural education was fully supported by the government of Canada.

Residential Schools

The segregation of the Indian child from his family and the mainstream of Canadian life was fostered by the notion that the stability and atmosphere of the residential school was needed to overcome the influence of the often nomadic life style of the Indian parents. In addition, segregation of the Indian people from white society was also fostered in the belief that the 'naive' Indian had to be protected from the harsh, evil white man's world and from the 'poor' influences of the Indian's home community and parents. Hence,even when the boarding school was in the child's home community, the child was expected to stay at these schools at least ten months of the year, speak only English, and was often permitted to visit home only once throughout the school year. The educational programs for Indian children, particularly in the years preceeding World War II, had a number of serious weaknesses and were quite ineffectual both as an instrument of integration into the mainstream of Canadian life or of independent economic emancipation. Hawthorne, in a 1960 survey of the Canadian Indian wrote:

> Reserves, according to the theory of the time were to be kept free from the influences of the modern industrial world. As a result, the system of education made available to Indians left a great deal to be desired. Few schools existed and the

level of education which was offered was low.[5]

The same author pointed out that there was no question of the Indian leaving the reserve. He was born to live and die there. His education, the little he did receive, was adequate to ensure his well-being within the limited confines of the reserve. Of the meagre education offered, Hawthorne presented a rather dismal picture:

> To be able to read, write and count, to know how to utilize and preserve the environment, to possess some notion of hygiene, this was felt sufficient for life on the reserve. Academic knowledge as such was not considered important.[6]

The reserve and residential schools tended to maintain racial segregation and sought primarily to prepare Indian children for reservation life. The pattern followed by few white children was followed by many, perhaps most Indian children. The rather tragic state of affairs was related by an Oblate Father:

> The majority of Indian boys and girls entering our schools cannot reach more than grade 5 to 8 level in the eight to ten years that they attend school. The majority of them do not and cannot go into post-primary institutions (High School, Vocational, Technical Schools) and, as a result, are almost totally unfit to earn a decent living or be good citizens and parents, on or off the reserve, eventually becoming a burden to society.[7]

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[5] Harry Hawthorne, ed., A Survey of Contemporary Indians in Canada, Vol. 2 (Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch, 1967): 30.

[6] Ibid., pp. 22-23.

[7] Oblate Fathers, Residential Education for Indian Acculturation (Ottawa: Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission, 1958): 16.

Day Schools

Following the boarding school concept for Indian education came the idea of day schools located on the reserves. From 1945 until the late 1950s the federal government concentrated on building Indian day schools in the Indian communities and staffing them with lay teachers. Although a few of these schools offered high school level work, the majority still were mainly involved in elementary education. This direction in Indian education has provided the opportunity for many more Indian children to attend elementary schools as it overcame many previous problems and the misgivings parents had about sending their young children away to a strange, distant residential school for ten months of the year. In most cases, children could stay at home and still attend school. The problem of integration and success in high school still remained, however. The local or day schools located on the reserves still provided a protected environment for their Indian students.

In most areas, secondary education was not available locally. This meant that to continue their education, most Indian children from rural areas had to face a situation not usually encountered by most other Canadian citizens. They had to integrate, often times alone, into an urban, alien society, particularly if they desired the prerequisites for post-secondary education. Children from the remote and more isolated reserves, needed to travel several hundred miles, be absent from their home communities for extended periods, up to ten months, and while they were still young, live in hostels, boarding homes or residential schools. In the schools they were 'newcomers' or 'outsiders'; in the boarding homes or residential schools, they had to cope with a 'foreign' living environment. Faced with these odds, it is little wonder that so few Indian children pursued their education far beyond elementary school.

The enrollment of registered Indians in the different types of schools is shown in Table 1.1 and serves to highlight how very few have, until recently, pursued post-secondary education or attended secondary school.

Table 1.1

Enrollment of Registered Indians by Type of School[1]

School year	Elementary[2]	Secondary[3]	University	Teacher Training	Vocational	All other[4]	Total	
			per cent					number
1959	93.2	5.6	0.1	0.1	0.7	0.3	100.0	40,637
1960	92.3	6.4	0.1	-	0.8	0.4	100.0	42,124
1961	91.6	7.4	0.1	-	0.5	0.4	100.0	45,857
1962	90.7	8.0	0.1	-	0.5	0.7	100.0	48,035
1963	90.3	8.1	0.1	-	0.9	0.6	100.0	50,394
1964	87.3	8.8	0.2	-	1.9	1.8	100.0	53,846
1965	86.1	9.0	0.2	-	2.2	2.5	100.0	57,720
1966	84.9	9.1	0.2	-	2.4	3.4	100.0	60,883
1967	82.2	9.3	0.2	-	3.0	5.3	100.0	64,049
1968	81.9	10.3	0.4	0.1	2.6	4.8	100.0	66,564
1969	76.5	10.3	0.4	0.1	3.3	9.4	100.0	75,509
1970	74.9	11.3	0.6	0.1	2.9	10.2	100.0	79,579
1971	73.8	11.6	0.6	0.1	3.2	10.7	100.0	83,325

1) The enrollment includes only students receiving some kind of aid from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.
2) Kindergarten to Grade 8 inclusive.
3) Grades 9 to 13 inclusive.
4) Includes nursing training, upgrading, special vocational and other miscellaneous courses.

Source: Statistics Canada, Perspective Canada: A Compendium of Social Statistics (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1974): 251.

When compared to the rest of the Canadian population, the Indian

people have not been successful in the education system. Indeed, as Table 1.2 indicates, only 0.5 percent of Indian and Inuit[8] people in the 15-19 year old range attained university standing, whereas almost ten times the percentage or 4.9 percent of other Canadians in the age bracket had achieved university standing. Similarly, whereas only 39 percent of Indians and Inuits in the same age bracket attained secondary school level, almost double or 76 percent of all Canadians had attained secondary school level schooling in 1971. Nearly 80 percent of Indians attained only elementary standing whereas less than 40 percent of Canadians as a whole stopped at the elementary level of schooling.

Table 1.2

Educational Attainment by Mother Tongue and Age, 1971[a]

	Indians and Inuit		All Canada	
	15-19 years	20 years and over	15-19 years	20 years and over
	per cent			
Elementary	58.7	79.5	12.8	36.8
Secondary	39.0	15.0	75.3	36.0
Post-secondary	1.8	3.8	7.0	15.4
University	0.5	1.7	4.9	11.8
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of persons	18,355	83,655	2,112,700	13,076,805

[a] Source: Statistics Canada, Perspective Canada: A Compendium of Social Statistics (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1974): 251.

[8] The Inuit were previously referred to as Eskimos. Inuit live mainly in the far hinterland of Northern Canada. They are declared to be Indian for the purposes of the British North America Act. Although a federal responsibility, the Indian acts excludes them from its operation and they are dealt with separately by the federal government.

Integrated Schools

The practice of mixing Indian and non-Indian students wherever possible in provincial schools rather than assigning Indians to segregated schools occurred as a result of several significant factors. First, the end of World War II marked a turning point in the position of Indian society in Canada. As the Indian communities had become less isolated both government and public became more aware that the Indian had not been assimilated into the mainstream of Canadian life and that the old educational strategies simply helped to perpetuate the Indian people's isolation. In addition, the Canadian Indian population was continuing to grow at a rapid rate of about two percent per annum. Table 1.3 indicates the population trend.

Table 1.3

Population of Registered Indian Population[a]

Year	Number	Year	Number
1881	108,547	1954	151,558
1911	105,611	1959	179,126
1924	104,894	1963	204,796
1929	108,012	1968	237,490
1934	112,510	1973	270,494
1939	118,378	1974	276,436
1944	125,686		

[a] Source: Canada Handbooks. These are people registered as Indians (status and treaty) under the provisions of the Indian Act of Canada. Briefly, those entitled to be registered are persons who were considered Indians or members of an Indian Band on May 26, 1874, or descendants through the male line of the above.

A new approach to Indian education evolved after 1945. Government policy from 1948 until 1969 encouraged approaches aimed at bringing the Indian

child into the Provincial systems of education and by 1972, over 42,000, or sixty percent of all Indian pupils in Canada, were attending Provincial schools.

Although this meant that the involvement of churches in Indian education continued its diminution and that, generally speaking, the integrated schools provided a higher standard of teaching than what was formally available to Indian children, problems remained. The Indian people were not satisfied with the forced school integration programs as the school drop-out rate had not been lowered significantly. Indeed, the drop-out problem still meant that 97 percent of the 72,000 Indian children who entered Canadian schools would drop out before receiving a high school diploma.

An additional problem arose when the Federal government proposed integrating federally supported Indian schools into the provincial school system and establishing new provincial school districts in areas where reservation schools were not nearby non-Indian schools. Federal support would continue, but the Federal government would be removed from direct responsibility for Indian education. As it was, the provincial educational authorities had no jurisdiction over these schools which were often run for the Federal government by religious groups. Federal government responsibility for education on reservations was usually recognized in treaty agreements as well as in the Indian Act. Many Indian people argued that if the Federal government backed out of its treaty agreements to maintain schools for Indian children, then perhaps it would back out of other agreements with Indians. Why, they asked, could not the Indian schools be improved without integration?[9]

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[9] John Eisenberg and Harold Troper, Native Survival (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1973): 65.

In the eyes of the Indian people integrated schools were not working and when the Federal government suggested that all provincial services for Indian people be provided by provincial agencies, the reaction was overwhelmingly negative. This paved the way for the present focus of Indian education -- Indian control of Indian education.

Indian Control of Indian Education

The White Paper, "Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, 1969," which set out the Government's proposals for revision of the Indian Act, did much to stimulate the Indian demand for self-determination. In 1969, the same year as it detached Indian education from the churches, the Government proposed that all services for Indian peoples should be provided through the same agencies which served the majority of citizens. In education, it proposed turning over Indian education to the Provinces, but by 1970 isolated cases of protests against integration had sprung up[10] and by 1970 the Government gave in to Indian pressure and protests and announced that in Alberta, where a strong protest was staged, that the operation of the Blue Quills school in Alberta would be transferred to local Indians and not integrated into the provincial school system. The National Indian Brotherhood also rejected the proposal of Provincial government control of Indian education and, in 1972, presented a policy statement on education entitled Indian Control of Indian Education, in which it demanded that Indian people be given direct control over the education of their children.[11] On May 25, 1973, a significant turning point in Indian

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[10] John Eisenberg and Harold Troper, Native Survival (Toronto: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1973): 64-75.

[11] National Indian Brotherhood, Indian Control of Indian Education (Ottawa: National Indian Brotherhood, 1972).

education was reached when the Minister of Indian Affairs officially announced that the education policy of the National Indian Brotherhood would be the education policy of the Government and his Department.

What is the policy? The Indian position on Indian education was based on the principles of local control of education and parental responsibility in the schooling of Indian children. It maintained that more power for making decisions affecting the education of Indian children should be given to local Band Councils so that they and not government agencies have a say in the education of their children. Educational programs needed to be wide ranging and stress local language, history, and culture. More opportunities had to be made for Indian people to prepare as teachers, and educational facilities had to be provided which adequately met the needs of the local population. Sixty-two of the some 565 Indian Bands in Canada now have some form of local control of education. Of these, three are in Manitoba.

In short, local control of Indian education was an indication that the Indian people were dissatisfied with the existing system and its record of failure. They saw local control of education as a way of creating for their children a school environment that was more conducive to learning, of involving the community more in its own education, and in general, of improving the education system serving them.

This improvement has included the development of language programs to enable initial literacy to be established in indigenous languages, with English or French becoming the language of instruction by grade four. It also has emphasized the need for school personnel to be culturally sensitive and appropriate, and the curriculum to be more in keeping with the local knowledge base of the children. Such an educational focus created problems associated with shortage of qualified

staff especially at the elementary level where the maternal language was often employed and local people were needed to teach and develop curriculum materials. Indian teachers, curriculum specialists and leaders were an essential element in the development of Indian control of Indian education. The problem of the shortage of qualified staff was being solved by means of various innovative programs for Indian teachers and para-professionals. The emphasis of many of these programs was on the teacher's interdependence with the community. This study examines one such community-based program, the Brandon University Northern Teacher Education Project (B.U.N.T.E.P.) in the province of Manitoba.

THE VICIOUS CIRCLE DIMINISHES

In keeping with the Federal Government's announced intention to accept the National Indian Brotherhood's policy statement as the educational policy of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the quantity and quality of Indian teachers had to be sharply increased. This meant that the Federal Government had to take initiatives to provide opportunities for Indian people to prepare as teachers and school personnel. As the National Indian Brotherhood pointed out, efforts in this direction required experimental approaches and flexible structures to accommodate the native person who had talent and interest, but lacked minimum academic qualifications. In addition, because of the importance of such educational efforts to the Indian community, these training programs needed to be developed in collaboration with the Indian people and their representatives.[12]

The lack of local Indian teachers was so great that for the most

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[12] Ibid., p. 18.

part, teachers for the rural schools were recruited from all parts of Canada, particularly the Maritimes, despite a grave unemployment situation in many of the Indian communities. In Ontario, for example, of the 340 teachers employed in 1974 in Federal schools, only 47 were of Indian descent.[13] In the Northwest Territories, no more than a handful of native northerners had obtained a teaching diploma in spite of the fact that they were able to do it completely free of cost.[14] Indeed, one of the most striking features of Indian education in Canada was the degree of underrepresentation by the native people in post-secondary institutions. The situation is now improving[15] but the past record has been poor.

In British Columbia, if persons of Native Indian ancestry were represented in the teaching force in proportion to their numbers in the total population, there would have been in the 1973-74 school year, one thousand. There were in fact about 25.[16] When the first students from the newly developed British Columbian Native Teacher Education Program graduate, the number of certified Indian teachers in the province will have tripled. A similar pattern is evident in other provinces. As late

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[13] "How a Special Two-Year Program Helps to Increase the Supply of Indian Teachers," Learning Resources, 2 (November, 1974): 14.

[14] Doug Brown, Rosalee Tizya and Eric Gourdean, "Apprentice Teachers: An Experiment in Apprentice Teacher Training in Northern Canada," in Doug Brown et. al. Man in the North Technical Papers. Education in the Canadian North 1971-72 (Montreal: The Arctic Institute of North America, 1973).

[15] Walter O. Kupsch and Maryse Caillol, The University and the Canadian North: Inventory of Classes, Research and Special Projects (Ottawa: Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, 1973).

[16] W. C. Thomas and R. G. McIntosh, Return Home, Watch Your Family: A Review of the Native Indian Teacher Education Program at the University of British Columbia (Edmonton, Alberta: Department of Indian Affairs, 1977): 9.

as 1972, in Alberta, through its regular program, the University of Calgary had graduated only one teacher of Indian ancestry despite the fact that there were more than 40 schools in Alberta with substantial Indian pupil enrollment.[17] The pattern was similar in Manitoba. Before 1965 there were only three graduate trained teachers[18] and six years later, when the registered Indian population was over 43,000, this figure had increased to only seven.[19] By 1977 there was a total of 82 certified Indian teacher education graduates registered.[20] If persons of registered treaty Indian status were represented in the teaching force in Manitoba in proportion to their numbers in the total population, there would have been more than 500 Indian teachers in the classrooms. On this basis, it can be said that in the area of Indian teacher education in Canada there was, as late as the 1970s, considerable catching up to be done.

The educational implications of the vast shortage of trained Indian teachers gained considerable importance when the language problem was considered. Many Indian children began their schooling in a language other than their maternal language. Since the maternal language of many was an indigenous language, they lacked language facility in English or French as they entered school, and they were at a considerable disadvantage in their early years of schooling. Also, because a child learned

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[17] Ian R. Brooks and Evelyn Moore, The Indian Students University Program Services (I.S.U.P.S.) Second Evaluation Report, 1973-74 (Calgary University: Faculty of Education, 1974): 6.

[18] Indian and Northern Affairs, The Indian and Inuit Graduate Register, 1977 (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs, 1978): 20-23.

[19] Ibid., pp. 20-23.

[20] Ibid.

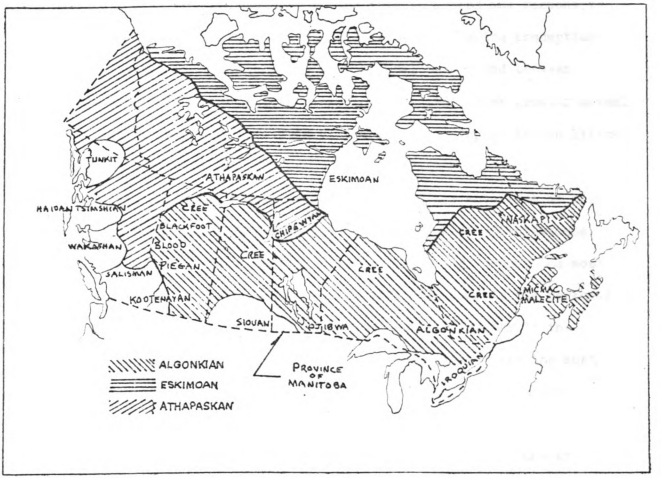
to express himself freely and clearly in the early grades, one of the most important factors was use of the maternal language. In many cases, there were few full-time qualified native teachers at these crucial levels. A major force behind the drive to increase the quantity of Indian teachers was the desire to fill this language gap.

The problem, however, did not have an easy solution. Canada has ten distinct Indian linguistic groups; six of them are in the present confines of British Columbia: Algonkian, Athabaskan, Iroquoian, Sioux, Kootenayan, Salishan, Wakashaw, Tsimshian, Haida, Tlinkit. The last six are in British Columbia. These would be mutually unintelligible and therefore would create a barrier to the mobility of Indian teachers wishing to instruct in the maternal language. The Algonkian language had the largest number of speakers of any linguistic group in Canada and included the following dialects: Cree, Ojibwa, Algonkian, Naskapi, Malecite, Micmac, Blackfoot, Piegan, Blood, Gros Ventres. Within this group of dialects the Cree and Ojibwa (called Saulteaux in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, and Chippewa in the United States) were numerically the largest and would provide for considerable mobility for teachers wishing to instruct in their maternal language if the maternal language was still used by the children. Figure 1.1 indicates the Indian linguistic families in Canada.

When Manitoba, the province under consideration in this study, is considered it is seen that there are four main Indian languages spoken. Cree and Ojibwa (Saulteaux) predominate, while Siouan and Chipewyan are limited to the southwestern corner and northeastern corner of the province respectively. For a Cree speaking teacher, who wished to teach children whose maternal language was Cree, considerable mobility would exist. In the southern part of the province, however, acculturation

Figure 1.1

Indian Linguistic Families in Canada



Source: D. Bruce Sealey, "Algonkian Linguistics," in D. Bruce Sealey and Verna Kirtness, Indian Without Tipis (Agincourt, Ontario: The Book Society of Canada, 1974): 75.

has progressed more rapidly than in the northern part of the province and fewer children would have an Indian maternal language making the necessity for bilingual teachers less acute. In the northern part of the Province, however, Cree is very much the maternal language.

Many Indian people and educators of Indian children believed that the Indian teacher would be better able to assess and respond to the needs of an Indian child. This view was based on the assumption that the similarities in language and cultural background between teacher and child would improve communications and foster greater mutual understanding and learning. This view found some support in the literature which suggested that the personality characteristics of the teacher, her attitudes toward her students, and her knowledge of them and their background were all related to her teaching effectiveness. Swift, for example, found that in nursery and primary school the most important variable in the effectiveness of the program is the personality and behavior of the teacher.[21] Hawthorne, while referring to the Canadian Indian child, wrote "...we are of the opinion that the most essential requirements (in a teacher of Indian pupils) are a concern for and a sensitivity to the individual child and his needs, and an ability to meet these needs which vary so from pupil to pupil."[22] One of the most important factors in developing good rapport between teacher and child would surely be the ability on the part of the teacher to use the maternal language of the beginning school children. It would be ideal

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[21] Joan W. Swift, "Effects of Early Group Experience: The Nursery School and Day Nursery," in M. L. and L. W. Hoffman, eds., Review of Child Development Research (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1964).

[22] H. B. Hawthorne, C. S. Belshaw, and S. M. Jamieson, The Indians of British Columbia (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958): 307.

to be able to show conclusively that native bilingual teachers in the classroom would increase school achievement. Barbara Burnaby commented:

> ...the actual relationship between the presence of the Native bilinguals in Canadian Native schools and changes in school achievement or the child's sense of identity cannot be ascertained from the data we have at present.[23]

The essential point for our purposes was that many people thought having Native teachers helped and their utilization in bilingual programs was seen as a good development in the involvement of local people in their own educational system. Verna J. Kirtness stressed:

> It is too early to speculate about its (the Manitoba Bilingual Program) long range value. We believe it will be positive. It has succeeded in making the native child feel better about himself, his home, and his community. This positive attitude will help many on the road to success. The strength of this approach lies in the involvements of native teachers, the native community and the use of community based materials and resources.[24]

Over the past decade, a growing public awareness of both the inadequacies and the inequities of the education system for Indian people in Canada has developed. The challenge of the next decade will be whether or not our education system can effectively respond to the education needs of the Indian people on an equitable basis. A dramatic change in the numbers of Indians pursuing higher education has already taken place. Whereas in 1959-60 only 99 Indians were attending universities,

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[23] Barbara Burnaby, "Language in Native Education," in Merrill Swain, ed., Bilingualism in Canadian Education, in Yearbook of the Canadian Society for the Study of Education (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1976): 76.

[24] Verna J. Kirtness, Manitoba Native Bilingual Program (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs, 1976): 21.

this number had increased to 298 by 1969-70.[25] In 1976-77 school year there were 3,577 Indian students attending universities, affiliated training colleges, nurse and teacher training programs.[26] Although this latter figure included those attending teacher training colleges and nursing training and was,therefore,not strictly comparable to the previous years figures, it does mark a significant increase in higher education attendance and indicates a notable change in attitude toward higher learning. This surge of interest has influenced the education of Indian teachers in Canada. A variety of sources have fostered the provision of teacher preparation and related programs for people expecting to work in educational settings with large populations of students of native ancestry. As well there has been a pronounced increase in the number of new programs across Canada aimed at training Indian teachers.

Continuing Problem

Regardless, however, of either the character or magnitude of education's response to this challenge, the next decade will surely impose new demands and problems. Already some 62 Indian Bands manage the schools on reserves and others have taken over control of the school systems in their communities.[27] This will place new demands for native educational personnel. With almost equal certainty, the Indian population growth rate will continue to be Canada's highest at two

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[25] Verna J. Kirtness, "Education of Indian and Metis," in Bruce Sealey and Verna J. Kirtness, Indians Without Tipis (Agincourt, Ontario: The Book Society of Canada, 1974): 147.

[26] Indian and Northern Affairs, Annual Report 1976-77 (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs, 1977): 29.

[27] Ibid.

percent per annum[28] and will tax the ability of schools of education to prepare adequate numbers of Indian teachers. Finally, it is possible that the rising expectations of Indian people will add a new and significant dimension to Canada's Indian educational needs.

In response to the challenge, any reordering of the present system of education for Indian people must include attention to the major problem of numbers and distribution of educational manpower. Quantitatively there is a need for more teachers, educational administrators and planners. Likewise, there is a need to pursue the effective use of less traditional education personnel such as teacher aides, local home-school coordinators and trained community developers. Beyond this, there is the continuing problem of a disproportionate concentration of good teachers in urban versus rural areas and the tendency for urban drift to occur once advanced training is received.

Canadian universities have launched into new teacher training programs in order to cope with the quantitative aspects of the teacher shortage. Such programs may generate adequate numbers of Indian teachers, but attention must also be given to the equitable distribution of educational manpower. The only way the present system of teacher preparation could affect distribution of educational manpower would be to create a significant excess of teachers in urban centers in the hope that economic pressures would drive some of the better teachers to rural areas. This may happen to some degree as teacher surpluses develop, but it is unlikely to result in teachers, administrators and planners making their careers in rural isolated places. If these observations are

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[28] Ibid.

correct, it follows that any resolution of the Indian education problem demands new approaches to these underlying manpower problems. In looking for such new approaches it is neither appropriate nor feasible to suggest acute or radical changes in the present system of teacher education at universities, but it is appropriate to expect the present system to be expanded by the addition of new educational programs specifically designed to meet the problem. It is this manpower consideration which led to the formation of the teacher preparation program under study in this work, the Brandon University Northern Teacher Education Project (B.U.N.T.E.P.).

THE PROBLEM OF THIS STUDY

This study addressed the general concern for equitable educational services for rural Indian communities by studying the progress and development of an educational program designed to meet the problem of a shortage of trained Indian teachers in rural areas. The program was a community-based teacher-training program which attempted to complement the present system of teacher training and to significantly alleviate the certified Indian teacher manpower problem, both in terms of numbers and distribution. At the same time, the program had the potential to have a far-reaching impact on the education system of the communities served by such programs.

The problem of this study was threefold; first to study how the program progressed and developed from September 1976 to August 1978 in one community; second, to study what factors appeared to impede or assist the attainment of the program's goals; third, to examine those aspects of the program model which may be used to develop models for village based teacher education programs in other developing areas.

Methodology

Information for this study was obtained over a period of two years while the writer lived in a northern Cree Indian reservation in Manitoba. Written materials were gathered about the program but the bulk of the data was collected by participant observation. The researcher spent two years, with his family, as resident center coordinator in the village, both as a member of the community and a member of a team delivering the community-based teacher education program. The position of Center Coordinator required that an identifiable role be filled but provided the writer with the opportunity to legitimately discuss school, education and community topics in an open and non-threatening way. The family residence was about one mile away from the teachers' trailer accommodation complex, often called locally the "teachers' compound." This separation added to the stress of living but reduced the identification with the teachers as a group and allowed for more constant contact with local neighbors on a non-professional basis. Remaining in the position as Center Coordinator a second year increased this contact considerably and provided valuable insights. Contact and conversation were aided by the fact that the residence was attached to the teacher center, and a policy of seven-days-a-week operation was assumed which increased opportunities for exchanges.

The methodology employed to examine how the program progressed and what factors appeared to impede or assist its progress was based on Ronald Havelock's[29] model of the change agent as a process helper in which the following stages were identified:

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[29] Ronald G. Havelock, The Change Agent's Guide to Innovation in Education (Englewood Cliffs: Educational Technology Publications, 1973): 13.

1. Building a relationship between change agent and client.
2. Diagnosing the problem.
3. Acquiring relevant resources.
4. Choosing the solution.
5. Gaining acceptance.
6. Stabilizing the innovation and generating self-renewal.

This study is divided into six chapters as follows: Chapter I presents an introduction; Chapter II overviews the education of native teachers in Canada and describes the B.U.N.T.E.P. program in general; Chapter III provides a description of the community setting; Chapter IV contains a description of the program as it developed in one community; Chapter V examines those program features which may be used to develop an improved model; Chapter VI contains the summary, conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATION OF NATIVE TEACHERS IN CANADA

TRENDS

As an educational system is influenced by the social, cultural and economic milieu it is intended to serve, so also is the teacher education apparatus which forms part of that system. L. J. Stiles underscored this contention when he stated that:

> To understand teacher education, then, at a given point in time, one must be sensitive to the social milieu in which it exists and appreciate the dominant forces that play upon it.[1]

Moreover, he has asserted that for teacher education to be sensitive and appropriate in a changing world:

> The quest will always be to prepare "teachers for the times;" the problem will be to understand the times and to change with them. But the times are not monolithic; they vary with different cultural, economic, and political groups.[2]

Such a group represents the Canadian Indian who is no longer a silent, 'invisible' minority, but a strong force shaping Indian education in Canada. Indeed, the Indian people have put forth their views on

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[1] Lindley J. Stiles, "State of the Art of Teacher Education," The Journal of Educational Research, 64 (May-June, 1971): 389.

[2] Ibid., p. 391.

education for Indian children[3] and, as previously mentioned, point to the acute shortage of qualified Indian teachers as a contributing factor in the problem of high drop-out rates and gross retardation[4] in Indian schools today. The raison d'être of most teacher education programs for Indians was the mitigation of these problems by making it possible for Indian people to acquire the necessary qualifications and skills to permit them to enter the native education field.

The idea of developing programs which were intended to provide access to higher education for the 'non-traditional' student gained considerable momentum in America in the 1970s and was, therefore, not limited to programs for native people. Indeed, as early as 1972 a third of all American colleges and universities were probably engaged in truly unconventional programs, according to a study of the supply of non-traditional education.[5] Describing the features of these programs, Valley identified ten characteristics of the non-traditional movement in higher education which place the trends in Canadian teacher training programs for Indian students in a broader perspective. The characteristics were:

-- the broadened base of degree-granting authority

-- the emergence of competence as a basis for awarding degrees

-- the discovery of adult college-level students

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[3] National Indian Brotherhood, Indian Control of Indian Education (Ottawa: National Indian Brotherhood, 1972).

[4] For a recent description of age-grade retardation in a school which recently was placed under local control see the Pequis School Board, Evaluation of Pequis Federal School (Pequis, Manitoba, 1977): 88-91.

[5] Cyril O. Houle, The External Degree (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publications, 1974): 13.

-- the student as planner-designer of his or her educational program

-- the recognition of experiential learning

-- specialized educational services

-- the reinterpretation of residence

-- the beginning of compulsory adult education

-- more skill in the application of technology to the delivery of instruction

-- the questioning of education as preparation for life.[6]

Similar trends which have emerged in Canadian Indian teacher education programs were significant and required analysis.

Need for Indian Teachers

The first important trend in the development of programs to prepare Indian teachers in Canada was the emergence of a rationale which recognized that Indian children in schools have not done well. Several writers[7] pointed out that approximately ninety percent of Indian students entering grade one failed to reach grade twelve as opposed to ten percent of non-Indian students. Why did so many students drop out of the Canadian school systems? Professor H. B. Hawthorne described an important aspect of the problem. He suggested that the early home training of Indian children cannot be paralleled with the process of training

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[6] John R. Valley, "Non-traditional Study in the 1970s," The College Board Review, 106 (Winter 1977-78): 4.

[7] See Harold Cardinal, The Unjust Society: The Tragedy of Canada's Indians (Edmonton: M. G. Hurtig, Ltd. 1969); H. B. Hawthorne, A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada: A Report on Economics, Political, Educational Needs and Policies (Ottawa: Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1966); R. B. Lane, "Canadian Indians," Canadian Psychologist, 13 (1972).

which non-Indian children were undergoing at the same time. The difference in general orientation ultimately proved to be crucial for the Indian child:

> The average Indian child enters the public school system with an orientation considerably different to that of the non-Indian child. The difference in orientation creates a discontinuity of experience which places him in a disadvantageous position relative to his classmates.... The Indian child is not ready to use the tools of the school until he familiarizes himself with them, and while he is engaged in this task, his white peers are learning skills such as reading and writing. The Indian child begins to drop behind the pace of the majority of the children in his class. Some children in some schools overcome this initial lag. The more common case is for the Indian child to build a cumulative deficit which hampers his ability to perform successfully in the upper grades. By the fifth grade the child has experienced so much failure and is so demoralized that he withdraws from the learning process as much as he can and aspires to leave school at the first opportunity.[8]

At the lower grades, especially, it became recognized that part of the solution to the dilemma was to be found in the preparation of Indian teachers. It was assumed they had not only the language but the cultural background which was required to understand Indian children and to be understood by them. Hobart, speaking of southern teachers in northern communities has expressed it this way:

> One of the most telling indications of alienating attempts at teaching in the north is that teachers just do not know how often they "turn off" their students by their failure to grasp the extent to which the bases from which they speak, and the bases from which their students listen, are "worlds

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[8] Harry Hawthorne, ed., A Survey of Contemporary Indians in Canada (Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch, 1967): 148.

apart."[9]

The need for Indian teachers which formed the rationale of many programs gains in importance as the remoteness and isolation of the community and as the use of the maternal language increased. The lack of harmonious personal contact between teachers and Indian young people was not only a major impetus in the direction of programs to prepare native teachers but was also one of the explicit justifications of such programs, for instance, N.I.T.E.P., the University of British Columbia Native Indian Teacher Education Program,[10] and the Northwest Territories Teacher Education Program.[11]

Recognition of Cultural Needs of Trainee

A second major trend which emerged from the proliferation of programs aimed at developing Indian teachers was the recognition that the specific community, cultural and linguistic knowledge possessed by the Indian teacher trainee should be the strength and building stone for development rather than the cause of failure in the program. In other words, there was an attempt to build on the cultural strengths of the trainee rather than to downgrade the trainee's traditional practices and disregard the belief system upon which they were based. The focus of many of the programs was not character-training typical of the British Public

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[9] Charles W. Hobart, "Eskimo Education in the Canadian Arctic," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 7 (February 1970): 54.

[10] W. C. Thomas and R. G. McIntosh, Return Home, Watch Your Family: A Review of the Native Indian Teacher Education Program at the University of British Columbia (Edmonton, Alberta: Department of Indian Affairs, 1977): 31.

[11] Myrtle Aldous, Don Barnett, and Cecil King, eds., Teacher Education Programs for Native People (Saskatchewan: University of Saskatchewan, 1973): 90-96.

School system which tended to degrade inappropriate, unapproved cultural aspects and substitute the approved behavior type.[12] Instead, the focus was on the search for alternative ways to cater for cultural differences. An emerging trend in the new programs for the education of Indian teachers in Canada was illustrated by the British Columbian N.I.T.E.P. program. As Thomas and McIntosh have written, it attempts to "...seek out another way of taking account of these cultural differences other than by ignoring or eradicating the differences."[13] They asserted:

> If these programs are not simply to be sorting machines which winnow out the few for socialization into the dominant culture, and discard the rest, then they must strive to create situations in which a unique culture can emerge, a special kind of community for learning. In the arrangements provided for by NITEP, this community for learning would emerge at first in the life of the field centres and would somehow be sustained, in all its promise and fragility, in the face of rentless pressures on the main UBC campus during the third and fourth years of the students' program.[14]

Such a recognition of the cultural differences between the university's community and the students' community, together with the rapidly growing recognition of the need for Indian teachers has been operationalized in many Indian teacher education programs in Canada by employment of the concepts of community-based universities, recognition of experiential learning, an emphasis on practical experience in training, and greater student/community involvement in the students' educational program.

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[12] Edmund King, Other Schools and Ours (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973): 214.

[13] Thomas, Return Home, p. 5.

[14] Ibid.

Community-Based University

The community-based university addressed the criticism that traditional institutions were unnecessarily tied to campus and classrooms, neglecting the learning needs and learning resources of the broader community. The underlying assumption was that residential study was not necessarily the best or most effective form of post-secondary education for all individuals.[15] Traditionally, a student had to be physically present and engage in study on campus in order to fulfill residency requirements and earn a degree.[16] The redefining of residency was a characteristic of the nontraditional education movement[17] and was an important part of attempts to make education more accessible to people in rural and northern Canadian communities. Indeed, it has been the basis for the development of community-based university or decentralized teacher education programs for Indian students in Canada.

Illustrative of this Canadian development was one of the teacher training programs at Brandon University, namely I.M.P.A.C.T.E. (Indian-Metis Program for Action through Careers in Education) which arranged for groups of about ten to fifteen students to study as teams in four scattered, geographic locations in the province.[18] Similarly, the Indian teacher-education program at the University of British Columbia

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[15] Goodwin Watson, "Origins, Intent, and Current Developments," New Directions for Institutional Research, 1 (Winter 1974): 3.

[16] John R. Valley, "Nontraditional Study in the 1970s," The College Board Review, 106 (Winter 1977-78): 7.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Roger I. Simon, compiler, IMPACTE: A Descriptive Report and Evaluation of the First 18 Months (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1973): 8.

arranged teams of about fifteen students in up to five urban and rural towns where almost half the B. Ed. program was undertaken in field locations. Another example of community-based university education was the University of Alaska's rural teacher training corps (ARTIC). Although their course work was delivered from the University of Alaska and the Alaska Methodist University, students teach in ten rural native villages.[19] The University of Calgary first extended its university courses to surrounding Indian reserves and other centers of native population at Morley in 1973.[20]

The necessity for development of community-based university education for Indian students was apparent and was based on the need to provide rural and northern communities with increased options and new educational opportunities. In such areas it was often extremely difficult for individuals to leave home to attend on-campus university programs in large urban centers, partly because they assumed important family and community responsibilities at an early age.[21] In addition, through decentralization, community-based university education provided the student with a largely Indian environment within which to undertake his

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[19] Raymond J. Barnhardt, "Being a Native and Becoming a Teacher in the Alaska Rural Teacher Training Corps," in Franklin Berry, ed., The Collected Papers of the Northern Cross-Cultural Education Symposium, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, November 7, 8, 9, 1973 (Fairbanks: Alaska University, 1974): 129-148.

[20] Ian R. Brooks and Evelyn Moore, The Indian Students University Program Services (I.S.U.P.S.) Second Evaluation Report, 1973-74 (Calgary University: Faculty of Education, 1974): 6.

[21] Doug Brown, Rosalee Tizya and Eric Gourdean, "Apprentice Teachers: An Experiment in Apprentice Teacher Training in Northern Canada," in Doug Brown, et. al., Man in the North, Technical Paper, Education in the Canadian North: 1971-72 (Montreal: The Arctic Institute of North America, 1973): 54.

or her beginning years of university study. This had important implications. It generated a special learning environment which allowed a period of confidence building and of development of a new pride. Referring to the University of British Columbia's program, Thomas and McIntosh maintained:

> A feeling of solidarity develops which crosses regional and linguistic lines. An opportunity is provided for Indian students to reflect upon questions which have dogged them for many years, in company with other Indians who have had similar experiences. What does it mean to be an Indian in this society? How do we hold on to our own ways of living and yet come to terms with the dominant culture? ...The field centre is far more than a convenient unit of organization. It is a temporary community, a means of raising consciousness which helps students see with new eyes and infuses them with new hopes.[22]

Specialized Educational Services

In addition, the decentralized nature of many of the programs provided the basis for specialized educational services. Illustrative of this trend was the opportunity to take field experience in the schools and locations where the student will most likely first seek employment. The Northern Education Project at Brandon University, for example, placed students from northern communities who were attending classes on Brandon campus in the schools of three isolated northern communities for a five week field experience. The purpose was to provide a practice teaching session that would contribute to the knowledge, skills and attitudes of the student teacher within the context of northern Manitoban communities. It also provided the opportunity to build upon the cultural

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[22] Thomas, Return Home, p. 28.

strengths of the Cree speaking students who could work in a more similar cultural setting.

Emphasis on Practical Experience

Another important developing trend in the preparation of Indian teachers in Canada was the increased emphasis on practical experience, on involving the prospective teacher in first-hand experiences in schools, and the intellectual analysis of professional problems throughout the entire period of undergraduate study. This trend appeared to be based, according to Barnett,[23] on the notion that first-hand classroom experience made course work more meaningful and gave the prospective teacher an early opportunity to decide whether or not he or she wants to pursue teaching as a career.

The development of field experience programs was further illustrated by Brandon University's I.M.P.A.C.T.E. program which included emphasis on actual teaching experience throughout the length of the program by requiring six practice teaching periods. The Indian Teacher Education Program at the University of Saskatchewan was similar and placed students in student teaching and internship experience situations for six weeks in each of the five semesters of the program.[24] The Winnipeg Center Project, a teacher-education program designed for inner-city, low-income groups, placed students in practice-teaching situations in each year of the program.[25]

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[23] Don Barnett, "The Emergence of New Concepts for Teacher-Education Field Experience," Interchange, 6 (1975): 44.

[24] Aldous, Programs for Native People, p. 106.

[25] J. Deines, "The Winnipeg Center Project: Teacher Education for Inner-City People," Interchange, 4 (1974): 106-110.

Indian People Involvement

A very clear and important development in the preparation of Indian teachers in Canada was the involvement of Indian people in as many facets of the program as possible. As noted previously, the National Indian Brotherhood's official educational policy was Indian control of Indian education, and the involvement of Indian people at all levels of program development. The involvement of Indian people at all levels of program development was seen as an essential aspect of the program for preparing Indian teachers.

The Indian Teacher Education Program (I.T.E.P.) at the University of Saskatchewan heavily involved Indian people. This program was conceived by Indian people, the education model was developed by Indian people and the first director of the program was Mr. Cecil King, an Ojibwa Indian from Ontario.[26] At the University of British Columbia, four of the seven members of the initially important Dean's committee which operationalized N.I.T.E.P. were Indian people. Thomas and McIntosh reported that the then U.B.C. program director placed great importance on Indians gaining influence and control in the programs designed to serve them. The advisory committee for the N.I.T.E.P. program served as a vehicle for the Indian community to make their aspirations known to the University, empowers the voice of the Indian in University decision-making, provided a forum in which budget deliberations could be exposed to the point-of-view of Indian leaders, and finally, provided an appeal board for students not satisfied with the way in which staff members have handled

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[26] Don Barnett and Myrtle Aldous, "Ten Principles Underlying a Teacher Education Program for Native People," The Northian, 9 (Spring, 1973): 36.

their problems.[27]

A second area of involvement of Indian people in the university teacher education program was at the local, field-center levels. Several programs utilized the local people in the selection of the original participants. For example, a teacher-assistant program that enrolled students at the teachers' college in Hamilton, Ontario, required that applicants be recommended by local chiefs and councils and Indian organizations. This practice was common. A similar procedure was followed by the University of Saskatchewan[28] and the Man in the North Apprentice Teacher experiment in northern Canada. Brown pointed out that this procedure in the apprentice teacher experiment was based on recognition of the fact that the local people knew their people best and knew whether an individual could succeed or was capable of doing the job. In addition, it was recognized that the community generated decisions were based on not only a realistic assessment of the individual, but the wisdom and trust that goes with it.[29] This trust and show of confidence on the part of the community for the trainee was seen as a positive factor in stimulating the trainee to want to succeed.

Open Admission Policy

Finally, the last emerging concept for teacher education to be highlighted in this overview is the discovery of the adult college-level student.[30] Many programs have been devised with the need to provide

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[27] Thomas, Return Home, p. 91.

[28] Walter Kupsch and Maryse Caillol, The University and the Canadian North: Inventory of Classes, Research and Special Projects (Ottawa: Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, 1973).

[29] Brown, "Apprentice Teachers," p. 102.

[30] Valley, "Non-traditional Study," p. 5.

access to higher education for the nontraditional student in mind. Entrance requirements to the university were one area of change. Although some programs required grade twelve,[31] others waived the matriculation prerequisite and offered a mature student an admission program. The trend, therefore, was to permit the students to enroll even though they had not completed high school, provide them with special support, but expect them to satisfy the same exit requirements as any regular university student.

In sum, then, this brief overview of some of the more important developments in the education of Indian teachers in Canada was intended to provide the background necessary to understand why the Brandon University Northern Teacher Education Program, the topic of this study, has become an important model for a rural community field-based teacher education program. It also attempted to lay the basis for understanding how B.U.N.T.E.P. incorporated most of the recent trends in Indian teacher education, namely, a more flexible university admission policy, the building and developing of cultural strengths of the applicants, a redefinition of residency, an emphasis on practical experience, and the involvement of the Indian people.

We move now to a description of the B.U.N.T.E.P. program in general and an examination of ways in which the B.U.N.T.E.P. program reflects and accommodates recent developments in the education of Indian teachers.

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[31] Brown, "Apprentice Teachers," p. 52.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE B.U.N.T.E.P. PROGRAM

Goals and Rationale

The Brandon University Northern Teacher Education Project was a response to the need to prepare northern people to teach in northern schools, thus providing a stable teaching force sensitive to the culture of the region. In addition to responding to the need to break the vicious circle of school drop-outs and age-grade retardation amongst Indian children, the Project was based on the premise that many northern Manitoba communities did not possess viable economic basis or much local employment. The Project was,therefore,a response also to the need to provide local northern people with the opportunity to acquire the appropriate post-secondary knowledge, skills and credentials to enable them to compete for local employment opportunities. The Project was to develop a system of delivery of services which involved the community and participants as directly as possible in the design, content and delivery of the system. Attention was to be paid to community education in order to prevent a sharp division between lay citizens and their own professionals.[32]

The Project's objectives were then to deliver a teacher education program in northern Manitoban communities in order to extend to people who traditionally have not had access to post-secondary professional training, the opportunity to meet the requirements for an elementary teaching certificate which would be valid for all Manitoba. In addition, the Project's objectives were to assist in the development and delivery

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[32] Brandon University - Province of Manitoba - B.U.N.T.E.P. Agreement, 20 March 1975.

of education in general in the north and to provide a variety of post-secondary educational opportunities for people who live in northern Manitoba. The objectives were unique in that they offered delivery of a recognized university degree program in the home community of the students.

History of the Program

The B.U.N.T.E.P. program started in 1975, after several programs for Indian people, supported by Brandon University, had experienced satisfactory progress. One of these programs, the Project for Education of Native Teachers (P.E.N.T.) began in 1971 and featured five years of extended on-campus summer sessions coupled with full-time teaching or teacher-aide jobs in a number of different locations throughout the province. Another successful program was the Indian-Metis Project for Careers through Teacher Education (I.M.P.A.C.T.E.)[33] which provided teacher training for both treaty and non-treaty Indians who began studying in the Fall of 1971 at three locations in southern Manitoba. The students lived at home in their own communities, worked part-time assisting teachers, and received university instruction in the off-campus centers. The following year (1972) the Winnipeg Center Project was initiated with a mandate to train inner-city residents as teachers.[34] All programs led to regular Manitoban teacher certification.

By 1973 programs for minority people were popular and supported by both the federal department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and a new Manitoban government. Requests from northern communities

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[33] Roger, IMPACTE, pp. 1-75.

[34] Deines, Winnipeg Center.

for program expansion, restricted by I.M.P.A.C.T.E.'s limited financial resources, were met by the Planning and Field Experiences Office at Brandon University. Efforts between the Youth Secretariate (Department of Colleges and University Affairs) and I.M.P.A.C.T.E. were coordinated in a way to facilitate the operation of a Northern Education Project in Summer, 1974, which arranged practicums for northern students in Nelson House, Norway House and Split Lake. Concurrently, the provincial government investigated methods for financial support of an elementary-secondary school training program with additional options in such areas as preventive public health, municipal government, recreation and social services.

Feasibility for northern off-campus delivery of programs was confirmed by the success of the summer Northern Education Project for I.M.P.A.C.T.E. students. The Senate of the University and Faculty Council of the Faculty of Education accepted sponsorship of B.U.N.T.E.P. A six month planning period was initiated and January 1975 set as the target date for course delivery. Letters of inquiry which outlined the program were sent to Nelson House, Norway House, Cross Lake, Island Lake, and Split Lake Band Councils. All communities were visited by the director and academic coordinator, and local councils and school personnel contacted. If either of these groups did not fully support the idea, the Project was not initiated in that community. Physical facilities for a teaching center, classes, the resident professor and the visiting professors were acquired. Thus the program commenced in January, 1975.

Community-Based Program

The B.U.N.T.E.P. program was highly decentralized. It carried out the majority of its activities in isolated northern communities rather than on the University campus. Each field Center had a team of eight to fifteen students under the supervision of a resident professor who was a full-time faculty member of the University with teaching, administrative and coordinating responsibilities. The importance of this role to the effectiveness of the program cannot be over-emphasized. Responsibilities included overall administration of the Center, liaison with local community and government, course instruction, arranging and supervising of field experience for students, and acting as Center resource person for distribution and use of professional, curriculum and teaching aides and materials. Course instruction in the Centers was carried out mainly by sessional contract professors who travelled to the field mainly by aircraft for various periods of time ranging from one day a week over a period of months to a block of several weeks, five hours per day, for three to five weeks. Each field Center had a well supplied teacher center which professors used as an integral part of course delivery and an environment in which Project students and cooperating teachers could plan lessons. In some centers, community people have used the ideas and materials at the Center to assist in tasks ranging from preparing Sunday School materials to repairing snowmobiles.

The community-based nature of the program demanded and provided for a very close relationship between the University and the local schools. The practice teaching experience was initiated in the first semester of the program and continued throughout each of the six semesters. As the number of teaching staff was small, a close relationship was possible between B.U.N.T.E.P. students and cooperating teachers

who developed a strong sense of responsibility to the program. Because of the University's close involvement and the limited number of schools in any community, it was possible for benefits to accrue to both school and university personnel as they interacted in planning and implementing the training venture. Such an extended practicum in the classroom setting was intended to ensure an easy transition for student teachers from somewhat shielded situations in the practice teaching sessions to fully responsible professional teacher positions. In addition, the community-based nature of the program was intended to make it possible to operate in the local communities in ways which reflect goals of both the university program and the local school district.

Central to the concept of decentralization and community-based university education was the field center local committee which provided for local community representation and input into the field center operation and policy development. Each Center was considered a mini-campus with its own particular geographic, social-cultural milieu and specific problems. Membership of the committee had usually included the Chief, school principal, and representatives of the Band, school committee, teachers and students in addition to the Project Director and Center Coordinator. The activities and nature of the committee varied with each center but usually the committee had authority regarding the policy of the center in the following areas: student recruitment, approval of project staff working in the community, local project evaluation, adaptation of the program to meet community needs and local communication.

The community focus of the program permitted the recruitment of students who normally could not leave the community because of family responsibilities. Any northern person was eligible to apply to the

program as students were considered on their individual merits, not only their academic achievements. Admission to the program was based on the Mature Student Admission policy of Brandon University which states that students who have not completed high school must be at least twenty-one years of age. Although all participants had to be recommended by the local committee, they could apply or have their application supported by the Band Councils, Manitoba Metis Federation, Manitoba Indian Brotherhood or other community groups.

Course of Study

The B.U.N.T.E.P. program followed the course requirements of the regular three year Bachelor of Teaching degree of the Faculty of Education at Brandon University. Students enrolled before Fall 1976 could complete the three year (ninety credit hours) degree requirements or exit with certification after two years (sixty credit hours). In the first sixty credit hours, twenty-four credit hours were required in basic methods and education courses, six credits in each of language arts and general elementary school structure and curriculum, three each in science, mathematics, social studies and the psychology of teaching and learning. For the other thirty-six credit hours, six had to be education electives. The remaining thirty credit hours could be totally arts and science or a combination of as little as twenty-one credit hours of arts and science and as many as nine hours of education. The third year of the Bachelor of Training Program offered good flexibility with the majors available in special education, pre-school education, cross-cultural education or in an academic area. An innovative aspect of the program was evident in the support given by the Native Studies department with respect to delivery of such established courses as

Canada and the Native and the initiation of new courses such as Cree Syllabics to meet specific program needs.

As well, students were encouraged to include in their program of study as many courses as possible which pertained to their own interests. Students were also permitted to complete their studies at their own speed, and were encouraged to study full-time for eleven months with as many summers on campus as possible. Further, students had to prove themselves to be capable teachers in a classroom situation. This was usually accomplished over the three year period through six to fifteen weeks placement with classroom teachers each year. Since there was the requirement of an extended practice teaching session each fall and winter, the three year program for on-campus students was completed in about four years in the off-campus field Centers.

Distinguishing Features

In sum, how did the program address concerns which were unique to the preparation of native teachers? First it recognized the need for compensoratory education for a minority which was underrepresented in the profession. Second, it used the cultural strengths of the students' life to act as a basis for success rather than as a barrier to education by taking the university to the world of the student, not the student to the unfamiliar world of the university. The small group of Indian students who studied with a professor in the students' home community allowed the student to pursue his studies in a known environment. This policy was consistent with the emerging trend of decentralization in teacher education programs for Indian teachers.

Another distinguishing characteristic of the program, in addition to it being delivered on site, was the need for the involvement of

Indian people and a sense of community commitment. The commitment to the program was a prerequisite for the selection of a community as a B.U.N.T.E.P. center. The community was involved in the selection of students and was involved in the on-going monitoring of the program through the medium of a local B.U.N.T.E.P. committee. This concern for the direct involvement and inclusion of the local Indian people in the preparation of the teachers who were being prepared for their schools reflected an important concern which was unique to the preparation of Indian teachers.

A fourth distinguishing characteristic of the program was the inclusion of continuous field experience. From the first semester of the students' course of study the student was introduced to the classroom situation. The extended field practicum totalling up to forty weeks of classroom exposure continued each semester for the duration of the three year program. This created the opportunity for the student teachers to gain a more meaningful perspective of their university course work and the actual classroom teaching situation. It provided the opportunity for university personnel to gain insights into the current educational situation of northern schools so that course work could be made especially pertinent.

Another distinguishing characteristic of the program was the provision of a full-time Center Coordinator, resident in the community, with a key role to play in the practicums, in leadership, counselling, instruction and tutoring of students, center administration and liaison with the community. This feature of the program addressed the common weakness in many programs which attempted to administer a program in isolated rural areas by visitations from a larger urban center. I.M.P.A.C.T.E., the forerunner of the B.U.N.T.E.P. program, found this

method of operation unsuccessful. The uniqueness of the provision of a resident Center Coordinator was twofold. First, it provided for on the spot monitoring of the field operation, and second, it was linked to the notion that whereas the rural student was the "cultural stranger" when he attended an urban community, in the B.U.N.T.E.P. program, the resident Center Coordinator and the visiting professors were the "cultural strangers" in the students' home community.

A final distinguishing characteristic of the program was the nature and extent of the financial, academic and personal support available to the students. The basic premise was that students must be freed from the interfering influences of home life in order to apply themselves to full-time day study. Subsistence allowances, day care monies, travel allowances, medical funds, and a wide variety of individual academic and personal support were available. Unlike many programs, support for graduated students was readily available and employment opportunities numerous.

A detailed examination of the particular nature of one community where the B.U.N.T.E.P. program was implemented will now be undertaken before a more detailed examination of the program as it was operated in an isolated Cree Indian community is considered.

CHAPTER III

THE COMMUNITY SETTING

An understanding of the program specifics in Cross Lake is gained by first considering the community setting.

Cree Background

It has been argued that the Cree Indians, through their historical position and geographical extensiveness, were the most important North American Indian group in Canada.[1] One of the largest branches of the great family of Algonquian, the Cree moved west to the prairies as their tribes outgrew the limited resources of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence valleys in central Canada. Although five hundred years ago they could be found east of James Bay, south of Hudson Bay, and north of Lake Winnipeg,[2] today they live mainly in the northern regions of the provinces stretching from Labrador to Alberta.[3] Figure 3.1 shows the extensiveness of the geographical distribution of the Cree people.

The Cree people were identified according to three linguistic and behavioral types; the Woodland Cree of the west, the Plains Cree who

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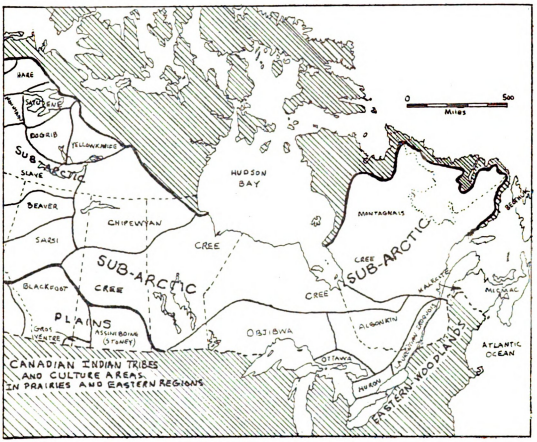
[1] A. D. Fisher, "The Cree of Canada: Some Ecological and Evolutionary Considerations," Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology, 14 (1969): 7.

[2] Keith Crowie, A History of the Original Peoples of Northern Canada (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1974): 44.

[3] Jean H. Lagasse, A Study of the Population of Indian Ancestry Living in Manitoba (Winnipeg: Department of Agriculture and Immigration, 1959): 41.

Figure 3.1

Canadian Indian Tribes and Culture Areas



Source: Thomas S. Abler and Sally Weaver, A Canadian Indian Bibliography 1960-1970 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974).

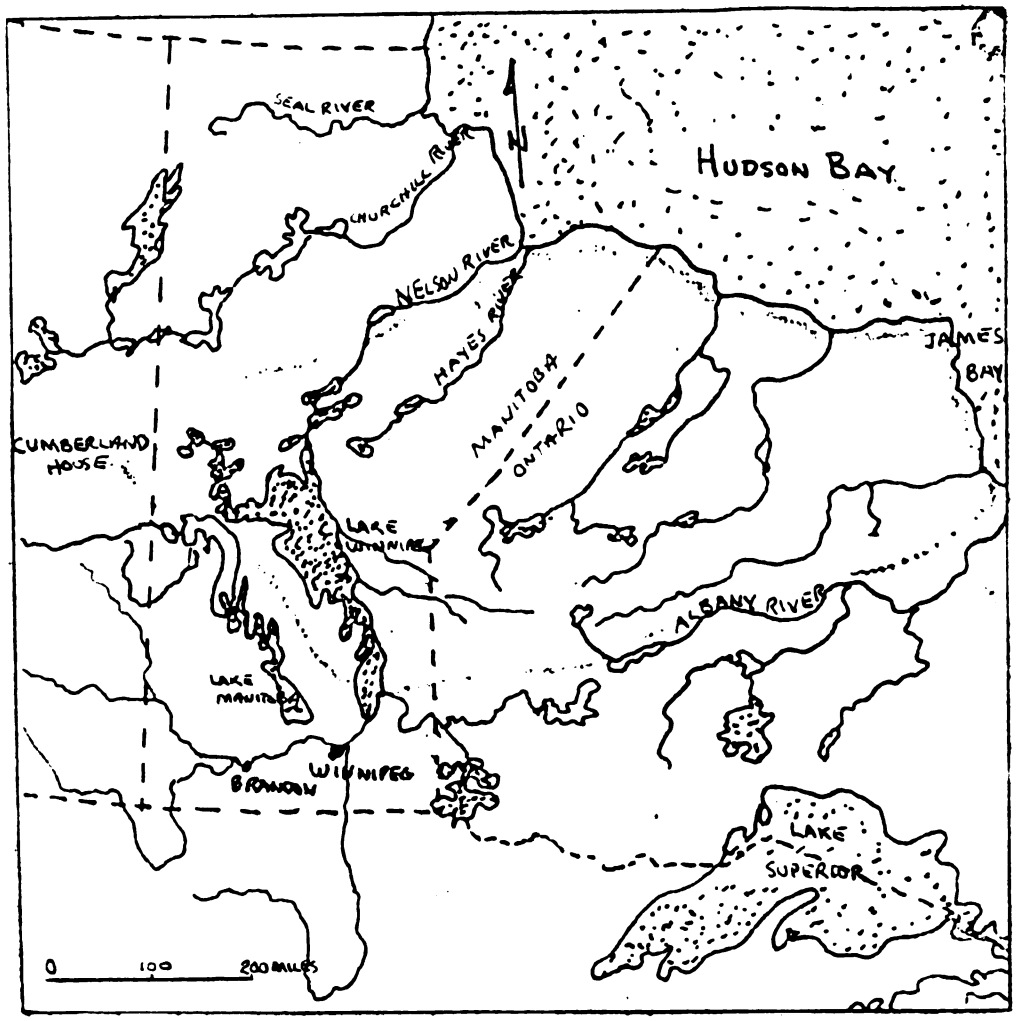
emerged after European contact, and the Muskegon or Swampy Cree of the east. The Woodland Cree originally lived in the area from Moose River, Ontario to the Swampy Region north of Lake Winnipeg. The Plains Cree migrated into the prairies and adapted to buffalo hunting and life in the open plains. Swampy Cree, the people considered in this study, dwelled in a broad belt, north of Lake Winnipeg,[4] which stretched from Cumberland House, Saskatchewan to the coast of Hudson Bay and James Bay,

[4] Ibid., p. 41.

and from the Nelson River in the north to the Albany River in the south. Figure 3.2 indicates the area occupied by the Swampy Cree.

Figure 3.2

Area Occupied by Swampy Cree



In Manitoba, Cree people comprised seventeen Bands in central Manitoba and accounted for roughly half the Manitoba Indian population of 40,000 people.

Other Indian Bands living in Manitoba belonged to the Saulteaux, Sioux and Chipewyan tribes. There are twenty-seven Saulteaux Bands with a population equal to the Cree. The Sioux and Chipewyan are

minority groups. There were four Sioux Bands in Manitoba, only two Chipewyan Bands remaining, one at Brochet, the other at Churchill. The language of each major group was not mutually intelligible, but although the dialects varied from Band to Band in Cree, a teacher trained in one community would have little difficulty teaching in another.

For the Cree, unlike the Indians of the plains who lived in large numbers near buffalo herds, Indians in the forest used to live in small family groups and relied on fur bearing animals, fish, and birds for food. The supply of animals was limited. As a result they had to live in small Bands congregated around a good hunter or senior relation.[5] According to A. D. Fisher:

> Thus the evolution, or lack of evolution, of Cree societies is related to three variables of social, ecological, and historical significance. The small family hunting group and its pattern of social relations based upon 'offinal dualism', the ecological necessities in terms of size and mobility, and the limited extensions of family kin ties is one such set of phenomena. Another set has to do with the nature of the great subarctic 'belt' and the micro-environments within it, with the cyclical or changing nature of resources therein, and limits imposed upon the assembling of large groups of people by the seasonal climatic conditions.[6]

Since all the groups depended for their livelihood upon harvesting the products of forests and rivers, the attitudes, values and activities which evolved were appropriate to the lifestyle of a mobile 'gathering society'.[7]

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[5] Ibid., p. 43.

[6] Fisher, "Cree of Canada," p. 16.

[7] John Melling, Right to a Future; The Native Peoples of Canada (Toronto: Anglican Church of Canada and United Church of Canada, 1967): 24.

Cross Lake

The arrival of Europeans in North America in search of furs, however, introduced dramatic forces for rapid change:

> When the Hudson Bay Company established its posts, the Cree immediately flocked to these posts, and in order to get the manufactured goods that they wanted they had to bring furs in exchange.[8]

Indeed, the fur trade was a pervasive influence in the development of northern Manitoba.[9] In 1672,a Hudson Bay Company fort was established on the Hayes River for the purpose of trading inland. By 1798, a branch from York Factory had been built at Oxford House and another at the northern end of Lake Winnipeg, known as Norway House.[10] Figure 3.3 shows these early trading posts.

Cross Lake was not a post. Other than for winter trapping and the establishment of a temporary Hudson Bay post in 1795-96, few Indians apparently used the area. In 1809, while travelling between Cross Lake and Lake Sipiwesk (approximately 60 miles), William McKay did not meet any Indian people.[11] It would appear that most Indians recognized Norway House as the trading center for the area and congregated there during the summer months. By 1849, however, another Bay Post was created at Cross Lake. This became permanent in 1866. The Cross Lake

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[8] David Mandelbaum, Anthropology and People: The World of the Plains Cree (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 1967): 6.

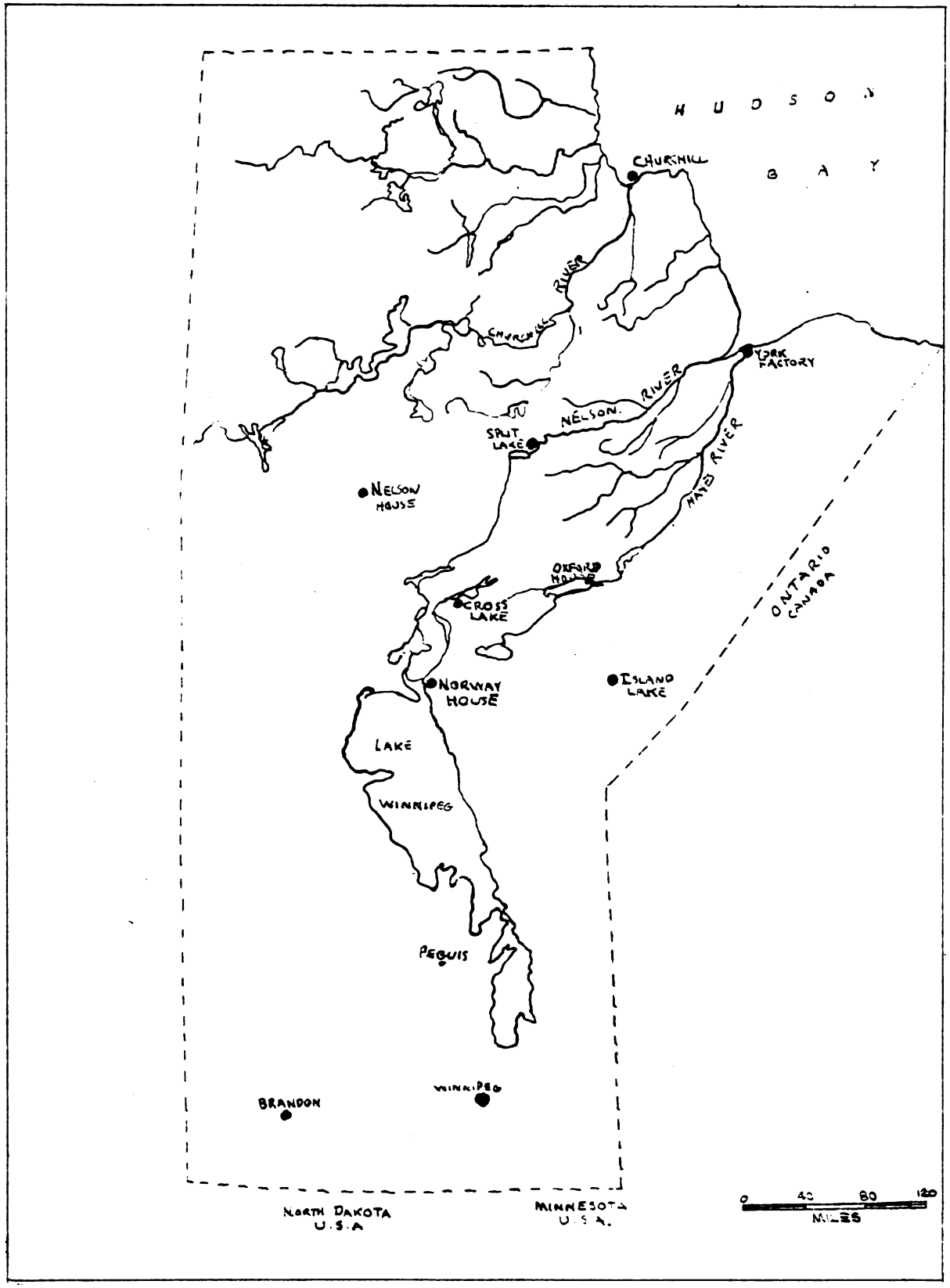
[9] Ibid., p. 24.

[10] J. C. Grant, Anthropometry of the Cree and Saulteaux Indians in Northeastern Manitoba (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 59, 1929): 3.

[11] Arthur Morton, A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71 (Toronto: Ryerson University Press, 1973): 11.

Figure 3.3

Map of Manitoba



Band of Indians was formed according to Swanton[12] by the migration of Swampy Cree Indians from the surrounding areas. With the signing of Treaty Number 5 the Cross Lake Band of Indians was officially recorded and the reserve boundary described. The government was obliged to reserve 160 acres of land per family of five, provide schools, and grant the Indian people the right to hunt and fish in the ceded areas. Figure 3.4 is a map of the community.

Location and Environment

Located 83 air miles south of Thompson, Manitoba, and 325 miles north of Winnipeg, the community of Cross Lake was scattered throughout Indian Reserve number 19 and adjacent Crown Lands extended about six miles along the east shore and four miles along the west shore of the Nelson River. The 14,840 acre community consisted largely of granite rock overlain with glacial clay, muskeg swamp supporting substantial vegetation, and a good game habitat. Regular air flights serviced the community, but only during the past year, a twelve mile car ferry run has linked the community with the provincial road system. Winter transportation was reliant upon a network of winter roads constructed each year on the frozen lakes and rivers. Indeed, until 1950, however, Cross Lake was a remote community. The provincial economy and culture were distant. Community members were mainly in contact with people of other remote communities.

Twentieth Century Development 1900-1940

Around the turn of the century the need for cash income increased. Before, the lifestyle included trapping in the Winter and Spring;

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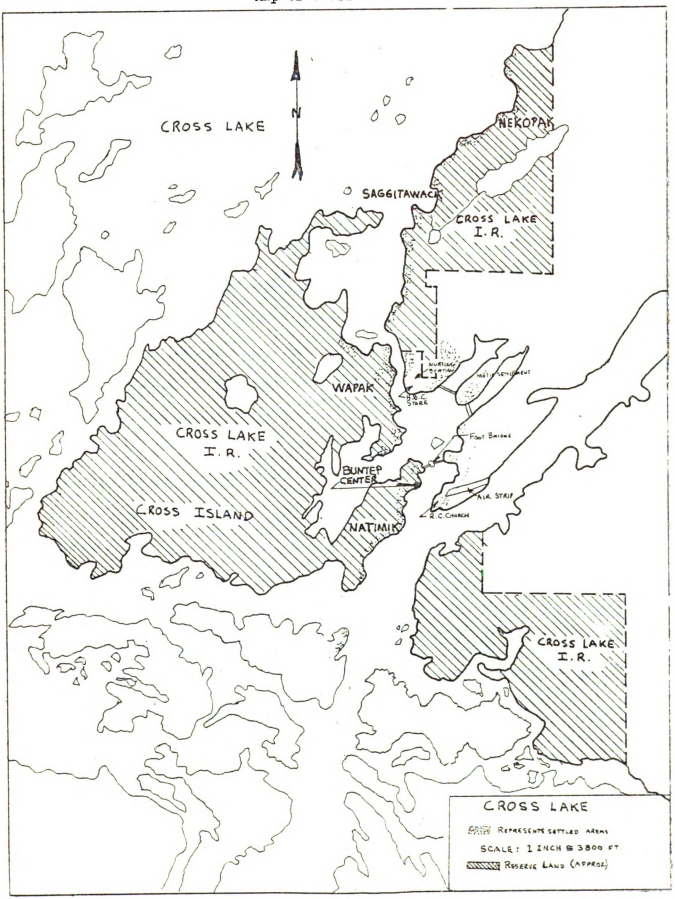
[12] John Swanton, Indian Tribes of Alaska and Canada (Seattle: Shorey Book Store, 1966): 3.

Figure 3.4

Map of Cross Lake



fishing, gardening, and berry picking in summer; and gathering firewood in the fall. After 1900, although changes came slowly, the skin tent and birch bark tipi were replaced by log and later lumber houses. Use of store purchased clothing and lamps, rather than candles, also increased, and paddles eventually were replaced by outboard motors. In the 1920's air transportation also provided a link with the outside and made more regular mail service possible. Previously, mail was brought from Winnipeg by dog sled in winter and by boat in summer. The effect of this was that Cross Lake became less isolated and more dependent.

1940-1965: Increasing Influence of External Agencies

By 1940, more rapid changes were occurring in Cross Lake, particularly as a result of increased federal and provincial government concern with problems associated with northern development. Increasing social and other services supplanted traditional mutual support. The adopted role of the church as teacher and the counselling role of ministers and teachers in welfare and business matters continued. For the Chief and councillors who represented the people, however, it became increasingly difficult to cope with changing conditions.

In education, this period was one of apparent vacillation on the part of the federal government with respect to the adoption of policies of integration or segregation of Indian people. In the late 1940's the newly established Provincial Department of Education assumed responsibility for the education of Metis and white children in the north. Education of Treaty Indian children continued to be a Federal responsibility.

Other significant changes occurred in health services and

communication. A nursing station was built in 1947; hospital cases were sent to Norway House. The same year, telephone communication was extended beyond the use of the Hudson Bay Company and Forestry radios by the installation of a radio telephone in the new Federal government nursing station.

1965 - Present: Local Government Developments

If the previous period was typified by the increasing influence of external agencies, this one was characterized by local government development. In the late 1960's the Manitoba government passed the Northern Affairs Act which provided for a provincial Department of Northern Affairs which dealt with municipal government, manpower, and transportation. Whereas the Treaty people had been recognized 100 years earlier, only at this late date was legislation available which permitted the election of a Mayor and Council for the non-treaty people at Cross Lake. This addition in the area of leadership and decision-making was significant. Until 1970 reputational leaders and hereditary Chiefs were the main decision-makers. Only since then, has the non-reserve portion of the community been governed by an elected Mayor and Council who prepared the budget although control and disbursal of monies was carried out by the Provincial Department of Northern Affairs. This change led to increased benefits for non-treaty people and a much more significant role for the Metis Mayor in community decision-making.

Treaty people in Cross Lake were represented by an elected Chief and Council who played a significant role in local government, especially since the Band took control of their local administration. Overall planning, budgeting, distribution of welfare monies, and management of projects such as local housing were the responsibility of the Band.

The Hudson Bay Company, the Church and the Indian Agent, performed a subordinate role in the community. The Chief and Councillors and Mayor and Councillors actively directed community affairs.

Indeed, the last decade and a half has brought major changes to Cross Lake. The construction of a suspension footbridge over the Nelson River connecting the two parts of the community was an excellent example. In November 1972, standard electrical service was installed. There have also been a number of important additions to the communication network of Cross Lake. CFNC, the local Cree radio station, began operating in the spring of 1973. In fall 1977 C.B.C. news was added to its programs. Television reached the community in January 1974, and telephones in February of the same year.

Since World War II, aircraft haveprovided increasing services. In addition to offering residents an alternative means of transportation, improved medical facilities and mail service three times a week, the regular airflights have allowed the development of commercial fishing.

Road transportation has also expanded and improved and had a significant impact on community life. Horse and tractor trails have been gradually replaced by a network of winter roads, which have enabled freight to be moved by large semi-trailor trucks in the winter. As well, the construction of a hydro power project at Jenpeg, despite the adverse effects of post boom unemployment, has brought an all weather road to within twenty-five miles of the community, providing a boat and car link with other Manitoba towns. In 1977,a regular car ferry commenced operating between Cross Lake and this road link. Thus, except during break-up and freeze-up periods, Cross Lake was only recently linked with provincial roads throughout the year. Consequently, in the space of two years the number of cars using the ungravelled roads

in the community has increased remarkably, and Cross Lake has been rapidly transformed from a locally oriented community in terms of transportation links to one increasingly oriented to a larger community.

Internally, transportation has changed dramatically, but continues to be a dominant factor in everyday life. As late as 1972, transportation facilities included four foot traffic causeways across marshes and it was not until 1978 that all areas were connected by automobile roads. The dirt roads became impassable in wet weather. The community has, therefore, very well defined settlement areas with one's group identity strongly aligned with the area in which one lives. Children are identified as being from Saggitawack, Wapak or other areas for example. Regional identities continue to be important in politics and decisions, even when apparently detrimental to the community as a whole.

Cross Lake's community services have also steadily increased in number and quality in recent years and recently included a nursing station, six schools, an all-weather airport, a post office, Band and Metis community offices, a large Hudson Bay store, smaller privately operated corner stores, a handicraft shop, a sawmill and a motor repair shop. In addition, three halls were used as theaters. There was also an outdoor hockey rink and beach. Although there was no restaurant, women often sold hamburgers at their homes. Police services were provided by the Band and community constables and R.C.M.P. patrols. Because the community developed as a thin line of houses stretched out along the river's edge, there was no adequate central water supply or sewage system. Until 1977 water was gathered by each family from the lake but, as a result of water fluctuations and deterioration of its quality following construction of the Jenpeg power station, many people recently relied on truck delivery of water which they stored in 45 gallon barrels

in their homes.

Economic Background

The economic situation for Cross Lake's 2000 residents (approximate) was dominated by a seriously inadequate economic base which resulted in a low percentage of permanently employed people, a short period of seasonal employment, and a high incidence of welfare assistance. The 1968-69 figures for the neighboring reserves are illustrative of the general continuing plight.[13] In nearby Oxford House, the percentage of the population permanently employed on the reserve as compared to the Oxford House population was only 2.9 percent. For Nelson House, the figure was 2.2 percent, and for Split Lake 8.8 percent.[14] The situation was much the same in Cross Lake. Few opportunities for permanent employment existed on the reserve.

With respect to welfare assistance, the same pattern was evident. The percentage of people receiving welfare allowances was high. The figures for 1968-69 were: Oxford House, 37.4 percent; Nelson House, 93.5 percent; Split Lake, 65.4 percent.[15] As a community, Cross Lake has also been heavily dependent on social assistance. Government transfer payments in the form of social assistance, family allowance and old age pension to Cross Lake residents totalled $666,800 during the period April 1972 to March 1973. This amounted to about $230.00 for each of the approximately 1200 Treaty people, a level almost three and one

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[13] P. Deprez, The Economic Status of the Canadian Indian: A Re-examination (Winnipeg: Centre for Settlement Studies, University of Manitoba, 1969): 24.

[14] Ibid., p. 24.

[15] Ibid., p. 24.

half times the provincial average.[16] For the most part, Cross Lake residents have been at the edge of subsistance living in the economic context of a reserve which has not generated any significant degree of surplus, or savings or real employment opportunities.

A large emphasis has continued to be placed on the importance of the traditional economic activities in Cross Lake. In response to questions regarding their predominant occupation many people characterized themselves as hunters, trappers and fishermen. Considerable time was spent preparing fishing gear, mending nets, making duck decoys and paddles. Such activities were still central to many families, with the inclusion of a young boy for a hunting trip as a clear sign that he is no longer considered a small child. For many children, the lure of the flurry of activity surrounding the arrival or departure of a hunting or trapping party overwhelmed the attraction of school. Many teachers mentioned that boys were out on the trapline and school attendance in general dropped at these times.

Hunting was at its peak in the fall of the year as waterfowl flew south and again in the spring as they returned. To a lesser extent, it was carried on throughout the year because Treaty Indians may hunt year round. Except in winter, slingshots were common and boys spent hours stalking and practice hunting small birds. The first snow of fall and ice at freeze-up brought a flurry of activity associated with rabbit snaring. More serious trappers were active during winter and spring; some flew out to remote traplines, while others commuted by

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[16] Department of Mines and Resources and Environmental Management, Social and Economic Impact Study, Lake Winnipeg, Churchill and Nelson Rivers Study (Winnipeg: Department of Mines, Resources and Environment Management, 1974): 78.

snowmobiles to nearby areas. In spring, it was common practice for some to depart for a 3-5 week trapping and hunting trip during break-up. A canoe, loaded with gear was pulled on a sleigh by snowmobile over the ice to the trapping camp or area where the water ran fast and ice would melt first, providing a needed resting area for returning geese. A family trapping, camping and hunting trip was made during the warming days of spring until the ice cleared and the return trip could be safely made by boat. Many children took part in these spring trips.

Although sports fishing with rod and reel recently gained popularity, a great deal of netted fish was used locally. In addition, twenty commercial fishermen working summer, fall and winter, earned $43,900 net income in 1973. Fishing provided eight percent of the community income and ranked third as a source of income in 1973.[17]

A widely shared opinion among the local people was that trapping, hunting and fishing was an important aspect of the local economy. Although it continues to be important in the Cross Lake lifestyle and therefore culturally and educationally significant from the point of view of the home environment of the child, in real money terms, traditional activities have become much less important than commonly believed. The traditional economy for example, accounted for only fifteen percent of the 1972-73 total community income.[18] In contrast, in 1972 the total community income, from the wage economy, estimated during the hydro-electric power station construction boom period was fifty-four percent. With the completion of the Jenpeg station, the community income derived from the wage employment has dropped considerably. In short, the

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[17] Ibid., p. 36.

[18] Ibid., p. 36.

economic base of the reserve is incapable of supporting the expanding population without considerable government support.

What has been the nature of the wage earning sector? There has been regular employment for a few truant officers, custodians, maintenance personnel and school transporters. The airport has employed a manager, radio operators, equipment operators and several others. The Band has employed several full-time people, but most work has been part-time and seasonal for road improvement, local house construction and repair, water delivery and the like. A local handicraft center has employed about sixteen women and the Hudson Bay Company about twenty people. The Metis community, through their locally owned and operated Pimichikamak Development Corporation, has operated a sawmill and engaged in road construction and water delivery services which have employed a varying number of men depending on the time of year and available funding. In general however, local career opportunities are very limited. This fact gives local recruitment and successful graduation from the B.U.N.T.E.P. program an economic perspective. As a qualified teacher, a Treaty Indian working on the reserve has an initial annual earning power in the range of twelve thousand tax-free dollars. In the current year, seventeen recently graduated native teachers have been receiving over $250,000 in income earned in the community.

The labor force of Cross Lake was estimated in 1972 at 548.[19] Five percent were qualified as tradesmen, professionals or in possession of management experience; semi-skilled persons, mostly in construction trades, accounted for a further twenty-two percent; and fifty-five

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[19] Ibid., p. 39.

percent were classified as unskilled.[20] As indicated by the employment patterns of the three following informants, unemployment has been very high. "F", for instance, worked with an exploration company for three months in the summer, but was unemployed until the following summer when he painted houses for the Band. "M", by contrast, worked steadily until construction on the new Band administration office was halted due to funding difficulties. Ten months later, he was still not earning wages. "W" worked the month of June, was laid off and was unemployed for the remainder of the year. Such employment histories were common. For many in the seasonal worker category, the pattern was one of two months work per annum supplemented by unemployment insurance and family allowance benefits. This wage pattern and economic condition have laid the basis for special financial provisions in the B.U.N.T.E.P. program.[21]

Social Background - Group Divisions

Cross Lake is not a compact, homogeneous community, but a geographically scattered, divided one with social divisions existing along a number of dimensions. A major division, the Treaty-Metis split had its beginning with the signing of Treaty number 5 in 1875 when Treaty Indians were placed under Federal government responsibility. Indians gave up their rights, titles and privileges to the land in northern Manitoba, but were allowed to continue to use these lands for hunting and fishing. The Metis people were not recognized and, hence, were separated from the Treaty people although they lived in close proximity and in similar conditions. The resulting rift between the Indian and Metis

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[20] Ibid., p. 39.

[21] These included student allowances, free tuition and books and coverage for travel, medical, dental and day care costs.

groups provided a basis for the two-entity leadership structure (Treaty Indian - Metis) in the community. Treaty people often referred to the Metis as "outsiders." The Metis were neither regarded as truly Indian nor accepted as white. The existence of two separate community entities has been institutionalized and maintained through the Treaty Chief and Council and the non-treaty Mayor and Council. Different policies, programs and delivery systems have been applied to each group. Thus, despite the fact that the two groups have been living together in one community, there has been an acute awareness, in both the power echelons and the rank and file, of the two distinct factions.

Locally, this means that although non-treaty have lived under the same conditions of hardship as the Treaty people, they have not received similar benefits, for example, a house for less than 150 dollars. Perhaps because of the less protected situation of the non-treaty people, they have appeared more enterprising and active in searching for employment possibilities. For this reason, they are often viewed with suspicion by the Treaty people. Similarly, the non-treaty view the Treaty people as somewhat inefficient in community affairs and draw attention to the fact that the Band ran out of funds last year and that many projects had to be postponed due to funding difficulties.

In education, this division has also appeared. Many non-treaty people have stated that the school should not have a compulsory English-Cree bilingual program, that the best way for their children to learn English is to speak it. Many viewed the learning of Cree first in the bilingual program as a backward step for their children and commented that the program was being forced upon them. The B.U.N.T.E.P. students, as Treaty people, have tended to be identified with the bilingual program.

A second significant division in Cross Lake was the white-native split. Most whites in the community stayed no longer than a couple of years. Nurses transferred more frequently, teachers, except for a group of about six who had been there up to seven years, moved yearly. Few stayed during vacations or became an integral part of the community. Other whites were the Hudson Bay Company's employees, construction workers, the R.C.M.P. officers and the dental team members. Most teachers lived in "the compound," a collection of trailers around the school which had amenities of a standard considerably above the local level: running water, indoor toilets, automatic washers and dryers, and automatic heat. The residences were maintained by local custodians. For the few whites who attempted to integrate on anything more than a superficial level, the local stereotype of a whiteman was difficult if not impossible to overcome. Yet, for the success of the B.U.N.T.E.P. program, the cooperation and willingness of the white teachers to accept local student teachers into their classrooms for extended periods of time was essential, as was a good working-learning relationship between local student teacher and white teacher.

Place of residence within the community created another important division. Four identifiable areas existed in Cross Lake, each represented on such local government structures as the council and the school committee. These areas were Natimik, Wapak, Saggitawack, and Nekopak. A person was identified as being from one of these areas and representation from each area was essential on committees in order to prevent criticism. Indicative of the strength of the division was the fact that hockey teams for boys from a specific area were not fielded because they would "fight each other." Rather, players were selected from each of the areas. The seriousness of the divisions was exemplified in the

school debate. Cross Lake had been planning a new elementary-senior school since the Catholic mission school was burned but community members have not been able to agree on where it should be built. The indecision and bitterness of the debate has delayed construction from beginning and has left the children attending inadequately equipped, temporary structures.

Family relationships and clans were very important in Cross Lake with favorable employment opportunities linked to the family. The protection of family members, even when adult and living in separate households, was still evident. This appeared to be consistent with the nature of the Band's early development. One writer has pointed this out:

> ...bands were very loose affiliations of small hunting, trapping units; the bands being only a political unit without any economic significance. The basic social and economic unit was the clan, not the band. While the close-knit social and economic interdependence among family units still persists, one cannot expect the same of a band which is not a homogeneous social and political community.[22]

The family units were further reinforced due to development of the community along the banks of the Nelson River. Families have tended to settle on prominent points of land which have become associated with that particular family. Frequently, offspring have had their houses built very close to their parents, thus creating small family enclaves.

The Schools

The schools in Cross Lake are under the jurisdiction of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs with superintendents, regional

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[22] Deprez, Economic Status, p. 93.

offices and the supply depot located 325 air miles south in Winnipeg. The teachers and superintendents are federal civil servants. There was no local school board which was responsible for the administration and financing of education. The Department of Indian and Northern Affairs assumed this responsibility but worked through the Chief, his Council and a locally appointed school committee. Cross Lake has been examining the possibility of assuming control of its education budget and administration of the school system. This would, in essence, give them the same responsibilities as a regular school board. At least three other Bands in Manitoba have moved in this direction. Cross Lake school committee has not had the power to levy taxes but has approved or disapproved existing school policy and administration. It also has maintained the right to recommend the hiring or dismissal of any local teacher.

A number of structures, some permanent, some temporary, located throughout the seven mile long community, have served as school buildings. The junior high school has housed the Principal's office and grades four to nine. As mentioned previously, bitter rivalry existed between the members of the various residential locations with respect to the site of the new comprehensive school. Many argued that this internal disagreement and community divisions had prevented the children from benefiting from modern school facilities and curriculum and maintained that the inability of the Treaty people to "get together on anything" had caused the long delay in construction.

Indeed, the history of schools in Cross Lake has fostered community divisions based on religious and group affiliation. The two early missions at Cross Lake were United Church and Roman Catholic. Before World War II, children not attending the Roman Catholic residential

school in Cross Lake were sent to the residential school at Norway House, seventy miles south. By 1950, however, the policy of Indian Affairs had changed and day schools were established on the reserve. In Cross Lake, several day schools were built but each was operated by a religious denomination. This tended to maintain and extend divisions along religious lines. Following destruction of the Roman Catholic residential school by arson in the early 1970's, trailers were brought in by trucks and a school established at Wapak. Eighteen of these 38 trailers were again destroyed by fire in 1975 and replaced by temporary school trailers installed for nursery to grade nine.

The temporary nature of the school's physical plant has provided minimal facilities. The small central library has been readily accessible only to those children attending the Wapak area school. Laboratory facilities for science classes have been lacking, and music and gym facilities non-existent. A shop and home economics room has been open to junior high students. Audio visual equipment has also been available but often difficult to transport to the various schools. Space and equipment for outdoors and indoor games and play has been minimal. A softball backstop has been provided at only some schools, many of the slides have been broken or pushed over and the ice rink at Wapak continues to be in need of basic repairs, and after school hours appears dominated by the men's community hockey team. There has been no gymnasium, showers or lockers so children have to play broomball hockey and other events outdoors, even in minus 30° F temperatures. Staff rooms and resource areas have been minimal.

In general, the schools have not tended to be an attractive, warm, educational environment. Although some classrooms have been brightly decorated indicating teacher concern and enthusiasm, the temporary

trailer buildings with brown interiors and no windows created a drab, artificial atmosphere. Recently constructed board walks and gravel have reduced to some extent the mud and sand tracked into the hallways during Spring and Fall.

In contrast to southern centers, the Cross Lake Principal's responsibilities have included maintenance of the teacher residences. This task has been difficult due to the scattered nature of the schools, constant transportation problems associated with the island location of Wapak, often impassable, muddy roads, varying river ice conditions and the supervision of students walking over the suspension bridge to get to school during freeze-up and break-up. During the past year operation of the ferry eased the problem somewhat. On the other hand, reduction of travel expenses for school administrators resulted in difficulties regarding efficiency of administration, counselling of children, and preparation of learning materials.

The school was staffed with thirty-two teachers including an untrained librarian, a remedial teacher, two truant officers, a home school coordinator, principal, vice-principal. Turnover was high: 35 percent replacement of teachers for the 1975-76 school year, 30 percent in 1976-77, and for 1977-78, close to 50 percent. Subsidized housing and a northern allowance was provided for the teachers. Teachers did not usually visit the community before they were hired. In the 1976-77 school year two teachers possessed no formal teaching training, eight were teacher aides enrolled in a teacher training program, but were given full responsibility for their classes, eight others had at least a teaching certificate[23] and fourteen, or less than half,

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[23] In 1976 teachers could be certified after two years of teacher training.

possessed university degrees. Pupil attendance for each class was between 60-70 percent, notably below the Manitoban average of 93 percent.[24] Teacher absenteeism was high and the task of finding suitable substitutes constant. Indeed, a special program was mounted to train substitutes.

Significantly, school appears to bear little relationship to the life of the community and was viewed as a separate entity, representative of the culture of southern Canada, with little local relevance. Even in instances where teachers were interested in using learning materials related to local and history and culture, and attempted to include Indian topics in the curriculum, little material was readily available. One teacher asked old people to come and speak to his class but generally, teaching methods tended to be book oriented, with little variation or utilization of the community as an area of study or service. The separation of school and community appeared to be deep. For the child, success in school meant leaving one's home at the grade ten level. Moreover, unlike other rural schools which serve as centers of sport and extracurricular activities, Cross Lake school had no organized, regular evening activities or sports program. Both the library and industrial arts shop were closed after school hours.

Administratively, community input into the operation of the school was generally through the school committee. Parent grievances were often channeled through the committee; with the chairperson often acting as go-between for teachers and parents. The committee also organized a hot lunch program, supplied presents for Christmas parties,

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[24] Fred Foss, A Study of Attendance Patterns in the Indian Schools of Manitoba (Winnipeg: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1977): 34.

held a general teachers-community meeting at the beginning of the year and awards night at the end. Generally, however, parent involvement and participation was minimal.

Programs and Practices

Cross Lake had an active bilingual program, nursery to grade three. Since many of the children who entered school spoke little or no English, the intention of the bilingual program was to provide an easy transition from home to school, to help the child gain facility in the English language by providing him/her with the opportunity to learn skills in his/her own language first, and to permit the teaching of such subjects as music, science and arithmetic in the native language. The Cross Lake Native Bilingual Program has played a leading role in Manitoba in overcoming a major difficulty by producing elementary level learning materials in the Cree language in its own specific dialect. The significance of B.U.N.T.E.P. in this context, is its potential impact on such a local program through the provision of trained bilingual teachers.

With the overview of the community setting considered, attention is now turned to the program specifics as the program was operated in the community.

CHAPTER IV

A VILLAGE BASED TEACHER EDUCATION PROGRAM IN OPERATION

In this chapter an attempt is made to examine the development and progress of the program in one community from the vantage point and perspective of the resident Center Coordinator. First, the basic principles of the program are presented, then, program details in this particular community are discussed.

Basic Principles

During the period under study the Brandon University Northern Teacher Education Project (B.U.N.T.E.P.) was a program which lead to teacher certification in the province of Manitoba after the completion of two years of study (60 credit hours) and a Bachelor of Teaching degree upon the completion of a 90 credit hour program. The program provided for open entrance and access to Brandon University through special mature admissions.[1] In addition, it adhered to the principle of community involvement in the admission of individuals to teacher education. This meant that a committee of local people recruited and

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[1] "The Mature Student Admission Programme is intended to provide those persons, who do not have the qualifications necessary to gain Regular Student Admission to a degree programme, the opportunity to obtain Regular Student Status by way of demonstrating ability in a limited number of University courses, or credit hours....

Applicants must be 21 years of age.... Mature students are admitted on probation. That is, they must meet a required minimum academic performance before they will receive Regular student status and obtain degree credit for the completed courses." Brandon University 1977-78 General Calendar, p. 68.

recommended students for the program. The program was intended to provide a teacher education program to people in isolated communities who would not otherwise have had the opportunity to pursue university studies. An attempt was made to maintain high academic standards but adapt the traditional programs of the University to meet specific community needs and the needs of individual students. This meant that the course format could be changed to lengthen a course, change the sequence of courses, or create new courses as needed. It entailed the promotion and establishment of teacher centers in the community and the delivery of professional development workshops to teachers, students and community people.

In the field experience component of the program, an attempt was made to introduce the students to schools and other agencies in the community in such a way that the B.U.N.T.E.P. program could contribute to the quality of education in the community as well as provide a quality educational experience for B.U.N.T.E.P. students. A teaching center was established as the program focus for community participation, professional development activities, continuing education activities and general information dissemination. Support for the graduates was provided. An extended field experience component comprising six weeks of field experience each term was provided.

Special policies in the B.U.N.T.E.P. program provided extensive academic, financial and personal support, the payment of student allowances and other discretionary allowances such as day care, medical, dental and special travel. An emergency fund was also operated by the Center Coordinator. Program support was aggressive. Faculty received special hardship and northern allowances; help was available for experimental courses and field experience supervision, and provisions

were made for tutorial assistance to students. Faculty maintained an eleven month workload.

A basic principle of the B.U.N.T.E.P. program rested on community involvement. Before a center could be established in a remote location, the community had to commit itself to providing certain essentials. The community had to provide a place where lectures could be held and the teaching-resource center located. The community had to provide facilities for accommodating the resident Center Coordinator and visiting traveling professors. Evidence of support for the program on the part of the community's Chief and Council, school division heads, teachers and local school committee was also needed. Adequate school classrooms for placement of student teachers was essential. In addition, the community had to show interest by providing sufficient applicants to enable the Center to operate effectively. With these commitments by the community, the opening of a B.U.N.T.E.P. center could be seriously considered.

Program Details - The Students

During the two year period under study there were fourteen students enrolled in the program at Cross Lake, eleven females and three males, ranging in age from 23 to 46 years. As a result of the mature student entry component, students tended to be people who could not usually have obtained university education but who were likely to remain in their home communities and contribute to its development. The students' average age was 29.3 years. Seven were married with an average of 2.7 dependents, six were single parents with an average of two dependents, and one was single without children. All but two students were born in Cross Lake, all spoke Cree fluently, all were treaty Indians. Five

were unemployed at the time of recruitment; those who were employed, had been employed an average of twenty-four weeks in the previous twelve months. Estimated income in the twelve months previous to recruitment was low. Ten earned less than $2400, one earned $2400-$3600, two earned between $6000-$7000 and one had earned $7200-$8400 per annum. The main employment at the time of recruitment was substitute teaching and retail work at the Bay. One student had previously taken university courses, and another had attempted a technical program at a community college. None of the students had completed grade twelve. Some had taken upgrading in Cross Lake, but the academic achievement level was generally low.

Table 4.1

Highest Grade Level Obtained

Grade	Number
8	4
9	3
10	3
11	5
12	0

Before the B.U.N.T.E.P. program came to their community, few students had ever considered it possible to complete university studies. As parents who found it difficult to leave their families for extended periods, the possibility of attending an on-campus program was slight. In September 1978, however, seven graduated and were employed as certified teachers in Cross Lake schools at an average salary of $13,000

tax-free dollars.[2] Notably, two had been placed on the Dean of Education's honor roll list.

Course Delivery

University courses were delivered to the isolated community by professors who flew to the Center and taught their courses in three to five week blocks, with 4-5 hours of instruction per day. The Center Coordinator was assigned a nine credit hour workload. The usual instruction day was 9:30 a.m. - 3:30 p.m. with two hours for coffee breaks and lunch combined. Thus, 3-5 week blocks provided contact hours in excess of the required 36 contact hours for a three credit course. This additional professor contact was used to assist students who were having study problems, to enrich the regular course, or simply to casually discuss general topics with individual students. The Center Coordinator was expected to provide tutorial assistance.

The academic program the students enrolled in was the three year Bachelor of Teaching degree. The courses selected at Cross Lake are listed in Table 4.2.

Learning Center

Central to the mini-campus located in the isolated community of Cross Lake was the learning area where professors could deliver courses and student teachers and other interested people could pursue their own professional and educational development. Those participating had the opportunity to share successes, concerns and ideas, to utilize a wide range of educational resources, and to receive training specifically

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[2] Treaty Indians earning income on their reserve do not pay federal income tax.

Table 4.2

Bachelor of Teaching Courses Delivered in Cross Lake

A. Arts/Science Courses

1. Introduction to Native Studies I
2. Introduction to Anthropology
3. Music Materials
4. Introduction to Geography
5. Native Music
6. Introduction to Cree Language I
7. Cree Language II
8. Cree Syllabics
9. Introduction to Native Studies II
10. Introduction to Teaching

B. Professional Year Courses

1. Elementary School Structure and Curriculum I
2. Elementary School Structure and Curriculum II
3. Social Studies Methods
4. Mathematics Methods
5. Science Methods
6. Language Arts I
7. Language Arts II
8. Psychology of Teaching and Learning
9. Teaching English as a Second Language
10. Introduction to Audio Visual Materials

C. Final Year

1. Curriculum Enrichment
2. Education of the Canadian Indian and Metis Child
3. Confluent Education I
4. Confluent Education II
5. Creative Arts
6. Educational Drama
7. Outdoor Education
8. Workshop in Audio Visual Materials
9. Composition in the Elementary School
10. Independent Study

related to their most pressing teaching problems. The Center Coordinator was responsible for the initiation of these activities and the organization and maintenance of the materials and supplies.

Activities at the Center were supported by a well-equipped learning area and supply support system. A full-time staff member, located in Winnipeg, air-freighted supplies as requested to each of the nine B.U.N.T.E.P. centers. Telex and telephone and daily air flights provided almost next day service of supplies to those centers with these services. Supplies were often needed by professors who required materials as their courses developed. The educational resources in the Cross Lake Center were adequate considering its isolation. They included:

-- a 300 title library of educational theory and methods books
-- a selection of 18 professional teaching journals
-- two daily newspapers
-- ERIC and CIJE indexes with support xerox copier service
-- a collection of journals dealing with native people and current Indian issues.
-- a collection and display of teacher-made materials and learning aids
-- a wide range of wood and triwall tools used for the construction of teaching and learning aids
-- a collection of science teaching materials and chemicals
-- audio visual equipment: film and slide projector, tape recorders, overhead projectors, thermofax machine and a laminating heat press.

These resources were supplemented by pertinent materials and books shipped to the Center for each professor's course or workshop.

The Cross Lake teaching Center was operated on the basis that the

community as a whole should have access to the University services and facilities, and that, the learning center should be a model which the student-teachers could carry with them into their professional careers.

With regard to the first, workshops, seminars and community forums were offered. Illustrative activities were:

1. A four day and one evening workshop on "Local Control of Indian Education" conducted by Indian education consultant, Verna Kirtness.
2. A one and a half day workshop on "Legal Issues in Native Law."
3. During the month preceding the local science fair, the Center was freely used from 3:30 p.m. to 11:00 p.m. each day by approximately fifteen children as they searched for ideas and constructed science fair projects.
4. A music teacher provided music lessons and instrument repairs both in the Center and in community homes during Christmas and Easter holidays.
5. B.U.N.T.E.P. students, as part of their course Education of the Canadian Indian-Metis Child, attended and assisted in the mounting of the three day Cross Lake Native Bilingual Program Conference.
6. A local control of Indian education interest, promotion and organizational group held meetings at the Center.
7. Other evening and half-day activities for students, teachers and interested community people included the following workshops:
    a. Concrete Learning Materials
    b. Use of Triwall in the Classroom

c. Teaching English as a Second Language

d. Curriculum Enrichment

e. Diagnostic Teaching of Arithmetic

f. Audio Visual Materials and Techniques

In each case the consultant or expert was flown into the community so that the service could be provided.

In addition, the Center provided an advisory service for local teachers who asked for help in dealing with children with special problems. The Coordinator would provide assistance or attempt to make contact with the appropriate professors who could provide assistance. The Center, its materials and resources, were used extensively by about five local teachers as a resource center and workplace, less frequently by other teachers. Initially it was used extensively by teachers on the local Bilingual Program meeting days, but was ruled out of order by the organizer. This was unfortunate because the location of schools in the Cross Lake community made it difficult for teachers to travel to the Center at other times. In the second year, the new bilingual program coordinator encouraged teacher use of the Center.

The second principle under which the Center operated was that the Center itself should be a rich educational environment, indeed, a model classroom. During practice teaching, student teachers did not have access to what would normally be considered good "model classrooms." The concept of "master teachers" employed in other teacher education programs was out of the question. The strategy employed by the Center Coordinator, therefore, was that the B.U.N.T.E.P. classroom should become a model classroom where subject interest areas were established with activity areas, displays of books, posters, magazines and journal articles on current educational ideas. Professor, teacher and student-made learning

materials were also displayed and stored. The Center had to become more than a lecture room. It was made as educationally rich and varied as could be. It was also made to be as useful as possible to the students by the provision of a store of materials from which students could prepare lessons, especially non-lecture, demonstration experiences. Materials appropriate for lesson preparation were not readily available otherwise. If B.U.N.T.E.P. students were to employ during their practice teaching sessions the ideas they were exposed to in their methods courses, material support was essential.

The intent of the B.U.N.T.E.P. teaching area was also to make the Center the core of a professional teacher development base which would remain in the community after the B.U.N.T.E.P. program had withdrawn from the community. For this reason, it was important that the Center become the students' Center, not the creation of the Coordinator. The Center Coordinator's strategy was that the rearrangement of the Center should be a slow process involving the students. When, as a result of a snowstorm which delayed a professor, the students used several free days to completely rennovate, paint and reorganize the Center, the Center became theirs. The funding available to the Center Coordinator to act without delay when such teachable moments occurred was particularly useful.

Field Experience

The B.U.N.T.E.P. program included an extensive practice teaching component throughout the three year program. In each semester student teachers were in the classrooms for six weeks. Most students had accumulated between 24 and 36 hours of practice teaching by graduation. The purpose of the extended field placement was to ensure that students

had had ample opportunity to acquire sound teaching techniques. The Center Coordinator was responsible for the placement of students in schools, supervision of student teachers and liaison with the school personnel. The Center Coordinator was assisted in supervision of field experience by a travelling professor.

In Cross Lake, students were permitted to select their own student teaching assignment location as long as they did not choose the same cooperating teacher or grade level each time. Field experience was found to be a very difficult period for the student, but it was noted that when the placement was the student's choice, there was a greater commitment to making it a success.

B.U.N.T.E.P. students were in a rather unique position. The regular student teacher-cooperating teacher role did not exist. In most field placement practice teaching sessions, the regular teacher is in the position of knowing more about the pupils than the student teacher. The reverse was true in Cross Lake. Regular teachers were visitors to the community, the B.U.N.T.E.P. students were knowledgeable members who knew the language, culture and families. Student teachers understood side comments spoken in Cree. In the primary grades where many children spoke only Cree, the local B.U.N.T.E.P. student had considerable expertise to offer the monolingual English speaking teacher. The student teacher-cooperating teacher relationship was therefore one in which each had certain obvious strengths and weaknesses.

A major problem in the field-experience component of the B.U.N.T.E.P. program concerned the quality of education in the north. There was a limited number of classrooms and outstanding teachers available, and facilities were minimal. Many of the B.U.N.T.E.P. students were older, and had, during their own schooling, been exposed to very traditional,

book oriented lessons, which they tended to revert to when the teaching situation became difficult. A further factor was the attitude on the part of some of the students that they only had to perform at the same level as currently employed teachers. Since these were often absent from school, for example, some students felt they could be absent frequently.

The lack of model classroom learning environments and teachers was further compounded by the fact that as the B.U.N.T.E.P. students approached the end of their university program they had skills and expertise in areas such as teaching English as a second language which the cooperating teacher did not possess. In many cases the student was reluctant to utilize these skills in the classroom because they were not supported by the cooperating teacher. Hence, an integral part of the B.U.N.T.E.P. program was to deliver professional development workshops to teachers, B.U.N.T.E.P. students, and community people so that all concerned would be exposed to sound educational practices.

The problem of poor role models was addressed in several additional ways. The supervising faculty member worked very closely, for instance, with the student teacher. This meant daily visits to the school with analyses of each day providing the framework for the next day's lesson planning. As there were few resource materials in the classrooms, the B.U.N.T.E.P. teaching Center, with its well supplied resource area and library, provided essential materials and ideas for the student teacher. The supervising faculty member or Center Coordinator became an important resource person both in the school and in the Center in the evening, particularly during the early stages of the field placement. The thrust of the Center Coordinator's role was to assist student teachers in problem-solving by the bringing together of needs and resources. This usually meant spending time with them clarifying needs, and then

assisting them to recall techniques they had been exposed to in their course work or in the resource area of the teaching Center.

A second approach to the problem of assisting student teachers and cooperating teachers to utilize different teaching techniques was to structure courses so that teachers were included in the education of the B.U.N.T.E.P. students, and B.U.N.T.E.P. students had an opportunity to work with children in classroom situations. A diagnostic teaching of arithmetic course was scheduled, for example, so that students received twenty-five hours of theoretical instruction and spent the remaining forty hours with children in classrooms. Teachers identified children in need of help, a B.U.N.T.E.P. student was assigned to one or two such children, and the teacher, professor and B.U.N.T.E.P. student attempted to diagnose the child's difficulty and design a remedial program. The B.U.N.T.E.P. student then spent the arithmetic period working with the child in a quiet area of the classroom or specially constructed study carrel. At the end of the arithmetic period, the B.U.N.T.E.P. student returned to the Center, documented the day's activities, discussed continuing strategies with the professor and then prepared for the next day's session with the child. In this way, an attempt was made for B.U.N.T.E.P. students to gain the theoretical framework, improve their in-classroom teaching skills, help teachers with educational problems, enhance the school's program and ensure that teachers felt involved in the new teaching techniques the B.U.N.T.E.P. students were using. The course was team-taught, classroom teachers were satisfied with the students, appreciated the help the children with problems had received, and in general were pleased with their progress.

Orientation of the Center Coordinator

The basic premise underlying the procedures followed by the Coordinator was that the success of the B.U.N.T.E.P. program at the local level lay in the personal, individualized development of each student. It was the intention of the Coordinator to assist the student in any possible way to complete the requirements for certification and to progress in assuming responsibility for his/her own educational and professional development. The Coordinator assumed that since the rationale for the B.U.N.T.E.P. program was based on the premise that a cultural difference between the southern university community and the home community of the student had impeded the students' chances of academic success to present, this cultural difference had to be allowed for and employed to help the student succeed in attaining the professional skills, attitudes, and knowledge necessary for professional teaching. The coordinator therefore agreed with Havelock's belief that:

> ...the focus of innovation planning has to be the user himself: his needs and his problems must be the primary concern of educational reform. Therefore, our orientation is problem-solving by and for the user through effective use of resources.[3]

The Coordinator did not present himself therefore as a solution-giver who identified and offered answers to problems perceived by him as important. Nor did he assume the role of one who provided definite ideas about what was best for the school children or teachers of the community. Instead, he presented himself as one who was willing to deal with the problems the user felt were important even though the problem may have

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[3] Ronald G. Havelock, The Change Agent's Guide to Innovation in Education (Englewood Cliffs: Educational Technology Publications, 1973): 12.

appeared somewhat unrelated to teacher training. Hence, a baby sitting problem or home heating problem was dealt with seriously by the Coordinator. The coordinator maintained that these early, relatively simple successes on non-threatening items were essential in confidence building, in modifying somewhat the negative stereotype of Whites, and in laying the groundwork for more technically oriented problem-solving. This approach was in keeping with the newly emerging task of the adult educator. Malcolm S. Knowles described it to be:

> That of helper, guide, encourager, consultant, and resource -- not that of transmitter, disciplinarian, judge, and authority. He recognizes that it is less important that his clients know the right answers to the questions he thinks are important than that they know how to ask the important questions and find the answers for themselves. His ultimate objective is to help people grow in their ability to learn....[4]

In addition to being consistent with the educational reform theory of Havelock and adult learning theory of Knowles, the Coordinator believed this approach was consistent also with the spirit of the National Indian Brotherhood policy of personnel training for Indian control of Indian education.

The Past

The program began January, 1975. Two center coordinators had been resident, the first for six months, the second for ten; eight of the original twelve students remained. Despite severe winter conditions, B.U.N.T.E.P. transportation for coordinator or students was not provided.

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[4] Malcolm S. Knowles, The Modern Practice of Adult Education (New York: Association Press, 1974): 34.

By Fall term, 1976, improved residence and classroom facilities, in terms of heat, light and location were available. The B.U.N.T.E.P. Center consisted of a classroom, an office corner, a workshop area and small student lounge area. Although a small group had been formed to select six new students for the 1976 summer session, the local B.U.N.T.E.P. committee had not been developed and had not been active in the running of the Center. A group was formed to act as a selection committee for new student recruitment but several key people such as the Chief did not attend. In general, Cross Lake was considered a difficult Center.

Progress

In accordance with the Coordinator's orientation, an initial attempt was made to establish a working relationship with four identified groups: the community leadership, the school personnel, the B.U.N.T.E.P. students and the community at large.

In the first case, although only slight antagonism or blocking was observed, little progress was made until the end of the second year. At this stage a good relationship developed between the Coordinator and Band education staff, and the Coordinator was continually invited to attend and contribute to local educational planning and discussion meetings. The strategy of maintaining a low profile for the first six months rather than aggressively pursuing endorsement of the B.U.N.T.E.P. program by this potentially difficult, influential group appeared to be successful. One problem was the dual leadership structure of the community. Since non-treaty people were not among the recruits, the B.U.N.T.E.P. program was identified with the Treaty group. Thus the Coordinator's position when the non-treaty leadership was difficult. Further, the program was viewed by them as a second rate course leading to special

certification, not as university education which qualified graduates to teach anywhere in Manitoba. Non-treaty opposition to the bilingual program in the Federal government school already discussed, reinforced the evident coolness to the training of Treaty Indians.

In addition, the Coordinator became aware of a division among the Treaty people with respect to support for the Chief in power at that time. During the period under study, two elections were held which created difficulties in establishing a working relationship with this important force in the community.

The distinct areas of residence and family allegiances resulted in the community at large presenting a similar problem. The location of the B.U.N.T.E.P. Center and residence in the more inaccessible Natimik area, the fact that eight of the thirteen students were from Natimik, and two more from nearby, two others from Saggitawack, and none from Nekopak, placed the coordinator in an uncomfortable position with respect to representation. In addition, one vocal critic of the program from Saggitawak who had pioneered university in the community by attending a southern university in order to obtain a teaching certificate, declared that a community-based education program was inferior, and that the experience of facing white children in southern schools, and the associated discrimination, was essential to becoming a good teacher. In addition, partly because two Center Coordinators had stayed less than a year, there was on the part of both students and community a general feeling that the program was mismanaged and below university level. With this initial orientation, the Coordinator attempted to be a good listener in order to gain insights which might help overcome the long standing community factions and made a deliberate attempt to present himself as a dependable, interested person.

Finally, in the case of the school principal and staff, the building of a good working relationship was generally straightforward, with the majority of personnel sympathetic to the aims of the Project.

Academic and Personal Support

Academic counselling was a further responsibility of the Coordinator and was undertaken on the assumption that a program for the non-traditional learner would require support which was similarly non-traditional. Since students had mature student status and were attempting university course work in their own isolated community, it was found that academic and educational issues often meshed with a number of personal problems which required a breadth of counselling not ordinarily considered to be part of the typical student-instructor relationship at a university.

Breadth of Counselling

A twenty-four year old student who had completed grade 10 and was a single parent presented a representative range of problems. Although she had consistently achieved high grade levels in course work, this mother of two periodically became discouraged by the local employment situation, the need to support her children, persistent babysitting difficulties and the need of taking her own children to the nursing station when they were sick, a transportation problem, and a hearing deficit. Although "S" was a third year student who had been assessed as having good teaching potential, she had continuing absenteeism and lateness problems, doubted that she would be hired locally as a teacher, questioned her capacity to complete the program, and threatened to quit.

A second example of the breadth of counselling needed, was provided by coffee break discussions during which students argued the best method of interesting parents in the education of their children. A

recent course had emphasized the importance of home environment in student achievement, and as student teachers would soon have to cope with this problem, they expressed concern about the apparent inability of Cross Lake people to get together on anything. Local control of Indian education interested them and they were anxious to learn more about it. Ongoing academic and personal support activities on an individual basis included the traditional tutor relationship. The primary function here was to assist students in obtaining study skills in language arts, English, arithmetic and in learning the concepts and knowledge needed to meet course requirements and pass examinations.

In addition, the Coordinator was responsible for the academic course programming needs of the individual students and the long range needs of the Center so that the required courses could be requested. Personal evaluation and goal setting were related to their functioning within the program and had to be dealt with in a productive manner. Such personal and academic support, fundamental to the success of a program for non-traditional students, was often demanding and frustrating, and the specific means elusive.

Support-Dependency Problem

The supporting role of the Coordinator and the supplying of all learning materials, however, tended to perpetuate dependency and hindered somewhat the task of developing independent, responsible professional teachers. The dilemma was demonstrated by the case of the student who, during field placement, worked late into the night preparing his next day's lessons. Suitable transportation was unavailable and the materials remained at the Center. In the morning, he was again unable to find a taxi and so walked the two miles to school and phoned the Coordinator.

If the Coordinator had refused to use his boat to deliver the materials, the student would have missed the opportunity to experience success in the classroom. The student should have been better organized, but the whole episode would not have occurred if the school was well supplied or the B.U.N.T.E.P. Center located in the school. In his first year, the Coordinator found that if he did not give this type of support, the student would either suffer the consequences of a bad lesson which harmed the program's relationship with teachers, or the student would stay home. Without support, failure and negative experiences in the classroom seemed assured.

This support entailed being available seven days a week, anticipating problems and encouraging appropriate action. Responses to student requests for help covered a wide spectrum: transportation of extra science equipment to Nekopak school, seven miles away in sub-zero temperatures, assistance with lesson preparation, encouragement of a student to start and complete an overdue report, a visit to the home of a widowed student who was unable to cope with the demands of field placement due to a babysitting problem which was eventually resolved.

During the second year under study total support was gradually withdrawn. Students in their final year were expected to acquire the behavior of a professional teacher. Unacceptable actions or decisions, for example, were discussed with the student in the light of behavior expected by a principal of his teachers and recommendation for ceritification. Final year students were able to cope with this approach and, in general, demonstrated good responsibility and maturity. A highlight of this developmental period was the realization that they were capable teachers. While assisting a monolingual first year teacher, for instance, one student discovered she was more experienced than the teacher in

lesson preparation and daily planning. The completion of course work and immediate employment as a grade 2 teacher of another student dramatically illustrated that it was possible to obtain a university degree and teacher certification in a community based teacher education program. Good reports on her teaching and receipt of the best attendance award for two successive months by her class provided further impetus and fear of failure diminished.

Obstruction

A further dimension to the support-dependency problem was the continual possibility that the increasing of responsibility would be interpreted as obstruction, a view interwoven with the ethos of the community. The traditional chief-leader helping function continued in the community. The Chief for example, was still expected to bring back a wood stove from Winnipeg, lend money, send someone to a home to cut wood for a sick man. Indeed, an official was expected to perform many of the functions which could be assumed as a person's own responsibility. Hence, there was a pastor to write letters and a band employee to fill out tax forms and welfare applications. The same dependency was apparent within the program. Reluctance by the Coordinator to assume the unqualified role of letter writer, legal advisor, and student advocate was viewed by some students as neglect of his job and deliberate obstructiveness. The case of a student who needed a duplicate birth certificate in order to apply for certification indicates the implicit conflict in most situations. Although helped to find the phone number of the appropriate office, it was discovered weeks later that the phone call had not been made by the student, even though lack of certification meant lower salary the following year. The Coordinator then outlined a

letter and suggested it be written quickly. It was not. Correspondence, travel expenses, day care allowance forms were considered to be the Coordinator's job. The Coordinator was criticized for being obstructive for not writing the letter. Lack of consensus on the part of the project staff as to the degree of help which should be given was a complicating factor. Students could phone other personnel who did not consider the acceptance of greater autonomy and personal responsibility an important goal of the Project.

Self Analysis

Confidence building and the process of self-analysis presented an equally difficult dilemma. There was a very delicate balance between maintaining confidence and crushing confidence gained when weaknesses were revealed. One attempt at setting objectives for each student for an upcoming field placement, using the previous field experience evaluations for the purpose of identifying areas of strengths and weaknesses was a complete failure and the general response uncomfortable laughter. In fact, only by working with individuals on a daily basis during field experience, by planning lessons in the evening, and reviewing each day's progress and childrens' responses that self-analysis and professional development proceeded successfully. In the second year, students responded confidently, for instance, to a request from the principal for B.U.N.T.E.P. students to aid regular teachers with their new classes in September.

In short, there is probably no general solution to the problems associated with support, dependency or confidence building. However, it was found by the Coordinator that the development of a working relationship of trust, openness and commitment was necessary in order to give insightful academic and personal support. On the basis of two years

experience gained while working closely with students who progressed from leaving a room when one entered, to the point of questioning and criticizing the ideas presented by professors, provision of academic and personal support appeared both fundamental and essential to the success of the community based teacher education program.

CHAPTER V

PROGRAM FEATURES WHICH MAY BE USED TO DEVELOP AN IMPROVED MODEL

Having examined the community setting and the specifics of the village based teacher education program, attention is now turned to those aspects of the B.U.N.T.E.P. model for teacher education which may be used to develop models for village based teacher education programs in other developing areas.

Mission

The B.U.N.T.E.P. program was established as a non-residential village based teacher education program which was appropriate for degree-seeking adults resident in an isolated community. It was intended to provide a greater opportunity in the educational system for those who had been largely ignored but, who could, with the proper training, assume the professional teaching roles available in their home community. The program is, therefore, particularly well suited for application in areas where a minority has been neglected and democratization of education is an issue.

The program studied was delivered in a community characterized by chronic unemployment and extensive government support while at the same time, teachers from other parts of the country were recruited to fill the local teaching positions. Hence, the B.U.N.T.E.P. model appears particularly appropriate for local people in isolated communities who do not have the necessary skills and certification to enable them to

compete for existing teaching positions. The model is also suitable for people who do not otherwise have any real possibility of obtaining the requisite skills. The B.U.N.T.E.P. model for teacher education appears particularly suitable as well in areas where it is difficult to attract and retain a well qualified, competent staff.

Analysis and Realistic Response to Local Conditions

A critical program feature of B.U.N.T.E.P. which would make it an appropriate model for teacher education programs in other developing areas was its responsiveness to local conditions. In order that the B.U.N.T.E.P. program be appropriate to the Indian population in the community, it was important to have accurate information regarding the characteristics of the constituents. To this end, B.U.N.T.E.P. employed a Cree Indian, knowledgable in local conditions to initially direct the program. The B.U.N.T.E.P. program, therefore, created special policies and provisions to address the community problems related to socioeconomic conditions, educational level of the participants, lifestyles, working styles and local travel and housing conditions. These special policies were viewed as essential to the success of the program and are therefore considered important to any application of the model in other developing areas. These policies were:

a. Student Admission. Since few students had achieved matriculation, special provision was made for their admission to the University as mature students on probation for one year. Although this permitted many people to enter the program, the problem of poor study skills and background knowledge had to be addressed. This was done in several ways. The students were funded for an additional year beyond that normally required to complete the certification requirements in order to allow

for extra tutorial assistance. Professors were expected to incorporate into their courses additional time for tutorial work and spent nearly twice as many contact hours with students as was required for on-campus courses. In addition, the local Center Coordinator was available to assist with tutorial work on a continuing basis. The problem was also addressed by professors who attempted to limit the amount of lecture type material in favor of other more concrete, lesson type instruction. This special provision of additional assistance for mature students is an important consideration when the model is applied elsewhere.

b. Community Commitment. The concept of the community giving commitment and support, in order to receive the program, was an important distinguishing feature of the program which assisted community involvement and would be an important aspect in applying the B.U.N.T.E.P. model in other areas. Since many students intended to teach in their home communities, it was important and critical that the local community understood and supported the program.

c. Community Involvement. Importance was placed on having local people involved in the program. In the community in which the study was carried out, it was necessary for certified teachers to be approved by the community before they were permitted to teach in local schools. Thus, to ensure community acceptance of the B.U.N.T.E.P. students, a committee was formed to recommend applicants to the program. The lay population needed to accept the new professionals after they were certified. A common complaint voiced by graduates of other programs was that their communities would not readily accept them in their new role as a professional teacher but usually remembered them as they were before they began their university education. The concept of involving the community in the education of the local students studying to become

teachers was seen as critical in overcoming this problem. Indeed, the community of Cross Lake came to the support of the B.U.N.T.E.P. students when possible education funding cutbacks in Summer, 1978, may have prevented them from being hired. All seven graduates were hired.

In addition, the B.U.N.T.E.P. program attempted to generate greater local participation in education and in the B.U.N.T.E.P. program. To achieve this, a local B.U.N.T.E.P. steering committee was established in Cross Lake. The development of the local input into the program seemed very appropriate for the Indian community which was in the process of gaining increasing control of its local government, finances and education. This aspect of the B.U.N.T.E.P. program was particularly important in developing credibility for the program and in helping the B.U.N.T.E.P. students gain confidence. Community involvement in the program seems particularly applicable to other developing areas where a paternalistic, external agency has governed so totally, but is now attempting to encourage more local participation, understanding and control.

d. Community Presence. A related key factor in the program was the presence maintained in the isolated community by the University. A professor resided in the Indian community and was in constant contact with the Chief, school personnel, school committee, B.U.N.T.E.P. students and their families. The community had a specific person representing the University in their village. This was important particularly when program critics claimed that the program was not a "real" university program. A resident professor, with qualifications equal or superior to many on campus, was vital to the credibility of the program.

The Center Coordinator was also important in that he considered the community his home and lived there for an extended period of time. This

distinguishing characteristic of the program was an essential factor in the continuing analysis of the characteristics of the community and in the University's realistic response to local conditions and to involvement of local people in the program. The size and location of the community made it difficult to recruit and hold competent faculty, but in the view of the author, the resident Center Coordinator was essential to the success of the program and a feature which could be utilized in developing other programs.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the community presence was the fact that it provided opportunities for the educationally neglected adult to pursue university education in a special local learning environment supported by family, peers and a professor they knew well. In the Center, the Coordinator could foster a learning environment supportive of the particular people enrolled. The learning environment could be built on the basis of local conditions. This fragile learning environment fostered educationally confident people capable of succeeding in most university courses and professional teaching roles.

Moreover, the maintenance of a well-supplied teaching Center as part of a mini-campus in the community helped professors provide quality education. The teaching Center, together with visiting travelling professors, provided an important basis for improving local education by way of professional development workshops for teachers, an advisory service for teachers, and continuing education for local people. Indeed, in some communities, the University is now being requested to expand the mini-campus concept for teacher education at the village level, to include a general pre-university or pre-community college education center for their people. The success of the B.U.N.T.E.P. students in their university studies has opened new educational vistas. The locally

based teacher/learning center in rural isolated communities has, on the basis of the B.U.N.T.E.P. experience, good potential for the development of community education in other developing areas.

e. Special Travel. On the other hand, in order to counter the criticism that students did not receive sufficient exposure to 'regular' university activities, the local village based program was given special funding to facilitate field trips, attendance at conferences, visits to modern schools and other educational travel activities. The B.U.N.T.E.P. model provided also for travel by students to the home campus to attend B.U.N.T.E.P. staff and student meetings, as well as summer courses. It enabled students to visit other B.U.N.T.E.P. centers as individuals or as a group and to attend conferences in Manitoba and in other provinces. Provision was made for travel and accommodation for research purposes to universities, archives and museums. The inclusion of special travel provisions provided students was an added educational dimension which compensated somewhat for the locally based training and warrents close attention if the model is employed in other areas.

f. Student Allowances. Based upon knowledge of the local community condition, B.U.N.T.E.P. created special policies to address community problems which might interfere with the students' chances of success in the program. One such difficulty was the high unemployment situation and low economic level. Student allowances were provided to meet basic needs and to ease financial hardship during their studies.

g. Special Discretionary and Travel Allowances. A working premise of the program was to eliminate as many factors as possible which might hinder the students' chances of success. Since the target population was mainly people over 21 years of age with families, it was found necessary, in addition to allowances, to give assistance with day care,

medical, dental, clothing and travel costs. Without these special considerations, many of the married students could not have maintained consistent attendance, or would have had difficulty coming to the center each day since locally there were no regular locally-operated buses, taxis or day care services.

h. Academic Support. Many of the students entered the program with less than grade 10 academic standing and required considerable assistance with their academic work. This support was provided by the resident Center Coordinator, travelling professor, and when necessary, special tutors. In the view of the author, however, this did not completely compensate for the lack of general background knowledge, good English expression and mathematics skills. Academic support was essential to the program but requires a more aggressive approach in any application of the model.

i. Personal Support. A major segment of the Coordinator's time was spent in dealing with students' personal problems which were interfering with their studies. Funding was also available for a special counsellor. This aspect of the program was essential because students were sometimes not supported by their families and, as mothers, often had to carry a full workload at home in addition to their studies. Without the provision for personal support, many students would not have completed the program.

j. Program Development. B.U.N.T.E.P. courses were extremely flexible and not restricted to on-campus schedule. A course could be lengthened to provide additional tutorial work, or scheduled to capitalize on local resources such as a conference or festival. Funding was available to mount experimental courses or courses requested by local B.U.N.T.E.P. committees. This flexibility in program delivery

should be an important aspect in the adaption of the B.U.N.T.E.P. model elsewhere.

k. Extended Field Experience. The extended field experience component (24-36 week) provided ample time for students to assume the professional role expected of them in teaching. Although this lengthened the program, it provided additional time for professors to work with students in classrooms, for students to adjust to the routine of a regular work day, and was very important in overcoming the problem of poor role model teachers. Courses could be designed to provide integration of theory and practice within the format of university course delivery. In addition, since many students missed one or two field placement sessions due to family sickness or related problems, the extended field experience helped them acquire the minimum number of weeks.

Summary

The B.U.N.T.E.P. program was a unique program in teacher education designed to bring university level education to a group of people who previously had little opportunity. The structure and funding of the program was organized so that it could respond in a realistic manner to local conditions and problems and best ensure that students would be able to acquire the necessary skills for teacher certification. Unusual problems often demanded unusual solutions. The B.U.N.T.E.P. model for teacher education has proven successful and its basic principles worthy of application to groups of people in similar circumstances.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARIES, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

SUMMARIES

Summary of the Problem

As late as 1970 there was an acute shortage of certified professional native teachers in Canada. Extremely few trained, certified teachers were available to teach in even those schools where the majority of children were native and the maternal language neither English nor French, but an indigenous Indian language. Little evidence existed to indicate that the situation would improve. Very few Indian people were successfully pursuing or completing programs which would lead to the acquisition of the skills, attitudes and professional qualifications needed. Hardly any Indians, especially those from remote areas, were seeking admission to the universities and professional schools.

When compared to the rest of the Canadian population, the Indian people have not been successful within the education system. Whereas, in 1971, 76 percent of other Canadians in the 15-19 year old range attained secondary school standing, only 39 percent of Indians and Inuits achieved the same level. In contrast with less than 40 percent of Canadians as a whole, nearly 80 percent of Indian students stopped at the elementary level of schooling. Indian children were disproportionately unsuccessful in schools.

The Federal government met strong resistance from Indian groups when it proposed transferring its direct responsibility for Indian education

to the provincial educational authorities, and instead, consented to turning over control to local Indian authorities and to improving the level of educational opportunities for Indian children. The need for Indian teachers became clearer. The National Indian Brotherhood worked jointly with Indian groups from each province, prepared the position paper on Indian education which opposed the transfer of responsibility for Indian education to the provinces and endorsed the concept of Indian control of Indian education. This document stressed the fact that every effort should be made, on a national level, to encourage and assist native students to succeed in post-secondary studies so that Indian people could assume the professional teaching roles needed in their communities.

The Brandon University Northern Teacher Education Project (B.U.N.T.E.P.) was established, using federal and provincial monies, in order to offer adults who previously had not had any real opportunity to pursue university level study, the opportunity to gain teacher certification. The purpose was to encourage and realistically assist people resident in northern communities to enter the teaching profession. The hope was that they could better obtain employment in isolated northern Manitoban communities and Indian reserves which did not possess viable economic bases and break the vicious circle which had existed in Indian education until then. In short, Indian children were very unsuccessful in schools, very few Indians were qualified teachers and very few sought university admission or successfully gained qualifications and credentials.

The writer's purpose in doing this research was to study the progress and development of the B.U.N.T.E.P. program as it was implemented on one Canadian Indian reservation, to examine the factors which appeared to impede or assist the attainment of the program goals and to examine those aspects of the program model which may be used to develop models for village based

teacher education programs in other developing areas.

Summary of Important Program Features

Essential features of the village based teacher education program in the remote, isolated community were first, the idea of establishing a mini-campus in the village from which university education for adults, resident in the village, could be mounted; and second, the idea of providing substantial special help to students in order to address directly problems related to local socioeconomic conditions, educational levels of the participants, life styles, travel and housing conditions.

The concept of a mini-campus with a resident Center Coordinator and teaching Center provided a sound basis from which to operate the program in the isolated community. It was possible for the resident Coordinator or professor to be in constant contact with the Chief, school personnel, school committee, B.U.N.T.E.P. students and their families. In this way the center coordinator could build upon the cultural strengths of the students and establish a learning environment in which adult students could gain confidence as they received appropriate and realistic support.

In addition, the Center Coordinator could remain in touch with local political issues which influenced the program and confidence building process. People who previously had seen very little opportunity or hope of completing university education realized they could succeed and reached the point where they no longer required special assistance. The lack of balanced community representation among students somewhat hampered the progress of the program, but the constant university presence in the community was a crucial factor in establishing and maintaining the credibility of the program locally.

The concept of a mini-campus in the isolated community where

professors could deliver their courses when they flew in was an important program feature. Maintenance of a teaching Center provided an ideal base for delivering professional workshops to teachers, and gaining the support and respect which was essential to the field experience component of the program. Professors were provided with good opportunities to integrate their courses and actual classroom situations with benefits accruing to the professor, B.U.N.T.E.P. student teachers and school children.

The provision of special policies and assistance for students was essential to the success of the program and was based on the premise that such a program should be responsive to local conditions, and that special problems might require special solutions. Without the provision of mature student admission, few local people could have been admitted to the program. This enabled the older person with a family to continue living in the community, to receive university education and gain local employment. The low educational attainment of students prior to their recruitment demanded that special tutorial assistance be available. Although a concerted effort was made to address this problem, criticism was received concerning the students' facility with English, grammar and spelling, and their lack of general background knowledge.

At its inception, the program responded to local conditions by creating and providing special policies. Students were provided with a substantial allowance, day care monies, travel money, and special assistance with medical, dental and clothing costs. Books and all learning supplies were provided. Without these provisions and special policies most students would not have completed the courses.

The writer's experience as resident Center Coordinator of the program for two years in an isolated rural community led him to formulate the

conclusions which follow:

CONCLUSIONS

1. The mission of the Brandon University Northern Teacher Education Project was realistic and its village based teacher education program format a viable vehicle for providing educational opportunity of high standard to adults living in an isolated, rural community. Such a program may appear costly, but not when compared to government assistance to the reserve to alleviate the unemployment.

2. The open entrance option to the University is a realistic entry point for adults but requires provision of special academic and personal support to overcome English language and general knowledge deficits. For students with low school grade level attainment, assistance with study skills and academic work is essential.

3. Successful completion of the university teacher education program by the first local graduates and their immediate employment and teaching success was a strong inducement to others to join the program.

4. The establishment of a mini-campus in the remote community is sound. The resident university professor, as Center Coordinator, supported by a well equipped teaching Center and special southern support staff, can provide a university presence in the remote community which is essential to the credibility and effective functioning of the program. Thus, the Center Coordinator is a key person in the success or failure of the mini-campus concept.

5. The teaching Center, supplies, and professional development workshops given by the resident Center Coordinator and professors helped maintain the essential support of the teachers and were an important assistance to the program.

6. It is possible to deliver university courses of high standard to remote northern communities by flying professors into the centers to deliver three credit hour courses in blocks of three to five weeks, on an all-day basis.

7. The mini-campus concept and scheduling of courses in three to five week blocks permits the adaption of regular university courses to community and individual student needs while maintaining high academic standards. It provides for the integration of course work with classroom experiences and the utilization of community people as an educational resource. Flexibility in course delivery was essential to the successful operation of the program.

8. The extended field experience of 24-30 weeks was necessary to provide adequate time for students to acquire requisite teaching skills, and to some extent, overcame the problem of poor teaching models.

9. The fostering of a special supportive learning environment in the Center and the provision of full support for first year students allowed apparently weak students, including those who considered leaving the program, to become strong, confident teachers.

10. The special policies regarding student support were essential. The concept of examining the local situation and generating special policies to address local problems is sound. Students could not complete the program without provision of student allowances, and discretionary allowances for day care, medical and dental costs.

11. Community involvement in the admission of individuals to teacher education was realistic and became very important when community acceptance of graduates was needed. The B.U.N.T.E.P. program served as an important factor in stimulating local interest in education.

12. The local B.U.N.T.E.P. steering committee did not operate

effectively, partly because during initial recruitment insufficient attention was paid to community political factions. Non-treaty people were not included.

13. The B.U.N.T.E.P. model for a teacher education program was successfully employed in a remote, developing area. Its basic features which appear particularly relevant for other developing areas are its: mission, program format, responsiveness to local conditions and provision of special compensating policies, the resident Center Coordinator and mini-campus concept, and local community involvement in all aspects of the program.

The above conclusions lead to the following recommendations:

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. It is recommended that a basic communications and a mathematics course be the first courses students take. It is further recommended that a study skills specialist be employed and that the basic communication and mathematics course form the foundation of an individual student's basic skills learning program which would continue until a satisfactory level of competence was reached.

2. It is recommended that special provisions for overcoming the lack of general academic background knowledge are needed and it is recommended that greater use be made of available audio-visual materials and student seminars to overcome the students' lack of general knowledge in science and social studies content.

3. It is recommended that student teachers spend at least some of their field placement time in schools in communities other than their own. This would preferably be a school in a community in southern Manitoba where the student teacher would be exposed to other school

facilities, personnel and procedures.

4. It is recommended that when the preliminary contact with the community is being made prior to the establishment of a B.U.N.T.E.P. center, information be gathered to ensure that student recruitment is made representative of the community and that one interest group does not predominate.

5. Because of the important role played by the resident Center Coordinator in the progress of the students and Center, it is recommended that the fact that the Center Coordinator is the "cultural stranger" in the community be given greater recognition and that additional provisions be made for him/her to attend additional conferences and other professional meetings so that he/she is not so cut off from professional colleagues.

6. It is recommended that an attempt be made to apply the basic principles of the B.U.N.T.E.P. education model,a village based teacher education project, to other areas of education such as the preparation of nurses, paramedical, and paralegal professionals.

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